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THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

EDITED BY GEORGE HARVEY

PERIODICAL ROOM

JANUARY 1908

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING COMPANY
FRANKLIN SQUARE, NEW YORK

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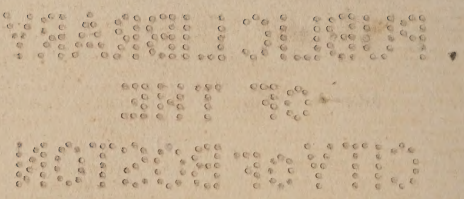

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CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER.

The Most Rev. John Ireland,
a distinguished prelate of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States who is held in high honor by his fellow citizens of all parties and creeds, was born in Ireland in 1838, and came to the United States in his boyhood. He was educated at the Cathedral School, St. Paul, Minnesota, and at the Petit Seminaire, Meximeux, France; and he studied theology at the Grand Seminaire, Hyeres, France. He was ordained to the priesthood in 1861, and served as Chaplain to the 5th Minnesota Regiment during the Civil War. Thereafter, he was, successively, rector of the St. Paul Cathedral, and co-adjutor to Bishop Grace of that diocese. In May, 1888, he became Archbishop of St. Paul.

Brigadier-General W. H. Carter, U.S.A.,
was born in Nashville, Tennessee. For twenty-four years after graduating at the United States Military Academy, he was in active service on the frontier. His first experience was with the 8th Infantry, which he joined, as second lieutenant, in 1873. In 1874 he was transferred to the 6th Cavalry, and in 1879 he was promoted to be first lieutenant and regimental quartermaster. He was advanced to the command of a company in the 6th Cavalry in 1889, and he received his majority in 1897, when he was appointed Assistant Adjutant-General of the United States Army. He served for some time in the Philippines, and he is now in command of the Department of the Lakes. General Carter holds a medal of honor which was awarded to him for distinguished bravery in action against the Apache Indians at Cibicu Creek, Arizona, on the 30th of August, 1881. He is the author of "Horses, Saddles and Bridles," "An His-

torical Sketch of the 6th United States Cavalry," "From Yorktown to Santiago" and "Old Army Sketches."

H. E. Miles,

Chairman of the Tariff Committee of the National Association of Manufacturers, explains the principle on which American manufacturers would like to see the tariff revised.

T. M. Kettle

is one of the most brilliant and scholarly of the younger men of the Irish Party in the British House of Commons.

Clayton Hamilton

is a graduate of Columbia University. From 1901 to 1904 he was tutor in English at that institution, giving a course also at Barnard College. Since 1904 he has lectured extensively on literary topics, and has contributed essays, sketches and stories to the magazines. He was mainly responsible for the English version of Jacob Gordin's Yiddish play, "The Kreutzer Sonata," which Blanche Walsh produced under the management of Wagenhals and Kemper; and before that, in collaboration with Miss Grace Isabel Colbron, he produced a play, "The Love that Blinds," which Mary Shaw acted under the management of the Shuberts.

H. Addington Bruce,

a Canadian by birth, was educated at Upper Canada College, Toronto University and Trinity University. On leaving college, he entered journalism, beginning as associate editor of "The Toronto Week." In 1897 he came to New York, where he has pursued the work of his profession, being engaged in editorial work and criticism — historical, economic and psychological—on several well-known periodicals. Mr. Bruce translated into English Leroy-Beaulieu's "The United States in the Twentieth Century."

L. S. Rowe,

after graduating at the Philadelphia Central High School and the University of Pennsylvania, was admitted to the Pennsylvania Bar. He has been connected with the University of Pennsylvania in various capacities—as instructor in Public Law from 1896 to 1898, as assistant professor of Political Science from 1898 to 1903, and as professor of Political Science since 1903. In 1901, he was on leave of

absence as a member of the commission to revise and compile the laws of Porto Rico, and in 1901-2 as chairman of the Insular Code Commission, reporting codes which, with some modifications, were adopted as the laws under which Porto Rico is now governed. Mr. Rowe was a delegate of the United States to the Recent Pan-American Conference, and he has lately visited some of the more important cities of the South-American Continent. He is president of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and a member of the International Law Association, of the American Economic Association, and of the American Political Science Association.

JAMES T. CLARK

was born in Oswego, New York, and graduated at Middlebury College, Vermont, in 1887. Entering journalism, he was employed in New York city for a number of years, mainly in editorial work and special writing. Since 1901, when he graduated from the New York Law School and was admitted to the Bar, he has been engaged in the practice of law.

FINANCIER

is a New York banker, who writes upon the subject of "Investment Securities" with an authority based upon years of practical experience in the affairs of the financial world.

DR. R. B. LEACH

has devoted much time and energy to the investigation of the most efficient methods of arresting the spread of yellow-fever. He believes that the measures of precaution, based upon the theory that the disease is communicated by the mosquito, are of themselves inadequate and require to be reinforced; and that the results of the experiments which he made in New Orleans during the epidemic of 1905, conclusively prove the claims he makes in favor of the prophylactic he recommends.

CHARLES F. SPEARE

was educated at Harvard University. For the past ten years he has been engaged in journalistic work in New York city, and for the greater portion of that period he has occupied the position of financial editor of "The Evening Mail." He has given special attention to the subject of European

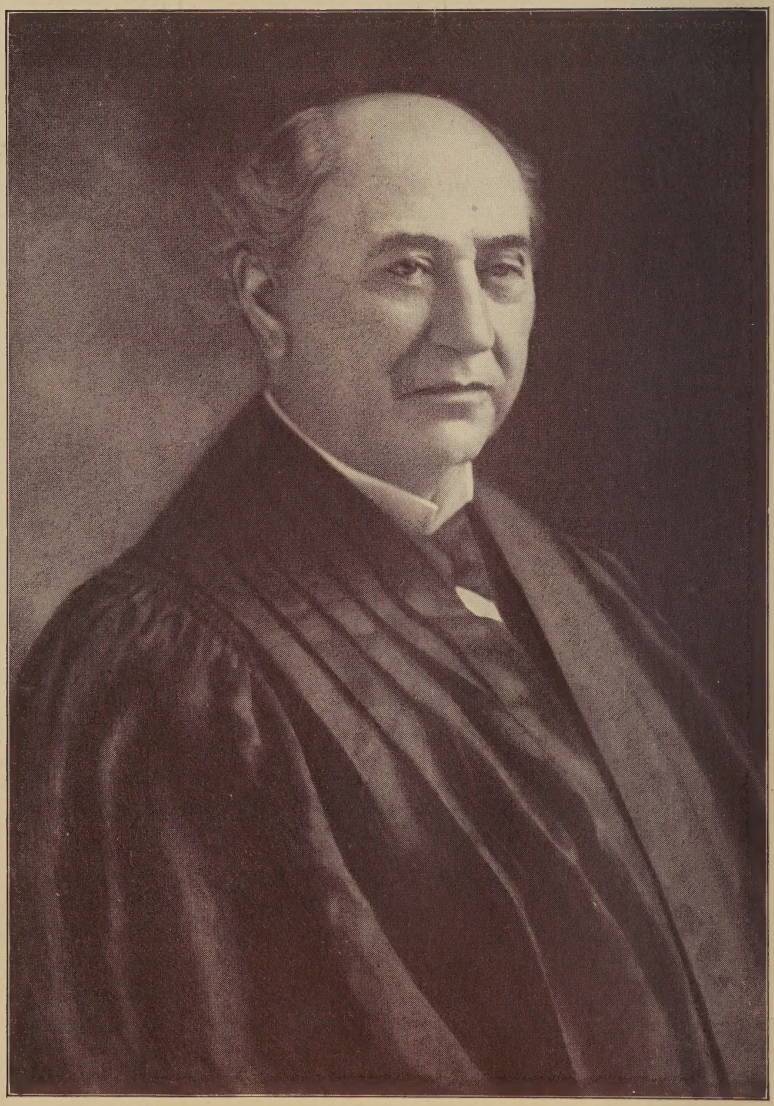
investment conditions, and particularly to the history of American investments in Europe. He has published several pamphlets on this topic, which are regarded as authoritative. Mr. Speare has contributed a number of financial and economic articles to various magazines.

REED SMOOT

was born in Salt Lake City, Utah, where he was educated in public and private schools, and in Deseret University. He is connected with a number of financial and industrial institutions in Utah, being president of the Provo Commercial and Savings Bank, the Smoot Investment Co., the Smoot Drug Co., the Provo Electric Co. and the Provo Woollen Mills. He is a director of the San Pedro, Los Angeles & Salt Lake Railway, and of various Salt Lake corporations, including Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Co. He has been an apostle of the Mormon Church since 1900. He was elected United States Senator by the Utah Legislature in January, 1903.

ALVAN F. SANBORN

was born at Marlboro, Massachusetts, in 1866, and was graduated from Amherst in 1887. After studying for a year in the Columbia School of Political Science in New York, he was associated editorially for some time with the D. Lothrop Company, publishers, Boston. In 1891, he was associate editor of the "International Cyclopædia," and, later, editor of "The Cottage Hearth." From 1889 to 1902, he was the regular Paris correspondent of the "Boston Transcript"; and, since 1905, he has been on the editorial staff of the "Boston Traveller." He has contributed freely to magazines on literary and sociological topics, and among his published books are "Moody's Lodging-house and Other Tenement Sketches" and "Paris and the Social Revolution."



David J. Brewer

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

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JANUARY, 1908.

THE GREAT MINDS OF AMERICA.

III.—DAVID J. BREWER.

THE REVIEW is considering some of the greater of living men who, actually and potentially, are valuable to us, valuable as citizens who give to the public the best they have. The most beneficent power that any man possesses, as Justice Brewer has said in one of his many addresses to the young men of our schools, is brain power. We do not mean, by brain power, mental activity expressed in a rapid procession of intellectual impressions, manifestations that are as quick as the shuttles which weave the perishable cloth; we mean the slow and patient power of the discoverers and the defenders of truth; of the scientists who search and find the everlasting secrets of nature; of the philosophers who compose great pictures of the universe; of the publicists who deal with men and their governments in the simple ways of greatness, whose very simplicity leads to criticism of them by men to whom quiet often denotes inefficiency, publicists who know the impotence as well as the value of human laws, who never forget that the law of nature is unrepealable by statutes, that the greatness of a state is to be found in the minds and characters of its citizens, and that its material expansion is often far from being a blessing.

We present in this number Justice Brewer, of the United States Supreme Court, as one of the men of our time of great intel-

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lectual power, a power which he employs in his important place and out of it for the advancement of the public welfare. In his place his words often determine the law; out of it they are the words of a thoughtful and wise citizen, and, therefore, they sink deep into the minds of serious men. Their influence may not be immediately felt, for the truth is often disregarded, while the sham triumphs, for the moment, among the thoughtless and the over-excited; but, in the end, the truth prevails simply because it is the truth. The men who utter words of wisdom, which are always words of truth, do not often occupy the first political places in a republic, as President Eliot has pointed out; but one of them will perform more lasting beneficent service, will do more to direct the thoughts of his fellows, and thus more to mould the institutions of the country, than all the place-holders of his time.

Justice Brewer has spoken and written upon a variety of topics, but we will concern ourselves in this brief article with his judicial contributions to the law of the Constitution, with his views of the relations that ought to exist between the general Government and the States, and with the advice which he has given to lawyers, young and old, fresh from the schools or experienced in practice.

Lawyers, in his mind, should be, as they have almost always been, the leaders of the people. We shall define this to mean the leaders in the making and executing as well as in the interpretation of laws. This is saying simply that the work of governing, in all its branches, should be performed by trained minds. Acuteness is not enough; quickness of apprehension is not sufficient, nor is the experience of a single life. The arts of party management will not satisfy the needs and demands of government. In the practice of such arts Disraeli dominated Gladstone, and Burr was master of both Jefferson and Hamilton. The difference between the two classes is marked by the shifty means for immediate ends of the one and the deep conviction and moral purpose of the other. Justice Brewer thinks of the lawyer who, like himself, makes and executes and interprets the law for the doing of justice as justice is done, roughly enough, it may be true, but still honestly and righteously by trained men who know how law has grown from the sources, whose experience is that of the long centuries during which this growth has been made, who

are, therefore, familiar with the need of consistent and enduring, as well as practical, rules for the guidance of human conduct and for the remedying of ills that affect the state. The lawyers, he will say, made and interpreted the Constitution; built up our federal system; and, as a class, they alone have the knowledge that is essential to the successful working of the state they have constructed. There are others than lawyers, of course, who have been distinguished and useful statesmen. In England, for example, there is a class besides, and, in some respects, better trained than lawyers for their tasks; but in this country the lawyers are the only class of men who necessarily are learned in the art of legislation; there are other statesmen than lawyers, but there is no other single class to which we may go for statesmen. The other statesmen, however, would not be fit for their tasks if they did not recognize the value of expert assistance; the President who is a layman and who would be his own lawyer, draw his own bills, insist upon his own interpretation of the Constitution and the laws against the advice of the experts, or in contradiction of them, would not be one of the worthy exceptions to whom allusion has been made.

Admitting that Justice Brewer is correct, and that, in this republic at least, the community will naturally look to the lawyer for leadership, what are the teachings of this member of the profession, of this influential justice of our highest court?

In the first place, he has spoken more upon the duties of his profession and upon the duties of citizenship than any other justice during the century and more of the court's existence; moreover, in his addresses, he has been as free from partisanship as he has been in his judicial opinions, one of which at least is worthy of Chief-Justice Marshall in his best days.

Then we come to the teachings themselves. There has been a theory held, and recently advanced, that the Constitution is changeable, or developing, and that, in interpreting it, the court must obey the behests, or yield to the temper, of the time. This is the crude expression of a mind which misunderstands a truth. The Constitution does, indeed, develop; but its growth comes by the application of its fundamental and unchanging principles to new conditions made by the advance of commerce, of arts, of invention, to improved, and constantly improving, social conditions. If the Constitution be, indeed, changed in any respect, it

must be done by amendment. Justice Brewer recognizes the influence of the thought of the people upon the Supreme Court in this kind of development; it is the influence of the age upon the thoughts of judges as well as of other men; but the thought that moves so vitally is not a disputed thought, especially a thought that is the subject of partisan debate; it is the deliberate thought of the whole people, the spirit of the age. It is best illustrated by the history of the interpretations of the commerce clause. In the earlier day, the court announced that navigation was commerce; in the later day, it included railroads, telegraphs, and all the modern instrumentalities of intercourse. One class of men would have the court change the commerce clause in order to bring production within the regulating power of the Federal Government, or to transform regulation into complete control. To accomplish this by judicial construction would be to violate the Constitution, and to recognize the violation as an acceptance of the popular thought, while in fact it would be a dishonorable yielding to the loud demands of a faction.

In his address before the Virginia State Bar Association, which was delivered in 1906, Justice Brewer called attention to the theory advanced by the President and by Mr. Root, that the meaning of the Constitution could be changed by judicial construction; in other words, that it might be amended by the Supreme Court, which, under Marshall, had constituted itself, and since has been accepted, as the defender of the Constitution against the possible encroachments of the political power. Here was offered a great opportunity to such a man as Justice Brewer, and his reply was crushing, for he demonstrated that the adoption of such a heresy would destroy the Federal Government, would transform it into a national republic like France, for example, putting to death the Constitution, while the Government of enumerated powers would become a "government with all the powers vested in the legislative and executive authorities of the nation; and the Tenth Amendment, which reserves to the people what they have not in terms granted, would become a voiceless and unmeaning part of the Constitution."

Clearly and convincingly he has taught those who have listened to him and heeded him that the national power has been expanded as greatly as it ought to be. Throughout the two periods of our constitutional history—that before the War of Secession,

in which the national stability was established, and that after the war, when, by the adoption of the amendments, especially the Fourteenth Amendment, the national power was enormously expanded—the Supreme Court has been the brake upon the Government wagon, holding back the political power from obtaining its partisan or personal ends, or from gratifying its notions through violation of the Constitution, or through pretending to read into its provisions meanings that are not there.

Justice Brewer, then, believes in the Federal Government, partly because he has respect for the laws—the law of the Constitution being higher to him than the law of the statutes or the whims of an Executive—and partly because he thinks that the federal system is essential to the good government, and, therefore, to the happiness of the country. He believes that the remoteness of a Central Government from the people would put an end to their vigilance, and would, therefore, eventually deprive them of that political instinct which exists only among those who exercise political power and discharge political duties. He condemns the growing habit of appealing to the National Government for relief against ills that should be borne, or when remedied should be corrected by the community immediately injured. He has no respect for the dominating idea that efficiency is the sole standard for a republican, or democratic, government, for, he says, if efficiency is the only test, "then a centralized government with a dictator is the ideal government." In illustration of the tendency of the time towards centralization, he recalls recent incidents at Washington,—the swinging of the Executive whip, for example, over the House of Representatives in order to compel the passage of a Statehood bill, an activity quite in keeping with the supremacy of the party boss and the party machine. The "most glorious product of our civilization," he says, "is not the entrancing beauty of the Capitol, the magnificence, wealth or extravagance of the Government, its ironclads or its army, its wonderful system of railroads, its marvellous manufacturing, mining and other interests, but rather the individual's possession of an independent, conscientious, public-spirited citizenship." He warns us, too, against proposed further encroachments upon the powers and functions of the State for the increase of the federal powers, with the consequent degradation of the individual.

The proper control of government by the people is necessarily postulated on the maintenance of local power in the people. This is the central thought that lies at the foundation of his reasoning about the relative powers and places of the Nation and the State. To thousands of young men he has imparted golden lessons, in which is recognized the divine worthiness of the individual, for his insistence upon the dominance of the State over its affairs, the control of the city over its interests, follows from his conception that the man is the father of the State; that the State exists for him, not he for the State; that the value of the State depends upon the jealousy of the citizen for his own rights, his observance of his political duties, while his civic manliness depends upon his refusal to lean upon the State as paternalism would have him lean. The welfare of individuals is not dependent upon uniformity of habits, neither is the welfare of the States dependent upon uniformity of laws regulating their domestic concerns. Each community should be free to judge of its own needs, of its own desires, and the nation should be confined to the care of the common interests. The moral and mental vigor of the citizen should not be allowed to become debilitated by a paternalism which relieves him of the need of watchfulness, of industry, of thought. These are a few of the teachings of one of the foremost minds in the country. As a judge, speaking for the whole court, in Kansas *vs.* Colorado, recently decided, Justice Brewer defined the freedom of the States from the control of the Federal Government, and its own sovereignty over its affairs, in an opinion which, as we have already said, is worthy of Chief-Justice Marshall. As a citizen, he has spoken many times for the manhood of the individual which has been, and continues to be, threatened by an enervating paternalism. Long after impressions made in haste or in excited moments have been effaced, or are remembered with bitter self-reproaches by those who heeded them to their own and, perhaps, to the community's harm, the words of Justice Brewer will be accepted as truths uttered by a man of a careful, trained and thoughtful mind.

IS THE PAPACY AN OBSTACLE TO THE REUNION OF CHRISTENDOM?

BY THE MOST REVEREND JOHN IRELAND, ARCHBISHOP OF ST. PAUL.

In The North American Review of September, Professor Charles A. Briggs contributes a second article on the question—"Is the Papacy an Obstacle to the Reunion of Christendom?" I beg leave to offer to the pages of the Review a reply to this second article.

It is a pleasure to break a lance in the controversial arena with Professor Briggs. A doughty champion of his cause, putting to best profit the arguments which, he assumes, tell in its favor, he remains, throughout, the courteous, the fair-minded and the fair-hearted knight from whom his opponent, in the very midst of the fray, dares not withhold respect and friendliest regard. For my part, I must hope that I shall not fall too far below the high standard which the Professor sets before me.

The Papacy is a stupendous fact in history: none can ignore it: all must feel interested in what may be said of it by friend or foe.

The universal episcopate of St. Peter, and of his successors in the Church of Christ, is freely and fully accepted by Professor Briggs. In his first article, among other reasons for his belief he quotes the text in the sixteenth chapter of St. Matthew: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church." He says: "All attempts to explain the 'rock' in any other way than as referring to Peter have ignominiously failed."

Nothing more true. The statement of the Professor, however, has been contested by Bishop Doane, of Albany. The Bishop would have us remark the distinction to be made between "*Petra*," the Rock, and "*Petros*," the name given to Simon. The answer is readily at hand. Without asking why the Greek inter-

preter, and later the Latin, clung closely to the rules of grammatical gender, using the masculine form, when the word serves as a proper noun, and the feminine, when it refers more directly to the metaphor of the "rock" or foundation-stone, we need only remember that in the language of the Lord Himself, who spoke the Aramaic or Syro-Chaldaic, there was no diversity of form. The Syriac version of the Gospel which is of very early date, and makes use of a language necessarily of near affinity with the Aramaic, gives in both clauses the word "*Kipha.*" The Bishop further reminds us that, in the writings of the Fathers, we find different interpretations of "Petra," as the word occurs in the second clause of the sentence—"Petra" being explained not only of the person of Peter, but, also, of Christ Himself, or of the faith which Peter confessed, or of the faith committed to and professed by the Catholic Church. The Bishop argues that, since the word receives different interpretations, we have no right to assume as primary and authoritative the interpretation which sees in "Petra" the person of Peter. But does the word, read in its obvious meaning, admit of different interpretations? The text speaks unmistakably for itself. To give to it any other meaning than that which refers it to the person of Peter is to recede from the simplest rules of grammar, to ignore the whole bearing of the demonstrative pronoun "this"—"Thou art *Kipha,* and on *this Kipha* I will build my Church." Such is the judgment of writers, not Catholic, who, caring little for the supremacy of Peter, are, however, scrupulous as to the correct meaning of words and sentences. The Lutheran Rosenmuller (*"Comment. in S. Matthaeum"*) writes:

"The 'rock' is neither the confession of Peter, nor Christ pointing out Himself by his finger or a shake of the head—which interpretations the context does not admit—but Peter himself."

H. J. Holtzman, Professor of Exegesis in the Protestant Faculty of Theology, Strassburg, says:

"Isaias, 28: 16.—God lays a foundation-stone in Sion; and Abraham in Jewish theology often figures as the rock on which God built the world—Isaias, 51: 12. Peter is to be such a rock for the Church: the term is applied to the person of Peter. Therein are Catholic interpreters absolutely in the right in comparison with the old Protestants who saw the rock only in the faith, or in the profession of faith made by Peter—Peter, the *oikonomos,* 'the key-bearer,' in the house that is

built, as Jesus Himself is in the house of His Father (Apoc. 3: 7). Again in any case the ecclesiastical consciousness expressed in this passage is a fundamentally Catholic one."

W. P. Armstrong ("Dictionary of Christ and the Gospel," Article "Cæsarea Philippi") says:

"Upon this rock Jesus now affirms his intention of founding His Church: not upon any rock, and therefore not simply upon a strong and firm foundation, but upon *this* rock indicated by the name of Peter. . . . The rock intended by Jesus to be the future foundation of His Church, is Peter. The function thus assigned to Peter is, indeed, not apart from his confession, nor is the fact that he evidently spoke in a representative capacity to be overlooked. The address of Jesus, however, is distinctly to Peter, and it is his name that is interpreted. The confession which precedes is, indeed, closely related to the words of Jesus; but it cannot be understood as the rock-foundation intended by Jesus. In itself it furnishes the occasion rather than the ground of the promise of Jesus. It therefore cannot be treated abstractedly as something separated from Peter."

The diverse interpretations of the "*Petra*" occurring in the writings of the Fathers, rightly read and balanced one with the other, put no difficulty in our way. Those diverse interpretations are met with chiefly among the Post-Nicene Fathers. The Post-Nicenes wrote more discursively and more metaphorically than did their predecessors; they were wont to seek out the reasons of things, to formulate conclusions and ultimate bearings. They were, also, much in the habit of ascribing to Scriptural passages what has been called "an accommodated sense"—suiting sacred words to given circumstances, to which the original meaning could not have had reference. And, so, there happened to be a diversity of interpretations, or, rather, of applications, of the text of Matthew. Now one Father, now another, would go back of the "rock," in quest of the origin of its solidity and other rocklike endowments; this was, of course, Christ, the Primary Rock, upon which all, who were to be strengthened, even Peter, must be built. They would inquire as to why special prerogatives were conferred upon Peter; the answer was—because of his unshaken faith, and of his public profession of his faith. Again, they would enlarge upon Peter's profession of faith, and remind their readers that only through and by means of a similar profession could the Apostolate and the Church live and endure through ages. In those ways the Fathers labored to draw out the fulness

of truth, proximate and remote, which they believed to be wrapt up in the text. But, whatever other meanings were given to it, there was never an exclusion of the identification of the "Petra" with the person of Peter; frequently this identification is presupposed; frequently it is explicitly asserted—and by the self-same Fathers who at another time had admitted different interpretations. Interpretations other than the "Petrine" are to be met with—secondary renderings, explanations, illustrations. But, when we look through Patristic literature for the primary, the dogmatic, meaning of the word, we find it to be, very clearly so, *the person of Peter*. Grammatical construction and Patristic testimony give the same interpretation: "Thou art rock (*Kipha*) and on this rock (*Kipha*) I will build my church."

Professor Briggs is altogether right in his preliminary statement that all attempts to explain the "rock" in any other way than as referring to Peter have ignominiously failed. Here, however, he and I cease to be of one mind. I wrote:

"Peter holds the keys of the Kingdom: he is the absolute master. Whatsoever he binds is bound; whatsoever he looses is loosed; his power extends over the whole sphere of the Kingdom, over all its activities; it is shortened by no power or right confided to others."

The Professor quotes words spoken by Christ to the Apostles collectively. The quotations are from John xx: 22, 23, "Receive the Holy Spirit; whatsoever sins ye remit, they shall be remitted . . ."; from Matthew xviii: 15--18, "Whatsoever sins ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in Heaven. . . ."; from Matthew xxviii: 18--20, "Go ye, therefore, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them . . . teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." The Professor concludes:

"It is evident, therefore, that the power of St. Peter and his successors was shortened by power and right given to the Apostolic ministry of the Church."

I reply: The power given to Peter was not shortened by words spoken to the Apostolic ministry of the Church. Concessions made to the entire Apostolic body do not annul or take away those made to Peter apart from the others, to Peter exclusively. Powers and rights which he receives in common with his brethren he will hold and use in common with them: but powers and

rights which he alone receives he will hold and use as his peculiar possession.

The peculiar possession of Peter is marked out in the words spoken by Christ to Peter exclusively—words not repeated at a later moment to the Apostolic body: "Thou art rock, and on this rock I will build my Church"; "Feed my lambs, feed my sheep"; "Confirm thy brethren." Whatever of power and right was implied in these several words was given to Peter alone, and became the exclusive appanage of Peter. Peter alone is the rock; Peter alone feeds lambs and sheep; Peter alone confirms (strengthens) the brethren. No words spoken to the whole Apostolate relate to the grants made here to Peter; no words were spoken at other times that could in any way be supposed to "shorten" the authority given to Peter. All who are in the Church, Apostles included, are built on Peter: all who are in the Church are fed, are strengthened, by Peter. Peter rules and governs; he is the sovereign.

The power of binding and loosing, first given to Peter alone, was later given to the whole body. That of remitting sins, of baptizing and of teaching was given to the Apostles collectively. To Peter first and alone: "I will give to thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed also in Heaven." Later, to the Apostles collectively: "Amen, I say to you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in Heaven. . . ." Jesus put first in one Apostle what later He was to put in several. But what was done later did not alter the beginning, did not take away what previously had been conceded. The words to Peter had already brought under his government each one of those to whom afterwards it was said: "Whatever ye shall bind . . ." The promises of Jesus, as equally his gifts, are without repentance. I should further remark that the form of words to Peter was very different from that used later in addressing the Apostles collectively. To Peter it was said: "To thee I will give the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. Whatsoever thou shalt bind . . ." In addressing the Apostles, Christ makes no grant of "keys." The concession to the Apostles is, clearly, far less comprehensive than that made to Peter alone. The absence of mention of "the keys," in the address to the Apostles, is most significant.

From the form of the grant, the power to remit sins, to baptize, to teach, is a belonging of the whole Apostolic body. But in the words of the grant, assuredly, there is nothing to indicate that in the exercise of this power the several members are not subject to the direction of Peter—that the right of high government, previously and repeatedly given exclusively to him, was eliminated or shortened by any common right now conceded to all.

The grants of power made by Christ are of two kinds, each different from the other. Each kind must be carefully noticed, if we are to apprehend correctly the nature of the organism of the Church. There is the grant of the Apostolate to the whole Apostolic body; and there is that of the Princedom to Peter alone. All Apostles are teachers; all bind and loose; but, except Peter, none teach, none bind or loose independently; the brethren of Peter teach, bind or loose under his guidance; Peter alone is independent and unfettered, having a commission peculiar to himself, given to himself alone. Peter is Bishop and Apostle; so are the other members of the body; but, Peter, also, is Prince, Master and Governor. The Professor further writes:

"I fully recognize the primacy of St. Peter and his successors in the possession of the keys of the kingdom, but not their exclusive possession to this authority."

No claim is made in favor of an "exclusive possession" of the powers and rights of the Apostolate. All the Apostles have their due part in those powers and rights, so much so that they are essential elements in the Church and that Peter cannot set them aside, or dispense with their cooperation. But, with all this, the Princedom in Peter remains intact. It is not communicated to others. The Princedom is "exclusive" and, therefore, is not "shortened" through powers or rights possessed by others.

As to the testimony of early ecclesiastical history, regarding the rights and authority of the Papacy, Professor Briggs says:

"The primitive Church does not favor, but condemns with no uncertain voice, the claims for an unlimited jurisdiction of the Pope."

As to "an unlimited jurisdiction," what Catholics hold is that the Pope, the Successor of Peter, as teacher and lawmaker, is supreme over the Church, over members and ministers, bishops included, singly and collectively. Bishops, in virtue of their office, have no right to overrule the official acts of the Pope, to set them-

selves against him, to teach or legislate in opposition to him. In other terms, the Pope is Monarch of the Church. It is not, however, to be supposed that Catholic faith allows the Pope to alter or transform the Church, or anything in the Church that is of divine ordering; the Pope is the Vicar of Christ, with no right over the appointments of his Principal. Nor can the Pope alter or transform the official teachings of Œcumenical Councils, or of his own predecessors; this would be to deny the doctrinal inerrancy with which Catholic faith holds those official teachings to be endowed. It were otherwise with the legislation of Councils or of predecessors; legislation is temporary in its purpose, and no claim to infallibility is made in its favor.

In matters of practical administration the Pope is not infallible. Hence, most loyal subjects of the Papacy, submissive to its authority, ready to accept unreservedly its final rulings, may take, and, as history shows, not seldom do take, the liberty to offer counsel to the Pope, or to make respectful remonstrance. Counsels or remonstrances are no denial of authority, and imply no refusal of obedience.

In estimating the testimony of history as regards the Papacy, no overweening importance is to be attached to acts of disobedience, momentary or continuous, from one or from several. Acts of disobedience there are in every social organism. The sole pertinent question in such cases is whether the disobedience means a denial of authority, or whether the denial, if such there were, is of a character to offset other and different facts and testimonies to be gathered from the records of history. The teachings of history are seen in its broad continuous stream—not in occasional bubblings of disturbance, not in manifest departures from the general trend and flow.

Paul withstood Peter as likely, by his attitude towards Jewish ceremonials, to scandalize the Gentiles. Did Paul in this instance deny Peter's Princedom and leadership? The incident bore upon a private act of Peter, not upon his official teaching. Was the opposition of the Bishops of the Orient to the ruling of Victor, in the matter of Easter celebration, a denial of his superior jurisdiction, or merely a difference of judgment as to a particular fact, a temporary outburst of anger at seeing an old custom suddenly abrogated? That Victor was the master is more than intimated in the subsequent fact that his ruling became the

recognized law in the Orient as well as in the Occident. There is even every reason to believe that the very bishops who at first protested ended by accepting the Papal decision. When Irenæus, of Lyons, "fittingly admonished" Victor, there was certainly in the words of Irenæus no indication, as the Professor would have us think, that he deemed the Bishop of Rome "guilty of an intrusion into the rights and privileges of the Bishops of Asia," or that Victor was not the chieftain to whom ultimately acquiescence should be given. The letter of Irenæus was one of respectful counsel, such as, in a similar circumstance, any Bishop of the present day would deem himself entitled to write to Pius X. Indeed, the Latin phrase, "*decenter admonuit,*" usually translated into "fittingly admonished," is rendered more correctly by the expression "respectfully admonished." Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, it is said, "writes to the Bishop of Rome as to a brother seeking advice; not as to a superior looking for a command." The Professor should not have called into the controversy the case of Dionysius; it tells strongly against his contention. Dionysius was Bishop of Alexandria, A.D. 247--265 In a letter written against Sabellianism, he taught the real subordination of the Son to the Father. He was denounced to Rome. The Pope, Dionysius, convoked a synod and addressed to him a letter in the name of the synod and in his own. In addition he wrote a private letter, asking the Bishop to explain his sayings. The Bishop answered by a treatise in four books, "Accusation and Defence," which seems to have satisfied the Pope. Newman ("Development of Dogma") cites the Dionysian incident in support of the primacy. As to the case of Cyprian of Carthage, I shall simply remark that, in justice to his illustrious life-record, Cyprian should not be taken at his worst. Pope Stephen had decided, as against Cyprian, that baptism given by heretics is valid. Cyprian lost his temper, and appealed to other bishops from the sentence of Stephen—not even then denying in principle the Princedom of Stephen. That the authority of Stephen was recognized in the Church at large is seen from the fact that the Church at large followed Stephen, not Cyprian. Better that we read Cyprian in his calm, undisturbed mood, when he preaches the absolute necessity of unity with the See of Peter: "The Church founded by Christ our Lord upon Peter, for an original and principle of unity—From whom [Peter] he

appointed and showed that unity should spring." Better with St. Augustine to assume that the breach between Cyprian and Stephen was never complete, that, later, most likely, Cyprian corrected his error. Better, with the same Augustine, to pass over "those things which in irritation he had poured out against Stephen," "remembering his martyrdom endured within the unity of the Church."

The great stream of testimony, recorded in early ecclesiastical history, tells unmistakably of Papal supremacy. Professor Briggs writes:

> "The Pope now claims the exclusive right to summon Christian Councils; but all the primitive Councils, all those recognized as valid by other Christian Churches than Rome, were summoned by the Emperor and not by the Pope: and none of them recognized the supreme legislative and judicial functions of the Popes, but exercised those functions themselves even to the extent of condemning a Pope as heretical."

This is a strong statement. If founded in history, it demolishes the Papacy. But is it not the reverse of what the history of the primitive Councils clearly teaches?

As a matter of fact, Emperors often did convoke Councils; but Emperors had no canonical or ecclesiastical right to do so. Councils convoked by Emperors looked to the Bishops of Rome for supreme guidance, deemed themselves subject to him in their deliberations, confessed that without him their acts were of no avail, and waited upon him for confirmation and ratification of the decrees they had enacted. The history of the early Councils gives evidence most indubitable in favor of Papal supremacy.

The records of the Council of Nicæa have perished. The tradition about it, however, sustains Papal authority. In the same Fourth Century, Pope Damasus and a synod of ninety bishops in Rome declared that the 318 bishops of Nicæa were directed from the City of the most holy Bishops of Rome; and a later synod of Rome, A.D. 483, states that the 318 bishops assembled in Nicæa "referred the confirmation of things and the authority to the Holy Roman Catholic Church." Osius of Cordova, in Spain, presided over the Council. His See marked out for him no special pre-eminence; it may well be presumed that his authority came to him as the delegate of Pope Sylvester. What was at the time the recognized law of the Church as to the presidency of Councils, we learn from the historian Socrates, who wrote in

Constantinople within the Fourth Century. Socrates sets aside a synod held in Antioch as having no authority because, "Julius, Bishop of the great Rome, was not there, nor had he sent a substitute, although an ecclesiastical canon commands that the Churches shall not make any ordinances against the opinion of the Bishops of Rome."

The first Council of Constantinople need not be considered; it was a local assembly, of which little is known, gaining its title of Œcumenical from the later acceptance by the Church of the creed attributed to it.

The Council of Ephesus was brought on by the heresy of Nestorius. Before the Council had been convoked, Cyril of Alexandria had reported Nestorius to Pope Celestine—"old ecclesiastical custom," he wrote, "obliging him to do so." The reply of Celestine was imperious. Cyril is to take to himself the authority of the Roman See and, unless Nestorius recant within ten days, to cut him off from the Church. The Patriarch of Alexandria promotes and executes the mandate of the Pope; the Patriarch of Antioch admits that it must be obeyed in spite of its severity. Nestorius was prejudged by the Pope; and the judgment of the Pope was accepted in the Orient. When Nestorius arrived at Ephesus the Bishop of the city, Memnon, shut its churches to him; other bishops arriving there rejected him as a reprobate. The Council being assembled, its first act was to exclude Nestorius from its sessions and to deprive him of episcopal dignity—"We being necessarily impelled thereto by the canons and the letter of the Most Holy Father and colleague, Celestine, Bishop of the Roman Church." Cyril, to whom previously Celestine had remitted the whole case of Nestorius, presided. The further acts of the Council are reported in a long letter to the Pope. Celestine having meanwhile died, his successor Xystus confirmed the Council.

Next was the heresy of Eutyches. A Council is held at Ephesus. The Pope sent thither a letter called "The Tome" defining the faith. The "Tome" was not read; Eutyches was absolved. Leo declared the Council null and void, and it passed into history as "The Robber Council." Later Leo deposed the Patriarch of Constantinople, and excommunicated those who at Ephesus had upheld Eutyches. Among those excommunicated were the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem and most of the princi-

pal Metropolitans of the East. The Council of Chalcedon followed. The Legate of the Pope presided. The declaration of the Council as to the presidency is most significant—the "acts" stating that Leo, as Head, held through his Legates "the hegemony," the delegates of the Emperor having "the presidency of honor." At the very beginning, the Legate Baschasinus announced that he had an order "from the Bishop of Rome, who is the head of all the Churches," "that Discorus, Patriarch of Alexandria, should not take part in the Council." Discorus was obliged to sit as an accused. When Leo's "Tome" was read, the bishops cried: "This is the faith of the Fathers. It is Peter who has spoken thus to Leo." Finally the Council asked from the Pope the confirmation of its acts.

The Second Council of Constantinople was not considered valid by Emperor or by Bishops, until Pope Vigilius had confirmed it.

The Third Council of Constantinople, in condemning the Monothelite errors, condemned, also, the Pope to whom Professor Briggs makes allusion, Honorius. To judge what at the time of this Council was thought in the Orient of the authority of the Bishop of Rome, we may recall the words of a contemporary, St. Maximus, a monk of Constantinople, who has always been regarded as a great saint, and one of the most noted of Byzantine writers. Speaking of Pyrrhus, the Metropolitan of Constantinople, the arch-heretic, Maximus says:

> "For we speak in vain—who do not satisfy and implore the blessed Pope of the Romans, that is, the Apostolic See, which from the Incarnate Word, and also from all the holy synods, has received universal and supreme dominion, authority and power of binding and loosing over all the holy Churches of God in the whole world."

To the Third Council of Constantinople, Pope Agatho sent a dogmatic letter, which it "faithfully accepted," adding, however, the name of Honorius to the list of condemned heretics. In their letter to the Emperor, the Bishops wrote: "The ancient city of Rome offered to you a divinely written confession. . . . By Agatho, Peter spoke." The Legate of the Pope presided. At the conclusion, the Bishops wrote to the Pope, "occupying the first See of the Universal Church," and begged him to confirm their decisions, which the successor of Agatho, Leo II, duly ratified, changing, however, the wording so far as it referred to Honorius

—thereby giving proof of his supreme authority. Instead of simply leaving the name of Honorius on the list of condemned heretics, where the Council had put it, Leo wrote to the Emperor:

"We anathematize . . . and, also, Honorius, who did not illumine this Apostolic See with the doctrine of the Apostolic tradition, but permitted the immaculate to be stained by impious faithlessness."

The condemnation of Honorius offers no contradiction to Papal supremacy. Papal supremacy bears upon official and *ex-cathedra* acts; the condemnation of Honorius had reference to a private letter, devoid of *ex-cathedra* features. His fault had been purely personal—one of neglect of duty. Instead of writing a private letter, vague and uncertain in tone, he should have sent to the Orient a clear-cut, definite condemnation of the rising heresy.

Neither Scripture nor ecclesiastical history affords evidence of limitations put upon Papal supremacy by rights or privileges of others. Throughout, the Papacy remains a plenary and complete Monarchy—in the words of St. Maximus, "the universal and supreme dominion, authority and power of binding and loosing over all the holy churches of God in the whole world." The supremacy of the Papacy, such as is to-day claimed for it, is that which Scripture and history allow.

The Bishop of Rome being the Supreme visible Head of the Church, it follows that he is the centre of Catholic unity, that union with him is the condition and the token of membership in the visible body of the Church.

Professor Briggs returns to the theory of the "three constituents necessary to complete unity"—"the Pope, the ministry and the people"—this time laying special emphasis on the "people." He says:

"But a society, whether Christian or otherwise, is something more than the physical organism of the human body. Such a society, as history and experience show, may exist without an executive, or even without a ministerial body. The only thing that is absolutely essential is the people that constitute its membership. They may combine in themselves all the functions of government, except so far as they may delegate these to temporary representatives. For a social organism the head is the least important of the three: the head and the ministry will perish without the people, but the society may live on without them if such a necessity should arise."

The Professor will permit me to say that this paragraph reveals his radical error in the estimate of the conditions of Cath-

olic unity; the Church is put on a level with civil society. All that the Professor says of civil society is true. There, the power of governing, primarily delegated by the Creator to the people, is, in turn, delegated by the people to the chosen executive; the only thing absolutely essential in civil society is the people. Far different, however, is the case when the Society of Christ, the Church, is brought into question. Here, authority is delegated directly and immediately to the Head—to Peter. The Head is the Chief, the essential thing in the Church. As the Head appointed by Christ is to have enduring life and do enduring work, it will never be deprived of other social constituents, ministers and people. But so many of the ministers or of the people as choose to separate themselves from the Head no longer belong to the Church; they are in schism; they are outside the fold; the divine command is that, singly and severally, they return at once to unity, by proffering their allegiance to Peter—"That all may be one as the Father and I are one."

It is true, as the Professor remarks, that all baptized persons are in a manner members of the Church, subject to its jurisdiction; but only are they such in the sense that rebels and schismatics are members of the society from which they are cut off. It is true, also, that, in certain Churches separated from Rome, bishops and priests are recognized as having valid orders; but, they, too, are rebels and schismatics—outside the fold, under obligation to return to unity. Of course, when I speak of members of separated Churches as rebels and schismatics, and repeat to them the obligation incumbent upon them to return to unity, I speak of matters as they exist "*in foro externo.*" As to the responsibility of each one "*in foro interno,*" I do not decide; of the inner conscience God alone is the judge.

An authoritative declaration from Rome, in 1865, bearing upon the so-called "Branch Theory," deserves to be quoted:

1 "The unity of the Church is absolute and indivisible; the Church has never lost, nor for so much as a moment of time can it ever lose, its unity.

2 "The Church of Christ is indefectible, not only in duration, but in doctrine; in other words, it is infallible, through divine endowment.

3 "The primacy of the visible head of the Church is of a divine institution, and was ordained to generate and preserve unity both of faith and of communion, that is, unity internal and external, of which the See of Peter is the centre and the bond.

4 "Therefore, the Catholic and Roman Church alone has received the name of Catholic.

5 "Whosoever is separated from the one and only Catholic Church, howsoever well he may believe himself to live, by the one sin of separation from the unity of Christ is in the state of wrath."

In this declaration there is no new doctrine, no departure from the teachings and the canons of the early ages of the Christian history. Then, as to-day, visible unity was declared to be an essential attribute of the Church, and the condition of unity was communion with the Head, the successor of Peter. He who was not with Peter, whether layman, priest or bishop, was in schism; the Bishop not in communion with Peter, were he the occupant of the highest Patriarchal or Metropolitan See, as Nestorius of Constantinople, or Dioscorus of Alexandria, was not allowed to sit in Council. Communion with Rome was, always and ever, the condition of unity, the condition of membership in the Church of Christ.

Cardinal Newman ("Apologia," ch. 3) relates his own experience. He had given his heart to the "*Via Media*" theory: the fact of the Monophysite heresy brought him a rude shock. He writes:

"My stronghold was antiquity: now here in the middle of the Fifth Century, I found, as it seemed to me, Christendom of the Sixteenth and the Nineteenth Centuries reflected. I saw my face in the mirror, and I was a Monophysite. The Church of the '*Via Media*' was in the position of the Oriental communions. Of all passages of history, since history has been, who would have thought of going to the sayings and doings of old Eutyches, and to the enormities of the unprincipled Dioscorus, in order to be converted to Rome! . . . It was difficult to make out how the Eutychians, or Monophysites, were heretics, unless Protestants and Anglicans were heretics also; difficult to find argument against the Tridentine Fathers, which did not tell against the Fathers of Chalcedon; difficult to condemn the Popes of the Sixteenth Century, without condemning the Popes of the Fifth."

The Bishop of Rome is the Monarch of the Church, the centre of Christian unity. I have indicated in what sense his authority may be said to be limited—limited by the divine teaching of the Scripture, the unanimous consent of the Christian Fathers, the divine order established in the Church, the dogmatic decrees of Councils and previous Pontiffs;—limited, also, by the natural law of justice and equity. But, it may be objected, if the Pope is the Monarch, the final Arbiter, may he not, in fact, if not by

right, alter the meaning of Scripture and of Tradition, override decrees of Councils and of predecessors? Whence safety and protection? My answer is, Take faith from the history of the Church and of the Papacy; take faith from the promises of Christ to the Church and to Peter. When we deal with the Church, we have before us the supernatural, the infallible; we have before us an institution with which Christ abides, even unto the end of time. This we must ever keep in mind, under the penalty of misreading or misjudging Church and Papacy, of being forced into suspicions and hypotheses, justifiable where all is human, altogether out of place where the divine mingles with and controls the human.

The infallible does not cover the human part in the life and the ministrations of Church and Papacy; here alterations are possible; here reforms may be needed. How are reforms to be effected? The Professor writes:

> "This is a question which would be answered differently by different natures at different times. Among the Reformers of the Sixteenth Century, Luther and Melanchthon, Zwingli and Calvin, Cranmer and Knox answered it, under the constraint of adverse circumstances, by reformation outside the Roman Church; Erasmus, Sir Thomas More, Staupitz, Gropper and others, under more favorable circumstances, by reformation within the Church."

Erasmus and More were in the right; Luther and Melanchthon were in the wrong. No one, under whatever pretext, has the right to destroy the unity of the Church, to rend asunder the seamless robe of Christ. Nothing excuses schism. Writing against Novation, whose sin was schism, St. Cyprian says: "Whoever he is, and whatever qualifications he possesses, he is not a Christian who is not in the Church of Christ." Within the fold—there let the contention be, if reason there is for contention; there be counsel given and remonstrance made, beneath the banner of authority, side by side with the leader and commander. Schism—never!

The Reunion of Christendom! It is the prayer, the hope, of all who love Christ and put faith in His mission. But that reunion may become a reality, a centre must be chosen towards which the divided elements may be drawn, around which they may coalesce in enduring unity. What other centre should be thought of, but the one which Christ Himself did provide, which alone possesses

the innate power to attract and to hold, which alone has for itself the testimony of Scripture and of history?

How great the need of the Papacy in the Christian world is evidenced to-day as, perhaps, never before during its history. Outside the Fold over which the Papacy presides, there are people, there are ministers; but what of the sacred truths, the teaching of which is so imperiously commanded by the Lord—"Teaching all things, whatsoever I have commanded you"? Adolph Harnack speaks for a large section of Protestantism when he reduces Christianity to the "Fatherhood of God." Where something more of the olden doctrines yet remains, how timid often and uncertain is the voice of him who proclaims them! And when, here and there, the earnest and sincere echoes of a conservative pulpit still recall the Incarnation, the Virginal Birth of Christ, the Redemption, the Resurrection, a cruel denial is heard near by, going forth from neighboring pulpits within the same religious communion. The mockery of Christian faith is the boast of so many Churches, separated from Rome, that theirs is a latitudinarianism which cloaks all beliefs and all denials. Nor is there remedy within reach. There is no authority—from the very principles of Protestantism there can be none—to which all must listen, which all must obey. The "Reformation" of the Sixteenth Century refused to hold to the "rock," upon which Christ had built; abandoning it, they built on the sand, and the edifice they raised has crumbled into ruins.

How little time it would take, even within the Roman Fold, to hurl into a similar chaos "people and ministry" were the Papacy to cease or to suspend its teachings, is made evident by the recent rise, even there, of those errors against the faith, which the Encyclical of Modernism in religion has so severely rebuked. The Roman communion is saved from the dogmatic chaos in which Protestant churches are so hopelessly engulfed, because in it the Papacy reigns and teaches.

JOHN IRELAND.

WHEN DIPLOMACY FAILS.

BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLIAM H. CARTER, U.S.A.

NATIONS play unceasingly at diplomacy, but the grim clouds of war loom constantly in the not distant background. Civilization advances by leaps and bounds, but its progress lies often along rough and battle-scarred roads. The wise men of a day and generation, drawing general conclusions from isolated examples, found schools of philosophy whose arguments are rudely shattered by the proofs of experience. The most altruistic conceptions of public virtue are jarred unceremoniously by the frequent appearance of weak links in the human chain, and potent and unalterable principles remain to tease those who mistake all modern ideas for progress.

The fathers who builded our constitutional form of government word by word, and line by line, based upon the history of all previous efforts, may have left much to be desired from the modern point of view; but certain inalienable principles, then as now, admit of no academic argument and remain firm in the face of all subsequent experience. Among these principles are those which acknowledge the necessity of military preparation and of making provision for the common defence, when diplomacy has failed.

Geneva and The Hague may not have fulfilled the dreams of advanced advocates of disarmament and perpetual peace, but such conferences and tribunals have not been in vain. The rapid development of lines of communication and commerce, by land and sea, has carried in its wake an absolute necessity for arbitration of minor grievances.

The opinion of the vast majority of American citizens, as expressed by the votes of their representatives, favors a large navy. We have no commercial marine to protect, for one may

sail around the world, on the usual routes of travel, without encountering a single American vessel. If it were merely to defend our coasts from attack, that could be safely guaranteed by multiplying the splendid system of submarine and land coast defences. Continued and enthusiastic support of the present naval policy arises from the general belief that the rapidly growing and magnificent fleet of battle-ships and cruisers is the greatest guarantee of peace, maintained with honor. It is easy for a nation to profess high-mindedness; but, in the eternal warfare for commercial supremacy, it is much easier to be good if the consequences of an opposite course are to be feared.

The necessity for the present enormous naval expenditures is one of the results of long and persistent neglect. The condition to which a similar neglect has brought the land forces of the nation is not generally understood; yet, as a matter of fact, a radical change from the constitutional methods of providing against invasion and insurrection has become necessary.

Although the framers of the Constitution were quite agreed that every able-bodied male inhabitant owed his services to the country in its hour of need, yet the utter futility of depending upon hastily summoned militia was the constant and unvaried experience of each trial of that method. This uniform result brought into existence that magnificent type of soldier, the American Volunteer, in all the wars of the last century; and, while his presence in future wars is assumed, it is not provided for in the complete way which should characterize the preparation of a great people for national defence.

Americans are prone to elect their representatives and then leave to their determination all questions except those of local interest. Generally speaking, this is the course of wisdom and accords strictly with the theory of government in a republic; but, in some cases, a wholesome public opinion should openly avow the support of constituents. There are no questions which arouse timidity in the average public man so much as those which affect the army. Many able men have gone down in defeat by giving opponents the opportunity to rant about the threatened liberties of the people. It takes something more than an approving conscience to withstand the misrepresentation and imputation of unworthy motives which so often characterize heated political campaigns. The extravagance which has characterized

all past wars, the recognized advantages of preparation and a proper regard for the general welfare, all unite strongly to suggest the propriety of lifting questions concerning the military and naval establishments above the plane of partisan debate. Public opinion has aided materially in doing this for the navy; but all proposals for increasing the efficiency of the military establishment have not only to run the gauntlet of ancient and well-worn arguments, but must run the additional risk of sacrifice because of the inability of any one, without Divine inspiration, to announce a date when American troops shall evacuate all the various islands now garrisoned by the army.

American pluck and luck have carried the nation through several conflicts and always with the same result, an immediate tightening of the purse-strings regarding all expenditures for military preparation. That this unwise policy has met with approval in the past cannot be denied, because there has never been a serious public opinion against it. It is a question whether the existing apathy would not disappear if the public once became aware of the real situation.

It is a wise business safeguard to take account of stock occasionally, and examine into current methods to determine if an establishment is on a proper basis as compared with competitors. These same principles apply forcefully to military preparation.

It is a fact, too obvious to require argument, that nearly every proposition looking to the inauguration of a military peace establishment capable of rapid expansion to meet the early emergencies of war, that has been submitted to Congress, has been based on the supposition of what would probably obtain favorable action of Congress, rather than on the conviction of what was really necessary. It is a common belief that any department of the government service can secure legislation needed to improve its efficiency whenever the matter at issue is presented to Congress without disagreement and contention among those who are engaged in the national service in that department. Herein lies the serious difficulty of preparing the nation in peace for the duties of war. A study of past efforts at legislation to that end must produce the conviction, in any unprejudiced citizen, not only that the conceptions of what is desirable are widely divergent in the Army and National Guard, but that, even within

the Army, opinion is naturally colored by the interests of particular corps or branches of the service, and not infrequently by personal interests.

After nearly a hundred years of effort, the rehabilitation of the militia laws was secured from Congress, but it took the shape of a jumble of compromises unsatisfactory as a whole to any of those who had long contended for revision. The main object of the new law, which was approved January 21st, 1903, was to recognize the active military organizations, or National Guard, of the States, and to encourage them with appropriations sufficient to render them immediately effective upon a declaration of war.

One section of the act as originally drawn embodied a principle which the War Department authorities were especially anxious to recognize as a part of the military system. That section provided for the organization in peace of a body of volunteers composed of men with previous experience in the Regular Army and the National Guard, to be officered by men holding appointments from the General Government instead of from the Governors of States. The act, as finally passed, was so emasculated that, while provision was made for the officers, all reference to the *men* who should compose the organizations was stricken out. The opposition was from two sources—from those members of the State troops who believed that a proper recognition of their organization would be imperilled by the organization of Veteran Volunteers, and from public men who did not wish any departure from the practice of having all volunteers State organizations, with officers appointed by the Governors.

The question which seriously concerns the American public is not whether this or that paragraph of any law is defective, but, in general, whether the Army and the organized Militia can be depended upon to meet the first requirements of sudden war. To solve this question properly requires the consideration of more details than can be discussed here; but a general statement of conditions may make the situation comprehensible.

More than half a century ago, facetious writers had made the muster days of the old-time militia a subject of constant jest, for the militia called out in nearly all our early wars seldom did honor to itself or to the country. War is an expensive school, both in national treasure and national prestige, and that potent

fact has caused unceasing efforts toward the development and legal recognition of the National Guard of the several States.

It was strange, indeed, that some of the sticklers for the letter of the Constitution had not long ago questioned the course of some of the States which had organized divisions and brigades of troops, with staff establishments and naval contingents. The opportunity for political advantage from this source has now passed, for the existing law recognizes the National Guard as the Organized Militia, in contradistinction to the militia provided by the Constitution. This action was due to the National Guard, which comprises many old organizations with excellent service records, and whose modern work takes them out of the "militia" class, which is composed of all able-bodied citizens between the ages of eighteen and forty-five.

It is not intended to discuss the efficiency, either as to numbers or training, of any State organizations, but to consider from a broad view-point whether the existing laws will furnish a weapon which may be depended upon or merely a broken reed, when the moment shall have arrived for the diplomats to make their departing bow and for battle-ships and armies to enter upon the stage.

While certain principles of the art of war remain unchanged from generation to generation, the material used by modern armies has become extremely complicated, so that we require many highly trained technical corps, in order that we may not lose any of the advantage which may be derived from the scientific application of modern inventions to the complex machinery of a great army.

Modern wars do not allow much time for preparation before the first blow is struck, and it is the first battle which counts most when the appeal to arms has been made. The prestige of a proud nation may be sadly lowered by lack of foresight and preparedness, and patriotism and material interest alike suggest the propriety of giving the highest moral support to those who undertake to fit the nation in time of peace for the shocking realities of war.

In considering the subject of military preparedness in America, everything has to be worked out as an original proposition. Great Britain is the only country with which any comparison of results may be made, because in that country, as in our own,

military service is voluntary. American observers of European manœuvres are apt to forget that the arrival of the annual drafts of recruits, available for instruction in large groups on the stroke of the clock, involves a vastly different proposition from that which is presented by the interrupted and uncertain flow of individual enlistments in England and America.

The theory on which the strength of the Regular Army has always been fixed in America is that the smallest possible force, consistent with the actual requirements of immediate necessities, shall be maintained in the highest state of efficiency. So far as their efficiency and fighting capacity are concerned, the regular troops have always justified their being; but in the effort of Congress to fix the lowest possible peace strength, the limit of safety has been passed many times.

The existing organization of the Regular Army is far below the actual needs of the nation, but it was all that could be obtained six years ago when the Philippine or Colonial policy was an acute political factor. Disregarding the Coast Artillery, the strength of whose organizations depends upon the number of guns authorized for permanent harbor defence, it is found that there are fifteen regiments of cavalry, thirty regiments of infantry and six recently authorized regiments of field-artillery, of which some of the batteries are still in process of organization. Of the forty-five cavalry and infantry regiments, six of the former and fifteen of the latter are serving overseas at island stations.

At the present time, enlistments in the Regular Army are limited to three years, so that it is necessary to relieve the regiments in the distant Philippines every two years. This is not only enormously expensive; but, owing to the fact that one-half the infantry is absent all the time and the other half is in an habitual state of reorganization and recuperation, the maximum of efficiency cannot be maintained. The cavalry furnishes less than half its numbers for service beyond the seas; but, owing to the fact that the outgoing regiments are obliged to leave behind large detachments to care for the horses during the change of stations, efficiency is seriously interfered with. So that, as a matter of fact, there are available at home stations, for insurrection or invasion, ten less regiments of infantry and one less regiment of cavalry than were considered necessary prior to 1898, when the army had been reduced to a lower strength

than it represented at any time since the Civil War. With this state of affairs it is incumbent upon thoughtful men to take account of stock and see whither the country is drifting.

The act of January 21st, 1903, divides the militia into two classes—the Organized Militia or National Guard and the "Reserve Militia." The militia is defined to "consist of every able-bodied male citizen of the respective States, Territories and the District of Columbia, and every able-bodied male of foreign birth who has declared his intention to become a citizen, who is more than eighteen and less than forty-five years of age."

Excluding for the moment all reference to the National Guard, or Organized Militia, let us consider the great body of citizens classed as available for reserve militia duty. It is inconceivable that a general call would ever be necessary for all the able-bodied men in the country whose population numbers about eighty millions of people. Since, then, there is to be no general call, who is to determine the manner of selecting those who are to compose the quota for a call demanding one, two or five hundred thousand men? For this there is no machinery provided, beyond the authority of the President to make the call for any portion of the militia which he may deem necessary to meet a particular emergency, and to subject any officer or enlisted man called forth to trial by court martial if he fails to report for muster, the court to be composed only of militia officers.

The existing and more recent law especially provides that "all persons who are exempted by the laws of the respective States or Territories shall be exempted from militia duty, without regard to age." As a matter of fact, therefore, each State may determine for itself what citizens shall share in repelling invasion, although its quota under the President's call will be apportioned according to representative population.

The law makes no distinction between the National Guard and the Reserve Militia in restricting service to a period not exceeding nine months, and for the purposes only of repelling invasion or suppressing rebellion against the authority of the United States. It is a well-recognized principle that the easiest way to prevent invasion and save an enormous distribution of force along a hostile border is to invade and seek the main army of the enemy. Isolated border combats have little influence in these days of large highly trained armies. The law states that

the militia, upon being called out, shall be mustered into the service of the United States; but it is a question for the lawyers to determine whether the new law admits of requiring the militia to serve beyond the territorial limits of the United States.

The existing law provides for arming and equipping only the Organized Militia or National Guard. The old militia of pioneer days was valuable for local emergencies mainly from the fact that every man had a rifle and knew how to use it. Modern military rifles are not found in the possession of individuals or families, so that, when the Reserve Militia is called out, it will be necessary for the General Government to arm and equip them.

Without multiplying reasons to show the defects of the reserve militia, it may be broadly stated, as a military proposition, that it is less to be relied upon than the militia of the Revolution and 1812. It is not even a broken reed—it is no reed at all, because it is absolutely untrained and without equipment or experience with firearms.

Under present conditions, the only organizations available for serious emergencies are those of the Regular Army and the National Guard or Organized Militia. These must constitute the first line, if existing laws obtain, until the provisions for raising Volunteers may be made effective.

The existing law, under which an army is provided for war purposes, was passed on April 22d, 1898, during a period of great excitement incident to a declaration of war with Spain. This law provides "that the organized and active land forces of the United States shall consist of the Army of the United States and of the Militia of the several States when called into the service of the United States." The act then defines the army, in time of war, as composed of the Regular Army and the Volunteer Army; the latter being maintained only during the existence of war or while war is imminent.

There are some well-meaning people who contend that there should be no wars and that military preparation begets a belligerent spirit. To formulate the incontrovertible but historical facts necessary to explain and disprove the specious arguments of these advocates of peace at any cost would require an expenditure of time and mental effort which might be more profitably devoted to considering facts as we find them.

The militia law of January 21st, 1903, was designed to accom-

plish, within five years from the date of approval of the act, a reorganization of the militia of the several States, Territories and the District of Columbia, so as to make it conform as far as practicable to the organization, armament and equipment of the Regular Army. To facilitate the organization, a proposed military law or code was outlined by the War Department, and suggested to the several States, with a view to its incorporation into the State codes. Although the five-year period will expire on January 21st, 1908, some of the States have not yet taken the action suggested, notwithstanding a provision of the law that, to participate in the apportionment of the annual appropriation, the organization, armament and discipline of the Organized Militia must conform to that prescribed by the Regular and Volunteer Armies of the United States. The existing law was primarily designed to secure uniformity, and Congress made liberal appropriations to enable the several States to put their organizations on an efficient basis.

After a lapse of five years, the total strength of the Organized Militia of the whole United States is 105,213, which is actually less than it was for many years preceding the passage of the act. At the recent annual inspections of the National Guard by Regular Army officers, about fifteen per cent. of the men were reported absent. Out of a total of 2,179 organizations of all kinds, 1,437 were reported as fully armed, uniformed and equipped for field service at any season of the year. The estimate made by the War Department, based on inspection reports, is that seventy-five per cent. of the members of the Organized Militia would respond to a call for troops to repel invasion. This estimate considerably exceeds the generally accepted experience in the war with Spain, when many of the National Guard organizations volunteered.

With these facts as a basis and past experience as a guide, it may be safely predicted that it will be a practical impossibility to assemble, at any one point in the United States, two completely organized Army Corps of Regulars and Organized Militia. With proper regard for the general defence, in the event of war with any first-class Power, detachments would immediately reduce the strength of these Corps, if ever assembled, below a state of fitness for offensive action.

It is hardly possible to conceive of any war in which less than

two hundred and fifty thousand men would be required at the start. All the available men of the Regular Army in the United States, and of the National Guard, would amount to but little more than one-third of that number. The outlook for any material increase in numbers and efficiency of the National Guard is not encouraging. On the contrary, the surprising part is that so many officers and men are willing to devote their time and personal means to building up creditable National Guard organizations in the face of lack of appreciation, general indifference and much actual antagonism. Some of the existing organizations are hardly worthy to be called soldiers, but many others have not only fitted themselves to answer the call of duty in emergencies, but have the framework upon which to rapidly build splendid regiments of Volunteers. This is most creditable to their enthusiasm and patriotism, but it should not prevent a recognition of the fact that the existing system and laws do not meet the needs of State or Nation.

That a remedy is needed there can be no question. The character of the remedy admits of argument; but this should not be unduly prolonged, for conditions are liable to become more acute without warning. It is believed that, with five years of experience of the existing militia law, its most ardent friends will admit that some more radical method is required to bring the organizations of all the States to a proper standard. It is not enough that a few States have well-equipped and trained regiments and even brigades.

Additional legislation is required to produce a body of troops capable of forming the first line and maintaining the prestige of the nation while a Volunteer Army is being organized. An increase of strength of the mobile force of the Regular Army is very necessary; the present force is grievously overworked and wholly inadequate for the duty now imposed upon it.

The only way in which a State can secure an absolutely representative body of troops is by universal service in the Organized Militia. A State law requiring every young man, on coming of age, to serve one year in the Organized Militia, in organizations in which the officers and non-commissioned officers are appointed and not elected, would soon justify itself to all fair-minded men for reasons not far to seek. Rich and poor alike would learn that the Organized Militia knows no class and no creed, but

stands for the majesty of the law. Lessons of patriotism, respect for flag and country and a higher regard for citizenship would be but a few of the wholesome advantages of this system, under which there should be no purchasing of substitutes. The knowledge gained by actual service would allay the suspicions, and sometimes animosities, of members of labor-unions. More liberality in supplies and armories, enhanced State pride, improvement in knowledge of firearms and an increased ability to fulfil the highest duty of a citizen of the Republic would be the natural consequences of universal State service. In no other way can the great body of citizens of the present day be made acquainted with modern arms and training, and properly fitted to fulfil their obligation, when called upon, under the provisions of the Constitution, to suppress insurrection or repel invasion.

All this could be attained, without material sacrifice of any business interests, by requiring each young man, during his first year of citizenship, to devote two evenings each week to this duty and ten days to field-instruction in camp. And it need not be all on purely military lines; but allied instruction in the duties of citizenship, in brief informal talks at the armories, would tend to weld together a homogeneous mass of intelligent thinkers and render them more capable, physically and mentally, of serving State and Nation in or out of the ranks. Such a system would prepare the coming generations for the duties of the present Reserve Militia, and those who exhibit an inclination or show special ability in such training should be encouraged to seek further service in the National Guard, which would then be composed only of instructed men or "Veterans."

There will, doubtless, be many who may think this impracticable, because States that have failed to do their duty under existing law may fail under any system of militia development. But the handwriting on the wall is clear to those who pause to read; and, if the existing system does not produce more practical results, then it will be clearly the duty of Congress to provide for the organization of a National Volunteer Reserve, of generous proportions, entirely distinct from the Organized or Reserve Militia, to be available for service within or without the territorial limits of the United States whenever war is declared or reasonably imminent.

WILLIAM H. CARTER.

WHY MANUFACTURERS WANT TARIFF REVISION.

BY H. E. MILES, CHAIRMAN OF THE TARIFF COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS.

In a recent issue of The North American Review, a contributor observes:

"No feature of the President's policies is more widely misunderstood than his attitude on the tariff. He has long believed that the time has arrived when a revision of the Dingley Tariff Act is advisable. On a number of occasions he has summoned the leaders of his party and sought to impress on them the advisability of tariff readjustment, only to learn that the determined opposition of Speaker Cannon and his associates in the House constituted an insuperable obstacle."

The assurance of the President's interest in the subject is gratifying to that great body of Americans who feel that the time has come when tariff revision is as inevitable as it is desirable. It is this conviction which has brought into existence the Tariff Committee of the National Association of Manufacturers.

It is undeniable, however, that, keen as is the interest in their investigations and propaganda, understanding of and sympathy with their aims have been far from universal. This partial misunderstanding has arisen, probably, from the apprehension that what the Committee is working for is tariff revision, without much reference to the sort of revision. This is very far from being the case; indeed, it is diametrically opposed to the ideas and ambitions of this Committee.

It may be of interest to those who are thinking *pro* and *con* upon this subject to know that we stand firmly opposed to such tariff revision as the country is inevitably going to have if the general interest is not at once safeguarded by sincere protectionists. It is as protectionists that we are working. What we

desire—what we feel confident that we shall eventually obtain—is *right* revision. We wish to record ourselves as being protectionists of the old order, standing true to the original principles of that party of which we are the lineal and loyal descendants. As such, we wish to see American industries protected; but we maintain that the present tariff does not "protect," but that it prohibits and defrauds.

We make small objection to the three hundred million dollars of tariff revenue that went last year into the Government Treasury, but we make very great objection to the five hundred million dollars or more that went into the pockets of the favored few, who collected the revenue for their personal and private gain, with the connivance and approval of Congress, on products made within the country. We are protectionists—believing, however, that excessive and ill-considered protection breeds irresponsibility and inculcates commercial immorality.

Much importance is attached to the "principle" of a protective tariff. We stand for principle, definitely, persistently and consistently. What, indeed, is the fundamental tariff principle? On what is it based? Why, for example, is the tariff on steel bars $10.00 per ton? Why is it not $100.00 or $1.00? Is there any inherent "principle" involved? If so, of what does it consist?

A leading member of the National Association of Manufacturers once said, in reply to my question as to what constituted the underlying principle in the making of tariff schedules, that he was not aware that any such thing as "principle" existed in connection with the tariff. "Tariff," he said, "is determined by the resistance of factions."

The one underlying principle which alone justifies protection is that the schedule shall be such as, all things considered, amply covers the difference between the cost of production in this country and the cost of production abroad, thereby maintaining our high wage scale and standard of living. President Roosevelt and Secretary Taft have so stated it. We know of no other. Has this principle ever been applied, practically, by the so-called tariff legislators in Washington? Nowhere that we can find. On the other hand, there is indubitable proof that most schedules are made in utter disregard of any such principle, and that they have no reference to the difference in cost, however liberally fig-

ured. In many cases they increase this difference between the cost of manufacture at home and that abroad from five to a thousand times. This is according to the statements of the manufacturers themselves.

It is all very well to imagine that to be a Stand-patter is to wear the uniform of loyalty. The little colloquial name appears to imply an inherent fealty. But to what does the wearer of this appellation stand pat? If it is to a concealment of the truth, to commercial chicanery, to legitimate ignorance and perversity, is it a thing to bring credit to himself or to his party? Those stand-pat Congressmen who stood pat for bad meat, for opium in the soothing-syrup and for license for the railroads, may stand pat for the Dingley Tariff; but the Republican who wishes to honor his party and justify himself to his conscience will not do so. A great Republican said not long since that his party could be hurt only by a suppression of the truth, and that "the political leaders who rely wholly upon past greatness, and who try to postpone the consideration of present problems, will deservedly meet defeat at the hands of the American people."

Now, the Committee under discussion has two firmly fixed ambitions: first, to face the great problem of the tariff and save a principle by the consistent use and not the abuse of it; and, second, to think nationally and not sectionally, and in so doing to take thought of the future as well as of the present.

WHAT ARE THE PROBLEMS OFFERED BY THE TARIFF?

They are very numerous, and it is a mistake to suppose that they are all of a material nature. To leave considerations of public morals for the present, however, let us briefly examine the problem offered by the Standard Oil. It is said that this trust, the greatest in the world, is not a creature of the tariff, but that oil is on the free list. It is true that the Dingley Bill places forty-two kinds of oil on the free list, but it provides that, if there be imported into the United States crude petroleum or the products of crude petroleum produced in any country which imposes a duty on petroleum products exported from the United States, there shall in such cases be levied a duty equal to the duty imposed by the country importing.

Now, the only country that is able to ship petroleum and its products into this country, in any considerable measure, is Rus-

sia, which levies a duty on crude petroleum and its products varying from 100 to 200 per cent. The Standard Oil Company, through one of its principal officers, sought to get protection by direct enactment. This was refused. Amenable as Congress is toward trusts and autocratic corporations, it refused to bulwark the Standard Oil with "protection"; but it contrived unostentatiously to insert this proviso, which gives the Oil Trust from three to five times what it would have been happy to get openly. The result is that Americans pay from thirty-seven to sixty per cent. per gallon more for oil than do the Europeans. Were we to try to import oil, we would find it safeguarded by a tax of 150 per cent., or thereabouts. And, meantime, we pay whatever the Standard Oil Company chooses to demand. No "principle" is apparent. There is only caprice—the caprice of a trust, which is embarrassed to know how to spend its money.

There are dozens of trusts profiting in a similar manner by means of the Dingley Tariff. The entire cost of converting beets into sugar, for instance, "including the cost of the beets and all other material used in the operation, *together with the cost of all labor involved,*" is only 46½ per cent. of the value of the sugar (Census 1900, vol. 6, part 2, 6, 495.) The average wholesale price in Europe in 1905 was 2.65 cents. In New York it was 5.26 cents, more than double. These trusts hold at a disadvantage the very people who offered them protection. They punish the generosity of their countrymen with extortion, and demand of them a price which they cannot get in any other country in the world.

To illustrate precisely what is meant, let us take the borax trust. The chief deposits of borax in the world are in California; they are the most productive and the most easily worked. The Wilson Tariff had reduced the duty on borax to two cents, and the promoters of the Dingley Bill were of a mind to let it so remain. But a Senator from Nevada was, so to speak, one of the assets of the Pacific Coast Borax Company. He appeared before the tariff-makers with a significant question. "How about borax?" he asked. "Borax?" said the compliant legislators. "Why, to be sure! How negligent of us! What can we do for borax?" The precise reply of the Senator is not known; but it is significant that American borax can be bought abroad for two and one-half cents a pound, and that in American

stores it must be purchased, at retail, at the rate of seven and one-half cents per pound.

Mr. Franklin Pierce, commenting on this, says: "Everything in a trust which is subject to censure is displayed to the best advantage by this combination—increased prices, restricted production, lower prices to foreigners than to Americans, and false and hypocritical pleas that free borax would destroy the borax industry."

I refrain from mentioning by name another very great industry covering a prime necessity of life, which is bitterly opposed to our efforts. Its output in a single State is two hundred millions of dollars. The wage cost in its factories is 25 per cent. of the value of the product. If we include the wage cost of the raw material, it is possibly 40 to 45 per cent. The tariff is from 75 to 135 per cent. Some of the mills are declaring cash dividends of 35 to 45 per cent. The duty on the poor man's requirements is decidedly in excess of that on the rich man's.

This duty, like that on the Standard Oil, is indirect and little known to the Congressmen who voted for it. A single example will illustrate. Congress acted on misinformation to the effect that there is one and one-half pounds of waste for a pound of product. The experts of the Government have determined, by such methods as a Tariff Commission would employ, that there is fifty-two one-hundredths of one pound of such waste. The tariff allows, therefore, three times the proper amount for wastage and creates an enormous discrepancy. The files of the Treasury Department are filled with similar proofs on many schedules. These proofs were made public, but disingenuous beneficiaries later succeeded in having them kept secret on the ground that publicity "would hurt our business."

The cutlery schedules present most vivid inconsistencies:

Value per doz.	Rate of duty per doz.	Per cent. [*Ad valo rem* equivalent
3*b* $1.00	$ .60 plus $ .40 or $1.00	100
c 1.25	.60 " .50 or 1.10	88
4*a* 1.50	1.20 " .60 or 1.80	120
b 2.00	1.20 " .80 or 2.00	100
c 3.00	1.20 " 1.20 or 2.40	80
5*a* 3.50	3.00 " 1.40 or 4.40	146 2/3
b 4.00	3.00 " 1.60 or 4.60	115
c 5.00	3.00 " 2.00 or 5.00	100

A single article under 4*a* costs 2 cents more than one under 3*c*, but when the duty is paid it costs 8 cents more. A single article under 5*a* costs 4 cents more than one under 4*c*, but, duty paid, it costs 20 cents more.

As will be seen from these illustrations, the duty varies all the way from 80 to 146 per cent. Without any discussion as to whether such enormously high rates of duty are justified, it is self-evident that justification cannot be produced for the irregular fluctuation of the rates, nor for the decline of duty within each class as the value of the article increases. Competent authorities assert that the articles are made in this country as advantageously as abroad, except for the wage cost, which would raise no such difference.

This method of taxation, this graft masquerading as protection, has the effect of extorting from every man and woman a sum of money which belongs by right to the purchaser. Nothing but the unprecedented prosperity of the nation has made it possible for the people to submit, without acute consciousness and extreme financial discomfiture, to this situation. Nothing but the fact of its skilful indirection has kept the people from rising in protest, and sweeping from power the representatives who have made this possible. But this excessive tax is indirect—subtly so. The duties are mysteriously incorporated in the price. The added price adds not a cent to the value, not a mill to the Government, but forever swells the total of the profits of the manufacturers.

In pleasing contrast with a few industries which are doing their utmost to continue the present schedules, and to provide that when we have another Revision it shall be equally unreasonable and unfair, is the position of the great steel manufacturers. Their schedules exceed the total wage cost, although steel is made in this country as cheaply as anywhere in the world. Their cost figures are so low as to tax the credulity of those not informed.

It is little known that the so-called Aldrich Committee, being the committee of the Senate, which worked for months in preparation of a so-called Senate Bill, declared for duties very much less than those finally adopted in the Dingley Bill, so that the best judgment, at that time, of the Senators, who are said now to be the principal upholders of the present Bill, was decidedly against the final enactment. The Senate Bill rated sugars, for instance, one and sixteen one-hundredths of one cent per pound.

The Dingley Bill rates it one and ninety-five one-hundredths of one cent per pound, or sixty-eight per cent. higher. Sugar-cane, rated in the Senate Bill at ten per cent. *ad valorem,* enjoys in the Dingley Bill twenty per cent., an increase of one hundred per cent.

I note another curious instance of tariff-making. President McKinley, then chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, in preparing the McKinley Bill, called in the head of one of the great industries of the country. Congressmen would have us think that they are all-wise on the tariff and they speak of President McKinley as wisest of all. President McKinley said, however, to this gentleman, "I really do not know anything about your schedule, and I must trust you to make it fair." After much care, schedules were submitted to Mr. McKinley and by him recommended to the Ways and Means Committee. The manufacturers put upon the Free List certain products which they were selling to good advantage in Germany and Belgium, the home of foreign competition; but when the Bill was passed, these goods appeared at 60 per cent. *ad valorem,* and the rest of the schedules were so distorted and unreasonable that this gentleman, who has stood at the head of his industry for many years, said that he was never able, and is not able now, to know what rates will be applied on many of the articles.

Upon his elevation to the Presidency, Mr. McKinley said, "Reciprocity Tariff Treaties will be the feature of my administration, and I am confident of success." He was greatly disappointed when the tariff lobby and subservient Congressmen prevented him, the greatest of protectionists, from becoming the greatest of honest and right revisionists.

Our country owes to Secretary of State Root a greater debt than it knows. A most unhappy chapter will some time be written disclosing the utter unfairness with which our customs laws have been applied, the rulings of courts disregarded and foreigners treated otherwise than with that civility and respect which obtains generally among people. Probably nowhere in this country is the utter insincerity, unfairness and incivility of our people in tariff matters so well understood as in the German Consulate in New York. Our people have no conception of the situation. It is a wonder that the foreigner, who finds us personally acceptable, but finds us nationally so uncivil and unreasonable, endures it as

well as he does. The reason is mostly in his knowledge that "we know not what we do."

This German Consulate costs Germany as much as does our entire Bureau of Manufactures in Washington. It undoubtedly knows the European and American cost of every manufactured article we consume; and, if it would open its books to the Ways and Means Committee, that committee would learn more in an afternoon than it will learn in a lifetime, except by the method we now advocate.

Secretary Root's action in the recent German Tariff Agreement evidenced the first measure of civility and reasonableness which we have shown foreign nations in decades. Some of the concessions were concessions of right and honor only. Secretary Root was urged to make those concessions a basis of barter and counter-concession. His reply in substance was, "We do not barter in terms of honor."

Contrast with this the mouthpiece of an organization bitterly opposing any sort of tariff reform, who said, recently: "You must not blame me for the work I am doing; I am hired to do it, and I must earn my living."

We are talking against a present-day situation and speaking of it as no longer endurable. It must be noted with much emphasis that in taking this position, we do not reflect unkindly upon those who now enjoy the benefits of excessive schedules. For the most part those who enjoy the schedules are high-minded men, just as are those who suffer from the same schedules. It would be folly and bad judgment in us to reflect upon them. Every game has its rules, every profession its code, every business its methods. Our ultra-protected friends have played the game according to the rules. They have played it more successfully than others. They have done bigger things, and in some cases our nation is the better for the things they have done; but our proposition is that, as the nation grows, morally, intellectually and commercially, the rules of the game must be altered to meet the new and better conditions. Just as there may be small blame to attach to men at this time for past procedure, there is every sort of objection to be raised against the insistent and continued use of outgrown methods to the general present hurt. As a distinguished stand-pat Senator of the United States said, after a lengthy discussion of this subject, "After all, what was right

ten years ago is not right now." The honor and the manliness of those who enjoy unreasonably high schedules are evidenced delightfully at this time in the measure in which they have signified their willingness to part with their unfair advantage. American business men, after all, are as noble a type of citizen as the world produces, and nobody among them ever wishes to enjoy an unfair advantage once the disadvantage is clearly seen.

Protection is two-edged; the manufacturer must be protected and so must the consumer. This latter fact has been largely overlooked. Combination, in replacing competition, has taken protection away from the consumer. What was right ten years ago is not right to-day. There must be great exactness and care in the making of schedules, that the protection recently taken from the consumer may be again restored.

Briefly and inadequately, this is a statement of the problem of those who would see a sane, honest and sincere tariff revision.

Now as to the method by which they would have this revision made, and the manner in which they would have the interests of American producers and American purchasers safeguarded for the future.

We want a Commission—a perpetual, hard-working Tariff Commission—which will take its honorable place beside the Anthracite Coal Commission and the Interstate Commerce Commission. We are aware of the fact that, under our Constitution, such a Commission can have no power to make schedules (or possibly only slight delegated power, within carefully determined limits), but it should be so authoritative, so well equipped, so fair that, by the very force of its character, it will command the respect of Congress. It will present the facts, and when Congress is once really in possession of the facts, it will act in accordance with them. This Tariff Commission should be as able, as disinterested, as patriotic as wise selection of its members can make it. It should have absolute power to obtain the truth concerning all protected industries. That is to say, it should be empowered to make its findings upon the books of these industries. It would take into consideration the cost of production of a given article, estimate the difference in wages and the variations in standards of living between America and European or Asiatic countries, then sustain a tax for protection when it is needed, but regulate by facts and not by fairy-tales. It would work with the truth

and not with monopolistic fictions. It would take the place of the cutlery manufacturer in Ohio who himself wrote the cutlery schedule; of the little clique of cotton manufacturers in New England who themselves wrote the cotton schedules; of the Congressman who "represents" only the steel interests and absolutely determines the steel schedules; and of all the grafting interests which, each for itself, through the subserviency of Congress, has fastened its own special tax upon an uninformed public. Not the desires of these interests only, but the facts and truth will then determine, and there must and will be that sane and judicial procedure which controls in the other great affairs of business, and is best seen in the procedure of our courts.

We cannot have this Tariff Commission too soon. We cannot see that revision of the tariff is in any way a matter of the calendar. It is never too soon to bring honesty out of dishonesty —never too soon to prevent the misappropriation of money, to check extravagance, or to substitute a fair for an unfair system. Politicians of both parties promise revision in 1909, after the coming Presidential election. By no possibility can that revision be honest and wise, unless a Tariff Commission of the highest character and competency is established in the coming session of Congress.

It took the German Commission five years to revise successfully and scientifically the German Tariff. Each and every interest was considered, each balanced against the others, and all was done with but a minimum of delay. It provided for reciprocal, with maximum and minimum, rates. And, under the provisions of that tariff, Germany made twelve-year Trade Agreements with foreign nations of the greatest consequence to her people, and has made herself at home in every country on the globe, and easily first in the development of world markets. Let us have a Commission composed of men who will approach our tariff problem in the same spirit, realizing that they have to deal with a great economic science, and that back of the abstract science lie the men who will be affected by their acts.

Eventually, every question resolves itself into one of men. It is men whom the statesman must consider—not only the men with whom he is acquainted, but countless thousands whom he will never see. He has not only to consider how his acts will affect the material status of man, but what influence it will have upon

his morals. There is no question but that the cryptic character of our tariff has had a corrupting influence. Incomes such as those enjoyed by many of our tariff-fed trusts cannot be "negotiated" by straightforward means. They are in part the result of a trick—and the trick is played on the people. Many of the people are aware of this, and, as time passes, and their great efforts, their unending industry, produce no results to be compared even very remotely with those of the victorious trusts, they, too, begin to long to be the beneficiaries of some trick. Virtue, so far as they can discover, receives no reward. A sort of contempt attaches to it, indeed; and it follows, almost inevitably, that the honest man comes to look upon his own rectitude as if it were a sort of weakness. He wonders how he can fool the people, what hocus-pocus he can devise that will bring into his pocket a miraculous stream of unearned dollars.

"Our country will never go down in the momentous sweep of battle," says one who has at heart the welfare of this nation, "but it will as surely die from corruption as the moral law pervades the universe, if these conditions continue to exist. In the midst of the whirlwind, now, as in the olden days, is the voice of God; the great soul of the universe is just."

Well, Congress is a part of the universe—and it has a core of justice in it, too. Perhaps it is even a very large and fruitful core, and it may be that, when it understands, it will act upon understanding.

Let us have a Tariff Commission without favor and without fear; a Commission empowered to examine in detail every trust and industry asking for a protective tariff; a Commission which will not seek to confound but to enlighten; a Commission capable of considering national and international needs and ethics. It must, above all, be a Commission that will be able to meet ever-changing conditions. Until a few years ago, our increasing population found an outlet to the West, with land for the asking. The last acre has been taken up, and the sons of those farmers who found free land, and with it made homes and fortunes, lack the opportunities which their fathers enjoyed.

We must make room within our borders for twenty-five million more people, with no more cheap land; and then for another twenty-five million, and then another. We must become an industrial beehive, incomparable in our achievement, and the

highest ability the nation possesses must be brought to bear upon questions of international trade. The world is our field, in common with other nations. We must possess our share of it.

Let us, therefore, have fair and just reciprocity, moderate and honest protection, genuine and equalizing revision. Moreover, let this revision be made by honest and competent friends of protection, who can be counted upon to safeguard the financial interests of the country—those who require protection and depend upon it, who will ask for what they ought to have, and get it; and confess to what they ought not to have and relinquish it.

Great bankers agree that the half-billion dollars of graft added wilfully to tariff schedules and taken from pockets of the consumers by the few ultra-protected interests is a great strain upon our financial system. The few who get this graft use it in speculation, in the control of vast financial institutions, in the building of princely cities and lavish display. On the whole, they use it wisely, but things will be a thousand times better when these hundreds of millions of dollars are left in the pockets of the consumers to be used by them in the lesser and necessary expenditures of life. The total graft in the Dingley Tariff in the ten years of its existence has amounted to not less than five billion dollars, or one-half the total value of all the railroads in the United States, less their bonded indebtedness. It is a drain upon the many that only a marvellous prosperity has enabled them to endure.

The establishment of a Tariff Commission at the coming session of Congress would take the tariff out of politics, preclude any possible unfavorable agitation, permit us to go about our affairs in the usual manner, and, when at last Revision does come, instead of the "monkeying" and "tinkering" of the past, it will be wholly sane and fair.

H. E. Miles.

A NOTE ON SINN FEIN IN IRELAND.

BY T. M. KETTLE, M.P.

THERE are certain misinterpretations of large events to correct which it would be necessary to call up in review the entire history of the world; no briefer prologue seems capable of restoring proportion and perspective. One felt this, with unpleasant acuteness, on reading Mr. Seumas MacManus's account of Sinn Fein in a recent issue of this REVIEW.* The impression which he gave of the Irish situation is so remote from pedestrian reality, so untrue in both line and atmosphere, and so thoroughly misleading that some attempt should be made to correct it. It must be understood in advance that I write as a member of the Irish Parliamentary Party. This body, according to Mr. McManus, has spent the thirty-five years of its existence in "committing a great crime against the Irish nation." During that time, it has not "wrung from Britain as much of a concession as would pay deck-fare between Kingstown and Holyhead." And at this moment it is "rapidly dissolving" under the criticism of "young Ireland." Further, it is much to be feared that the moral aspirations of Parliamentarianism are of a somewhat more subdued character than those which burn in the breast of Mr. MacManus. The rose-flush of innocence and idealism in his thought—and this is a general trait of literary Sinn Fein—reminds one of nothing so much as that affinity of Goethe's who "carried her nose with as divine a tilt as if there never had been a sin committed in the world." We, Parliamentarians, lay no claim to virtue of that pure radiance. We have the pretension to be realists. We conduct ourselves like men of this world; accept the limitations of our work; recognize the sense in which it is

* "Sinn Fein: Its Genesis and Purpose." By Seumas MacManus. NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, August 16, 1907.

true that life begins only where politics ends; in short, we do our unhaloed best with the thing closest to hand. This difference of mental coloring is ingrained, and it will be found to explain many other differences. It is, indeed, the main burden of this "Note." But, before proceeding to details, some apology must be made for the polemical character of the pages that follow. A simple, positive statement would be far more pleasant, but Mr. MacManus has made that impossible. He has, as I hope to show, made his case for Sinn Fein by stealing on its behalf the achievements of every movement in modern Ireland and simply clapping his label on their goods. From our Parliamentary movement he has stolen with both hands. But there is this difference—that, in every other case, he praises while he steals, in ours alone he derides, denounces and misrepresents.

The Sinn Fein movement is a rare example of the weakness of language and the strength of literature. An inspired ambiguity of phrase, an apostolate of plagiarism, and the party was in being! "Sinn Fein," as Mr. McManus says, is the Irish for "Ourselves." In its propagandist use, it simply means "Rely on yourself alone." Now that is an appeal which contains within itself the whole of practical morals. Politics, however, is a matter not of abstract ideas but of concrete proposals. Sinn Fein as a phrase stands for a sound, if not very startling, principle of morals: Sinn Fein as a party in Ireland stands for the proposal to withdraw the Irish Members from Westminster.

The trick has been to suggest that all the recommendations derived from one sense of the words apply to the other. One cannot ask for a better illustration of this than Mr. MacManus's article. Ignoring the lines of division and departmentalization drawn in clear ink over our psychological map, he claims for his little party all modern Ireland, from the ballads to the bacon-factories. Shakespeare could not have "conveyed" with a lordlier hand; nor that Frenchman who said, "Whenever I find an idea of mine in another man's book I simply take it." The Sinn Fein Party, according to his testimony, invented the language-revival. They invented Fenianism. They invented temperance. They invented Sir Horace Plunkett and the co-operative movement. They invented Mr. T. P. Gill and the Department of Agriculture; Catholic Emancipation; forestry; idealism; anti-emigration; the Land Act of 1881, and a whole

Whitmanesque catalogue of other things. They are "regenerating Ireland not only politically, but also linguistically, industrially, educationally, morally and socially." In all this adverbial advance, the part of the Irish Parliamentary Party has been either hostility or barrenness. And the whole of the new generation, comprising the supporters of all these movements, are in favor of withdrawing the Irish Members of Parliament from Westminster. Such is the testimony of Mr. MacManus. If it were true it would be quite unanswerable, the mind being left merely to speculate on the dark perversity by which the Irish Party contrives to get itself elected. A party returned without opposition, in a country in which it has no supporters, is surely a phenomenon of a hitherto unclassified kind. Miracles of this order do not happen. In point of fact, the testimony is not true, nor reasonably near the truth. Without the least imputation on Mr. MacManus's candor, I am forced to say roundly that, all through his account, he is simply paying himself with words, and trafficking in *double entendre*. Sinn Fein, as a moral principle, may legitimately gather into its net, not merely everything now being well performed in Ireland, but every respectable achievement in the whole fabric of civilization; Sinn Fein, as a political movement, is represented by a loosely organized group, not yet numerous enough to be reckoned as even a section of Nationalist opinion. A few facts as to the verifiable strength of the group will be sufficient to establish this. The "National Council" was formed in the autumn of 1905. Mr. MacManus represents it as a synthesis of all progressive movements then going forward in Ireland, and suggests quite openly that the most eminent men in each of these movements are associated with the "Council." Nothing could be more absurd. Neither Dr. Douglas Hyde nor any of his lieutenants in the Gaelic League has any connection with the Sinn Fein group. On the other hand, their relations with the Irish Party are most friendly; we accept and press home their programme in the matter of Irish teaching in the primary schools, and their pressure combined with ours has, within the last few months, achieved a moderate success in the restoration of certain grants which had been withdrawn. There is hardly a single one of the younger Members of Parliament who is not a member of the Gaelic League: certain of them, such as Mr. Stephen Gwynn and Mr. Boland, are con-

spicuous workers in it. Any attempt to stampede the Gaelic League into the Sinn Fein camp would be so obviously insane that not even Mr. MacManus has ever proposed it. The industrial movement in its latest wave owes perhaps more to the "Leader" than to any other agency. This paper, with all its blindnesses and bludgeonings, has certainly in this regard "made good." But the "Leader" is so far from supporting Sinn Fein that it pours out on it a weekly torrent of derision. The "Irish Industrial Association," inaugurated by Mr. E. J. Riordan of Cork, is the focus of the campaign on this programme. Mr. Riordan is not a Sinn Feiner; the association is non-political; and its conferences are attended, not merely by Nationalist, but by some Unionist, Members of Parliament. The coöperative movement, in so far as, through the bland impertinences of some of its promoters, it gets any political color, inclines much more to philanthropic Toryism than to revolutionary Nationalism. In short, of all the currents of effort alleged by Mr. MacManus to have come to their confluence in the "National Council," there is not one that is not now flowing in its separate channel.

The real history of the Sinn Fein group is very different. It has been created out of the will and mind of one man, Mr. Arthur Griffith, whose strength is only less conspicuous than his narrowness. Mr. Griffith began some ten years ago as the leader of the "physical force" remnant. Whether that word "remnant" has anything of the saving Arnoldian sense I do not care to say: but Parliamentary Nationalists have always regarded them as the keepers of an ideal, the priests of a mystery, the guardians of a temple that must be conserved. Sovereign independence for Ireland, undoubtedly, makes an appeal to the imagination which is not made by Home Rule. The right of a nation to seek freedom by force of arms must be asserted, though there be no opportunity of putting it into action. Such is the inspiration behind the extremist ideal; no Irishman has ever refused his respect to it; and for that and other reasons there existed a relation of friendliness and tolerance between Mr. Griffith's group and us until the General Election of 1900. Then there was a misunderstanding. It grew less and less bridgable; and in a little while Mr. Griffith found himself committed to bitter hostility to the Parliamentary Party. He groped about for three or four years in a purely negative fashion. Parliamentarianism he had discovered

to be not only barren, but a compromise of the national dignity; but physical force was so obviously impossible that a party could not be founded upon it. You can shake off an old love in politics only by substituting a new one, and no one can work up a passion for a vacuum. Things went slackly until in 1904 he came upon Hungary, and found that the abstention of the delegates from the Imperial Council under Deak had been one of the best weapons in the struggle with Austria. Forthwith he issued a pamphlet, fervent and fascinating in tone, moving with the ordered sweep of an epic, in which he narrated the "Resurrection of Hungary" and advised Ireland to do likewise. This, in fact, is the most curious thing about the new policy. The present Sinn Fein programme demands that no idea shall be considered unless it has "originated in Ireland, and is instinct with Irish tradition." That is not the genesis of the proposal to withdraw the Irish representation from Westminster. It sprang out of a study, not of Irish, but of Hungarian, conditions, and was known for the first half of its life as the "Hungarian Policy."

The shrewder could not resist a discreet smile at propagandists who, having repatriated, as they said, the National imagination exiled by us to Westminster, forthwith proceeded to station it at Budapesth. Questions began to be asked. Was the analogy set up between the two countries real or only superficial? The deeper the inquiry was pushed, the worse it became for the "Hungarian Policy." There was another nation in Austria, which, in fighting-weight, social fabric, previous mode of agitation and so forth, seemed to present a much closer resemblance to Ireland, namely, Bohemia. Was it not a fact that Bohemia had withdrawn her Members of Parliament in 1867, found the policy fruitless and sent them back in 1879? There had been a direct army tax in Hungary, and Deak had roused his people by inducing them to strike against it, but how was such a weapon to be found in Ireland? The fiscal machinery devised by English Chancellors was much less easily dislocated, for it was enveloped in a casing of indirect taxation. So went the argument and "Hungarianism" was decidedly languishing, when somebody in a sudden gleam of genius renamed it the "Sinn Fein Policy." The simple phrase was worth ten years of organizing effort. It was a speech in itself, and a speech all the more valuable for propagandist purposes because it was soaked in fallacy. The Na-

tional Council was formed. Heresy is always more original in its utterance than orthodoxy. It is also more fervent and fertile in argument; and, thanks to these qualities, Sinn Fein is now definitely established as a subject to be talked about. The change, says Mr. MacManus, was wrought in "grim silence"; and, did one not know him to be a humorist, one could not but laugh. If there is one thing on which we are all agreed, it is the polemical fluency of Sinn Fein. It expounds itself in countless articles and letters not merely in the Irish but in the foreign press, and the only matter in dispute is whether it talks to the point or away from it.

That, then, is the actual genesis of Sinn Fein. As for its present strength, the following facts will help to an estimate. The last Annual Convention of the National Council was held in a small room over a jeweller's shop. It gathers a handful here and there in the provincial towns; whereas, at the great Home Rule Meetings, now being held throughout Ireland, the whole countryside attends, the numbers sometimes running up as high as twenty thousand. But, of course, the real test is the polling-booth. Sinn Fein has never as much as put a candidate in nomination for a Parliamentary constituency, to give the people the opportunity of saying, through the ballot-box, whether they want Members of Parliament or not, or, if they do, whether they want them to work at Westminster. There are some eighty constituencies in Ireland with a safe Nationalist majority, but to not a single one of them has the new policy been submitted. The General Election of 1906 afforded ample opportunity, and since that date there have been several bye-elections. In Kilkenny the sitting member resigned, declaring himself an adherent of Sinn Fein, but he did not contest the seat; and in this, as in every other case, a pledge-bound supporter of the Parliamentary Party was elected. There is but one Sinn Fein Member of Parliament, Mr. C. J. Dolan. Mr. Dolan was elected as a Parliamentarian, but changed over on the introduction of the Irish Council bill. He was called on by resolution of the Party, to which he had pledged himself, to submit his new departure to his constituents; he has so far failed to do this. Then there is the strange case of Sir Thomas Esmonde in Wexford. But the whole situation is summarized in a recent letter from Mr. John E. Redmond to the Waterford Corporation:

"In Kilkenny and in Wicklow Sinn Fein was not heard of in the recent elections. In South Longford . . . Sinn Fein won't show its face. In Leitrim, in open defiance of the Party Pledge, Sinn Fein in the person of Mr. Dolan has run away from the poll; and in North Wexford the only clear and definite thing which stands out from the strange and perplexing situation is that, if Sir Thomas Esmonde is a Sinn Feiner, which I take leave to doubt, he is quite determined not to submit that issue to the people of Wexford, who, it is manifest, are unanimously opposed to it, as is natural in a community noted as much for its sense as its courage."

There is, it should be said, a Sinn Fein group of eight or nine in the Dublin Corporation, and a member of a District Council here and there, elected for the most part on questions of local and not of National policy. And that is the total achievement of a party which, according to Mr. MacManus, "includes probably three-fourths of the national thinkers of Ireland." A party that conducts its campaign on paper is not likely to touch or trouble our imagination. You push the policy of withdrawal too far when you withdraw not merely from Westminster but also from the ballot-boxes of Ireland.

As to the merits of the Sinn Fein proposal something must, naturally, be said. Generally, it seems to us that the Parliamentary Party stands for realism in politics, and these assailants for ideologism. Representative institutions in any country are full of makeshifts and imperfections. Criticism has grown merry or passionate at their expense, but humanity on the whole accepts the second-best. The Sinn Fein apostle would shudder at such company; but, when he declaims against the costliness, the lack of results, the low intellectual plane of our constitutional "machine," he comes closer to the theorists of Anarchism than he would care to know. In the course of a discussion, it was asked who were the Sinn Fein leaders, and the reply came that it was essentially a movement without leaders. A certain temperament enlisted on our side feels very acutely this atmosphere of disintegration. Some of us fear that Sinn Fein is less a revolt against English rule, than a revolt against the limitation of life in general. What man of average experience will lend himself to the delusion, fat already with so much blood of sacrifice, that Utopia can be brought down into the streets by a simple change of political tactics? But these are, perhaps, mere "metaphysical" considerations. Coming down to the strictly political plane, people

ask: What is the aim of Sinn Fein? The ideal of all Irish Nationalists is in essence the same, an autonomous Ireland. It is only when we come to the form in which that ideal is to be expressed, or the methods by which it is to be attained, that differences begin. Now, Home Rule is, as a form, a clear idea understood by all the world. What is the political form aimed at in contrast by Sinn Fein? The answer is Babel. An independent Republic; an independent Monarchy; an Austro-Hungarian Union; Grattan's Parliament, and a whole medley of vaguer notions. One is driven to think that the Dublin lady who, mistaking the Irish for French, called it the "*Sans Fin*" policy, the policy without end, spoke with a wisdom deeper than her own. Then, as to its methods: what is difficult to discover is any reality at all behind any of its little patents. I have shown how it runs away from the opportunity of putting its leading scheme of abstention from Westminster to the practical test of the ballot-box. Let us glance at some of its other plans. It derides us for not preventing the over-taxation of Ireland; but none of its supporters has, by refusal to pay taxes, succeeded in reducing the revenue of England by a bare penny. When a group of Parliamentarians, who are organizing for next year a strike against Income Tax, invited the help of Sinn Fein, Mr. John Sweetman, a grazier-capitalist who stands high in their councils, replied that, if he refused to pay the tax, the sheriff would sell his furniture. Revolutionary passion, mitigated by attachment to one's furniture, is not likely to cause England much loss of sleep. A cynical observer could push this contrast between programme and action to the last limit of ridicule. Mr. MacManus is against enlisting, and quite laudably; but no prominent man of his party has made a public campaign against it in Ireland and taken the consequences. The law courts are to be abandoned; but the two most interesting cases we have had for some years had Mr. Griffith and Mr. Edward Martyn, President of the National Council, as their leading figures. Mr. Martyn, who is a bought-out landlord, brought his action to recover membership in the Kildare Street Club, the most exclusive rendezvous of land-owning Unionism and partisan lawyerdom in the country. Sinn Fein desires to withdraw the party from Parliament in order to purge their policy of the Westminster taint; at the same time, Sinn Fein Justices of the Peace, so created under Westminster laws, sit in session to ad-

minister laws made at Westminster. Sinn Fein Aldermen and Councillors get themselves elected to bodies that would have no existence but for Acts made in London, and made, moreover, through the agency of the Irish Parliamentary Party. And so on. It must not be thought that the average Irishman regards all this with any sort of derision. He rather shrugs his shoulders, and allows himself a salt smile, perceiving that Sinn Fein is hungering after a purity which the nature of things does not permit. For his part, he is a man of many compromises; and he recognizes that, even if the purification be in every other respect complete, Sinn Fein will undergo corruption once more when it sticks on its letter a stamp with the superscription of an English king.

Unhappy as Sinn Fein is in its positive proposals, it is no happier in its criticism. The Irish Party is condemned on the ground both of principle and of results. We compromise the national dignity, it seems, and join in waiving the right to a free Parliament by attending at Westminster. The ample answer to that complaint is that Parnell went to Westminster, and what was good enough for Parnell is good enough for us. When that answer is made before an Irish audience, it brings the argument to an abrupt end. But our agitation, says Mr. MacManus, costs the country too much in proportion to results. The amount is, according to him, about £25,000 a year; it is, in fact, closer to £20,000. With this sum a "party-machine" of approximately eighty members and constituencies has to be kept in being. With us a Member of Parliament receives no salary, no travelling allowance, not even free postage for his official correspondence. At the annual fixing of the register of votes, it is necessary to maintain in every contested constituency a staff of agents to look after National interests. At election-times not a single penny of the cost is borne by the State; the candidates or their parties pay the entire expenses, not merely of their own campaigns, but of the official machinery of the election. Not even the lead-pencil with which the voter marks his ballot is bought by the State. During session, attendance in London at all important divisions is indispensable. Some of us manage this by living in a state of perpetual motion between Kingstown and Holyhead; others by settling in London lodgings for six or seven months of the year. To cover these expenses, in part, a grant of twenty pounds a

month is made during session. For the rest of the year, no allowance of any kind is paid. In regard to an accepted calumny, it should be added that there is not a single "professional agitator" in the Irish Party. In other words, there is not a single man in it who lives by politics. The picture is incomplete without a further touch. A Party that has no rich man has on the other hand never been even faintly soiled with corruption. We have sought no places and given no bought votes. Mr. Redmond wrote the other day:

> "The Party is made up of men who are far less amenable to British influences and far more independent of British parties than many of their critics—men who, while many of their opponents are seeking place and office for themselves or their friends, have never asked the favor of even a postmastership from this or any other Government—as I can say for myself after nearly twenty-seven years in Parliament."

To maintain the machinery of this Party, we spend annually a sum, approximately, equal to the salary of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. It represents a contribution per head of our population of about a penny a year. On the credit side, somebody has been amusing himself lately by estimating the sum total of grants, loans and reductions of rent obtained by our agitation; he fixes the figure at £200,000,000. The penny a head seems on the whole to have been well invested.

But this is not the way things strike people in Ireland. Men, after all, do not think in statistics. It is the visible drama of events, the changed setting of their lives, that impresses them. The Parliamentary Party, says Sinn Fein, has done nothing; and the man of the Irish countryside stands aghast at so much ignorance combined with so much ingratitude. Sinn Fein is at best a *gamin* of the cities; but *he* has lived through the land war and carries in his mind the historical sense and perspective of which Sinn Fein is devoid. He has seen the entire fabric of rural society taken to pieces, and remade under the inspiration of ideas of which thirty years ago the boldest did not dare even to dream. The finance of the Land Acts is bad, admittedly, and atrociously bad; but what does he know about that? What he does know is that, before Mr. Parnell came, he was the chattel of his landlord; he stood three hours in the rain waiting on the agent's good pleasure to accept his rent; if he refused to take his hat off to this or that hanger-on of the "big house," he was liable to evic-

tion. To-day, over one-third of Ireland there is no such thing as Landlordism. Where it does exist, it is melting like snow in spring. The feudal serf of a generation ago is the freehold owner of to-day. He has forgotten how to take off his hat. "There is no longer," said an old man the other day, "the great fear on the people." That is how the Irish countryside feels as to the outcome of the Land War, and when Sinn Fein tells them that it is all nothing, the men who saw the beginning and are now seeing the end gasp in amazement. And there is much more than that. The laborers have not been passed over. The Act introduced under Mr. Parnell in 1882 and its successors have created mechanism under which already more than 20,000 rural laborers—in a few years the figure will be about 35,000—have left their old-time hovels and come with their families into neat and solid cottages, with allotments of lands attached. County Government, which a generation ago was the obedient house-dog of Landlordism, is now in the hands of Councils, elected on a widely democratic basis. The new spirit has found its way everywhere like a fresh wind blowing through frowzy streets. And Sinn Fein says it is all nothing!

This is something like an outline of the shape which discussion has taken in Ireland. One can but hope that its details have not wearied the patience of readers who have been kind enough to follow them.

It is pleasant to pass out of the region of polemics and end with a positive word. Nothing that has been said must be interpreted as meaning that the function of the Parliamentary Party in the national life to-day is precisely what it was thirty years ago. That could only be if Ireland were separated from the common and desirable destiny of mankind, which is to grow, and in growing to change. In describing the process one falls back on the comfortable word "evolution." It has gone forward in a minute obedience to Herbert Spencer's formula; it has been a movement from "an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a definite, coherent heterogeneity," with suitable accompanying changes. The Irish Party of Mr. Parnell was both wider and narrower than that of Mr. Redmond. It was wider inasmuch as it was the sole national focus of the time, and contained in germ almost every talent and idea that has since come to maturity in Ireland. It was narrower in so far as, having given its whole

rich soul to the political movement, it was less keenly aware than we are of the limitations of politics. This is the root of almost every criticism which has since been passed upon it. With that deplorable absence of the historical sense already noticed, a certain group denounces Mr. Parnell's party, because it did the work of its own generation and not that of the next. It failed to create the Gaelic League twenty years before the time of the Gaelic League had come. That must certainly be admitted; but does the censure go home? After all, narrowness is the beginning of wisdom. "*Omnis determinatio est negatio,*" said Spinoza; and a table only succeeds in being a table by declining to be a chair. Had Mr. Parnell's Party not concentrated their strength upon the land and upon the purely political question, they would have simply floundered about in a sea of noble aspirations without reaching any shore. As it was, they laid the foundation of the new Ireland. Everything dates back to their work as to the beginning of a period. The architectural metaphor is, however, too dead to be of any use; and it is ludicrous to say, as Mr. MacManus says, that the "new movement has risen upon the ruins of the so-called Parliamentary movement." One must take an image from living things. The development of Ireland has been like the growth of a great oak. There are more branches now and a mightier shade, but there has been no discontinuity. The warmth of each summer has added its special ring to the trunk; but who planted the acorn? Mr. MacManus and his friends are much too fond of the catastrophic and sensational type of change. What reality presents in Ireland, as in most other countries, is a continual, slight dissolution and reintegration. The large but vague unity of Mr. Parnell's day has given place to what may be called a departmentalization of national effort. You have four or five organizations to-day of national scope, where you had but one twenty years ago. Dr. Douglas Hyde has had an opportunity of explaining in America the origin and aims of the greatest of the new activities—and there are many others,—the Gaelic League. All that has had its lesson, and most of us have learned it. Life is more complex than we once thought it. The nation is vaster than any man or movement. We are all enrolled in different regiments of the same army of civilization, and the duty of each is simply to stick to his colors and to keep marching. There is no such thing

as finality of achievement. The question of land tenure having been settled, or partly settled, there stirred into life at once the two problems it had contained as in a shell, the distribution and the use of the land. In addition to non-Governmental agencies working on these matters, there are at present functioning in Ireland three official bodies, the Estates Commissioners, the Congested Districts' Board and the Agricultural Department. These bodies are not perfect in all respects and they have come frequently under the criticism of the Irish Party, but largely under pressure of that criticism these Land Departments have now been fairly assimilated into the national system; and while the two which are occupied with the transfer of land will necessarily bring their own careers to an end by accomplishing their work, the third, the department of agricultural and technical education and economic development, will become, beyond all doubt, the most important arm of progressive administration in a self-governing Ireland. One of the very first acts of a Home Rule Parliament would be to increase enormously both its powers and its resources.

The industrial revival will go forward with rising vigor. Its future depends not, as Mr. MacManus suggests, on the foundation of Sinn Fein or any other Committee, but upon the gradual production of pioneers and *entrepreneurs* by our technical schools. In this widening stream of energy, the Irish Party has its perfectly definite place. Politics is not life, but without politics there is no abundance of life. It is the function of politics not to produce wealth, but to provide such conditions as will liberate the creative powers of the nation, and thereby ensure the production of wealth. It is the duty of a Member of Parliament not to teach the children—he would do it very badly—but to arrange the laws so that they shall be rightly taught by specialized talent. The Irish Party will continue, not weakened but distinctly strengthened by the new currents of thought. The Home Rule idea is like Thebes of the Hundred Gates. Begin where you will in Ireland—land, education, industries—seek to organize advance, and your feet are led inevitably to Home Rule. You can no more have sound nerves with a sick brain than you can have culture and prosperity without the legislative mastership of your own household. Nothing can be done in the proper way, but above all in the proper spirit, while there is a meddle-

some stranger in the house. That is why Home Rule is going to win. And it does not appear to me that Sinn Fein, in so far as it is in contradiction with present-day Parliamentarianism, will ever succeed in being anything more than a jibe and a reminiscence.

It cannot be too earnestly insisted on that this proposal marks the sole difference of programme between the extreme right and the extreme left wings of Irish Nationalism. Superficial and, it may be, stormy discussions must not be allowed to conceal the fundamental identity of belief and effort. In the struggle for an autonomous Irish Government, Nationalist Ireland displays a firm and even a passionate unity. It is only when one passes to minor questions as to the form in which this ideal is to be embodied, and the tactics by which it is to be won, that any division of opinion appears. So much for the circle of strict politics. But if we cross that, and view the life of the country as a whole, we find that everywhere the fresher minds are being gathered into the sweep of a still wider unity. Ulster is undergoing a rapid revolution. This may be characterized in brief as the Coming of Democracy. The Orange worker is confessedly beginning to fraternize with the Catholic worker, and in their discussion of the future history of labor they are learning to forget the past history of bigotry. Mr. Lindsay Crawford, the leader of this new development in Orange Ulster, is to-day President of the new Independent Orange Order and one of the greatest personal influences in the country. Everywhere there is growing in Ireland a passion for social peace, for prosperity and culture. The great obstacle to the realization of this desire being experimentally discovered to be Dublin Castle, Orange Ulster is growing more impatient of English control and more tolerant of the political programme of its Nationalist fellow countrymen. The South is beginning to understand that the line of prejudice which divides it from the North must be swept away. The North is beginning to understand, for its part, that there is a broad line of national interest separating all Ireland from England, which can in no circumstances be swept away. Decidedly, the word of the hour in Ireland is not Dissension but Unity; and it would be unpardonable if anything that either Mr. MacManus or myself has written should tend to create an opposite impression.

T. M. Kettle.

RICHARD MANSFIELD—THE MAN.

BY CLAYTON HAMILTON.

DURING the latter years of his career, Richard Mansfield exercised an almost unrivalled empery over the theatre-going public: he was the one performer they would always flock to see, regardless of the play he chose to give them. No other actor of our times could have achieved a popular success with the panoramic epic of "Peer Gynt": even the author himself did not regard that many-mooded poem as suited for the stage: but, when Mr. Mansfield chose to produce it, the public had to see it, for the simple but sufficient reason that they had to see Mr. Mansfield.

And the reason why they felt that they had to see Mr. Mansfield was not merely that he was one of the ablest actors of his time. The average audience has but very slight appreciation of the finer points of acting; it is won and held more by personality than by histrionic art. And I think that everybody will agree that Mr. Mansfield owed his unprecedented popularity less to his subtle and versatile accomplishment as an actor than to his emphasis as a man. After all, it was his momentous personality that most impressed the public. In saying this, I do not mean to belittle in any way his exquisite and finished art: I wish, rather, to indicate that his art was the expression of an elemental human force which swayed the multitude. The theatre-goer needed only to pay a dollar or two to come into the presence of a mighty and commanding personality; and such an experience is not often to be had in this drifting and transitory world, even upon far less simple terms. The mere appearance of Mr. Mansfield upon the stage was an event. He skilfully impersonated Chevrial or Brummel, Alceste or Cyrano; but what the audience felt was not so much a delicate impersonation as a vivid

and important human presence, imperial in power, that swayed them to a larger sense of life.

For this reason Mr. Mansfield was, to those who knew him privately, even more impressive off the stage than on. That elemental human power which was his, showed all the more emphatic when he was disencumbered of the trappings and the suits of stage disguises. It has seemed to me, therefore, that many people who felt the impress of his personality only through the medium of his art may wish to know how he appeared in private life. My impressions of him are confined to the last year of his career. Before that I had never met him; but during the summer of 1906 he asked me to settle near his country-seat, in order that I might set to work toward the fulfilment of certain purposes he had in mind for me. For over two months I saw him nearly every day; and one time and another, at different hours of the day and evening, he talked with me in almost every vein.

The most surprising thing about him was the sweep and lightning-dartle of his moods. His mind shifted with unusual vivacity of variation. He alternated moments of sudden and incalculable enthusiasm with moments of apparent dulness and uninterest of mind. In any matter you presented to his notice, he was always more interested, or less interested, than you; he never met you on a dead level of emotion; the thing was, for the moment, all or nothing to him. Sometimes when you talked to him, he would snatch at some suggestion and whirl you aloft on soaring pinions of enthusiasm; and at other times, though you returned to the same subject and presented it in a similar way, he would listen only with deaf ears and with utter lack of interest. You could never be certain that what appealed to him to-day would also appeal to him to-morrow. Often he would kindle in considering some project and sweep all other plans aside; and the next day you would find, to your surprise, that he had shuffled the matter from his mind, and possibly forgotten it entirely. One week he had apparently decided to produce "*L'Ami Fritz*": the next week he had decided not to do so: and it was impossible to predict, on the basis of either decision, whether or not he would eventually perform the play. Meanwhile, his mind was swaying from one side to the other in considering a vaster undertaking. I had gone to the beach early one morning, and was lolling on a bathing-raft. He swam out to me, climbed upon the

raft, and said: "I am going to do 'Peer Gynt' this fall; did I tell you?" He then asked me to be at hand next morning at a certain hour, so that we might talk over the arrangement of an acting version. At the appointed time next day, he took me for a walk around his garden, chatted of the weather, asked if I thought the wind would freshen for a sail, and then suddenly suggested that we go for a drive. I ventured a hint of Ibsen's poem. He seemed very much surprised. "You didn't really think I was going to do that, did you?" he asked. He then explained to me why the piece could not be produced. A few hours later he telegraphed to New York for the scenery.

The natural way for him to consider any matter of importance was to let his mind dartle all around it, now in this mood, now in that, until at last it swooped to a decision. He was utterly unlogical in all his processes of thought. He never reasoned consecutively. He arrived at his results, apparently, by intuition. In one mood, a certain thing was so, because he felt it was; in a contrary mood, the same thing was not so, because he felt it wasn't: and whether ultimately the thing was so or not, depended on whether the sum-total of the moods in which he considered it flung the greater emphasis on the positive or the negative side. Neither in conversation nor in thought did he march logically, step by step, from premises to conclusions; and he always seemed impatient of other people when, in talking to him, they reasoned with laborious logic. The conclusion was all he cared about. Also, in his own talk, he was extremely sparing of details: his imagination struck home to the heart of the matter; he would incorporate all he had to say in a single luminous sentence, and would then dismiss the subject with a gesture of finality.

The process of his thought was habitually concrete; he never seemed to think abstractly. He expressed himself in images rather than in propositions. On one occasion, when he wished to explain that love scenes in English are necessarily less lyric than love scenes in French and therefore more difficult to act poetically, he said all he had to say in a single concrete sentence: "There's such a difference between '*Ah, que je t'aime!—ah, que je t'adore!*' and, 'You know, Mary, I'm awfully fond of you!'"

His sense of character was entirely concrete: often he expressed his opinion of a person by subtly imitating him. "He does this sort of thing," he would remark, and then would finish

the sentence with a gesture or an attitude. He could sense a situation best by imagining himself its central figure, and then feeling what, in it, he himself would say and do.

He realized all things by perception rather than by intellection. He was sensitive, instead of being, in the strict sense, intelligent. Images swarmed into his mind helter-skelter; and he leaped from one to another of them without awareness of the gaps of pure abstraction that lay between them. It is a prime evidence of the greatness of his mind that his ultimate decisions, though often without apparent logical foundation, were almost invariably right. Several of his friends tried to convince him, by very logical arguments, that "Peer Gynt" would not prove a popular, as well as an artistic, success. His answer was that he knew it would. After circumstances had proved him right in such a case, he had a way of saying, "I knew it; I knew it all along; I told you that I knew it," which left his friends to wonder why.

In talking with you he gave you only the results of his thinking: the processes of thought by which he had arrived at these results remained always hidden from you. It was therefore very difficult to understand him thoroughly. He never attempted to explain himself; and it is doubtful if he would have been able to even if he had tried. Things were so because he knew they were: why ask for explanation? Also, he never argued with you. You said your say, and he at once accepted or dismissed it: and that was all there was to the matter. And if you ventured, "But, on the other hand, Mr. Mansfield," . . . he would probably suggest some toast and tea, or wonder if the water would be warm for swimming. In any interchange of thought, he talked wonderfully, with sudden illuminative sallies of imagination, so long as he held the matter entirely in his grasp and could dash from certainty to certainty: but if you disagreed with him, and attempted, by argument, to thwart him, he would grow impatient of the whole game and (like the Oriental monarch) overturn the chess-board. The next day, likely enough, his mood had changed; and he would tell *you* what you had tried vainly to tell *him* the day before. Hence, if you wished ultimately to convince him, you had to wait until his mood swung around to yours and then agree with him emphatically. He could not understand you, except when you agreed with him: at other times he heard you with his ears, but not with his mind.

He had an extraordinary faculty for "taking his own where he found it," as Molière phrased the mental process. Most of what you said meant nothing to him; but the things that meant anything at all meant very much indeed. In a flash he seized and grasped your thought, and in the same flash he made it a part of his own mind. Then he was likely enough to talk it back to you, as if it had been always his and never yours. He did not understand your thought as yours: in order to understand it, he had to absorb it first and make it his. Hence, in matters of thought, he appeared entirely self-sufficient. You never seemed to give him anything: instead of saying, "That's a good idea," he would merely say, "Of course!"

Since he neither argued nor explained, there was an air of finality about his statements. He emphatically told you where he stood: what were you going to do about it? He didn't open subjects: he closed them. He was always swooping to conclusions; and though you still had something in your mind to say, you were deterred by the emphasis of his unspoken "That will do." There was nothing petty in his self-assertion. You felt behind it the full power of his vast and sweeping mind. He was so sure that he was right that he often convinced you by contagion; and you found yourself agreeing with him even when you could not understand the reason why.

His energy of self-assertion gave him an air of dominance which was perhaps his most obvious personal quality. His close professional associates always spoke of him as "The Chief": and I remember how once, when I was taking leave of some other friends in order to keep an appointment with Mr. Mansfield, I unconsciously recalled and spoke the line from "Beau Brummel," "I have a very pressing engagement with His Majesty." Thereafter I often thought of Mr. Mansfield as "His Majesty." In all his ways he was imperial. He commanded always; he never took commands: and the habit of years had given him a certain magnificence of manner, as of one speaking from a throne. No matter how many other people were present, nor how interesting they were as individuals, you were always aware of Mr. Mansfield as the central and commanding figure of the group. He seemed somehow more alive than other people; he was more ardent and intense; he hurled himself at you with a more compelling vigor. You could not get away from the keen impression of his pres-

ence. When he presided at the dinner-table, you found it difficult to look long at anybody else; your eyes would constantly revert to him. I can see him now dancing a Virginia Reel in the great hall of The Grange, with such an eagerness of young enjoyment that he lured your eyes away from all the pretty girls who were fluttering around the room. Because of the imperial sweep and sway of his manner, he gave you constantly the impression of being taller and heavier than he actually was. He was, of course, very stockily built, deep-chested and strong-limbed; but he was a short man, and without grandeur of mere physical appearance. The same body, carried lax, would not have caught your eye; the same face, struck expressionless, would not have interested you. And yet he sustained with such conviction the imperial mood that many men more grandly built in body and more beautiful in face looked unimportant when they stood beside him. Mr. Mansfield somehow made you bow to the superbness of his personality. His unconquerable self-assertion, his habit of dominance, his imperial quality (call it by whatever name you will) was his greatest asset as an actor. When he came upon the stage, he ruled the audience. He exuded power and compelled submissive admiration. There he was before you, flinging at you all the might and ardor of his nature. What were you going to do about it?

An imperial nature can scarcely sustain itself without the element of pride. Mr. Mansfield was very proud; he was also somewhat vain; but he was not (to my mind) self-conceited. And here, in order to avoid misunderstanding, I must state exactly what is meant by the words as they are used in this connection. By self-conceit is meant the self-delusion that arises from an overestimate of one's own powers; by vanity is meant a just estimate of one's own powers accompanied by an enjoyment of the exhibition of them for the purpose of exciting admiration; and by pride is meant the enjoyment for its own sake of a just estimate of one's own powers, because that estimate is high. Mr. Mansfield was not self-conceited. He had a very keen sense of what he could not do, as well as of what he could; and in his work as an artist he very wisely kept within his range. He would never have attempted Hamlet, though the part has allured nearly every other actor of prominence from Shakespeare's day to ours. He did not equally esteem all his own creations.

Beau Brummel was his favorite part, and he very justly thought himself incomparable in it; but I distinctly remember his telling me that his Don Carlos was not a good performance (he even said that in one scene he was "rotten"); and on more than one occasion he stated that the public had overestimated his performance of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. He was somewhat vain, however: he loved to excite admiration off the stage as well as on. Even in trivial matters, such as games and sports, he always liked you to feel that he had the upper hand. He enjoyed his own incomparable voice, and seemed usually conscious of it when several other people happened to be present. And his pride was very great. I do not hesitate to bear witness, on the evidence of a great many conversations in his glowing hours, that he considered himself not only the greatest actor of his time, but also one of the greatest actors who ever lived. More than once, when his mood was entirely serious, he set himself above Sir Henry Irving and Mme. Sarah Bernhardt; and of many lesser actors who are generally esteemed, he felt, and sometimes expressed, a very low opinion. He liked to compare his weekly receipts with those of other popular performers; and he was proud of the fact that he had made a large fortune by his own unaided efforts. I state these matters because I feel that Mr. Mansfield's pride, and even his vanity, contributed greatly to a certain overwhelming quality in his performances. His pride was built upon a very firm foundation. There was nothing empty in his vaunting self-esteem. He felt so certainly that he was a great actor that he was able to convince his audiences of the fact almost by contagion alone.

I have spoken already of the extraordinary enthusiasm with which he flung himself into the mood of the moment,—an enthusiasm which extinguished even the subconsciousness of all other moods, whether past or future. He was more intense than other people. He was endowed with a superabundance of energy, yearning always to exhaust itself. I suspect that the very arduousness of Peer Gynt as an acting part was one of the main motives that lured him to undertake it at a time when his health was shattered and he felt that he was doomed. Nothing could daunt his tremendous zest and his unreasonable daring. He never did things by halves: what he did at all, he did with all the power that was in him. Often, in his musing moments, he would ex-

press regret that he could burn the candle only at both ends. He was incapable of rest. Sometimes on a sunny summer morning he would resolve to rest himself by spending all the day in play; and then, through the succeeding hours, we would watch him weary himself in over-arduous attempts to avoid activity of mind. With tiring intensity he would shift from driving to swimming, from swimming to motoring, from motoring to sailing, from sailing to walking, without ever gaining lassitude of body or laxity of mind.

A necessary corollary of his restlessness was an habitual impatience. Whatever he could do at once, he did at once, entirely: and he expected other people to do the same. His motto was "*Maintenant.*" He exalted the present moment always. He never put things off. In the expressive words of the popular song, he wanted what he wanted when he wanted it. Because of an exaggeration of this feeling, he was often unreasonable in the demands he made on those about him. I remember, as a trivial illustration of this trait, how one afternoon upon the beach he asked a friend of his to collect some hermit-crabs for him. The tiny animals were scurrying about, half-buried in the sand beneath tumbled waves of dingy water; they were difficult to discern and hard to seize: but, "Pick them up by handfuls," he commanded, "Pick them up by handfuls," and seemed impatient of the other person's inability to do so. In mental matters, as I have said already, he never explained himself; but he felt things with such intensity that it seldom occurred to him that the person he was dealing with did not feel them at the same moment in the same way. Hence he often expected the other person to act from a motive that lived only in his own mind; and when the other person failed of the expected action, he could not realize the reason why.

For this reason, and for this reason only, he was hard to get along with. No man could have been more difficult to understand; but if you happened to be in his employ, he expected you always to understand him, and always to do at once what he wanted you to do, even though he had not told you what he wanted. He demanded of other people what he was accustomed to demand of himself. In this he was, of course, unreasonable. This is the explanation, doubtless, of the fact that many actors left his company in a huff and afterwards made statements in

the press which were unfair to Mr. Mansfield. To this extent he was inconsiderate of others: he lacked an imaginative awareness of the necessary difference between his own thoughts and feelings and those of the other people he was dealing with. He was too exclusively self-centred to understand entirely that other people had their centre also in themselves instead of in him. But he was by nature kindly, by habit courteous, by disposition generous; and though I often saw him impatient, I never knew him to be angry. He had a nervous temperament, but he did not have a bad temper.

But because he was hard to understand, it was difficult, even for his friends, to come into intimate contact with him. He impressed you emphatically; but he failed somehow, in the deepest sense, to touch you personally. At all moments he interested you; at many moments he fascinated you; but he seldom drew you close to him. He was imperial in his hospitality, his generosity, his kindliness, just as he was imperial in all his other qualities; but he lacked ability to meet you simply, on a common ground of sympathetic understanding. He was more isolated, personally, than any other great man of his time. Other actors did not like him, as a rule; and he seldom associated with them off the stage. Most of his intimates were men in other walks of life,—fellow gentlemen instead of fellow artists. They grew fond of him because they wondered at him. He felt his isolation poignantly. More than once he struck an almost tragic note when he deplored that almost no one understood him. "Millions of people have seen me on the stage," he said once, with that sweep of the right arm from the shoulder and backward flutter of the right hand from the wrist which was his most characteristic gesture; and then his arm dropped to his side as he added, "But how many of them understand all that I have meant and tried to do?"

His humor was a little lacking in geniality. It was large and comprehensive; but it usually inclined to the sardonic. His smile was somewhat marred by a slight sidelong and downward drag of the left corner of the mouth. His wit was sudden, sharp and penetrant: it had the glitter and the stab of steel. He was richly endowed with the gentler emotions; but they were usually overlaid with an imperial reserve. He seldom visibly expressed the tenderness which, none the less, you felt to be inherent in his

nature. His intimate sensibilities were more receptive than expressive. He was keenly, almost uncomfortably, sensitive to a personal evidence of kindliness toward him from any of his friends. The slightest gift to him would touch him deeply, because he felt intensely the spirit of the giving. Perhaps he showed most humanly with children. He had no reserve with them: with them he did not find it difficult to meet on common ground. And he told them tales, or sang them songs, or led them at their games, with a large and gentle understanding.

But, though his sweeter phases often surprised you unawares, the normal impression that he gave you was that of colossal power, self-enclosed and yearning for expression. You felt that he might have achieved greatness in any art; because, whatever the medium of expression, the thing expressed would have been powerful and energetic. He had written poems and many sorts of prose; in his youth he had painted pictures; he had composed the music for a book of songs; he had shown great skill in singing and in dancing: and yet you felt always in him a certain inexplicable force transcending all expression. Acting was his proper medium of utterance, chiefly because it is the most personal of all the arts. Only through acting could he show you not only what he had to say, but also the man who had to say it.

He was an actor, therefore, by inherent necessity of character, even more than by training and accomplishment. Even in his private life there was about him a constant suggestion of the footlights. He was always playing a part, and playing it wonderfully well, though most of the time he was not conscious of doing so. He was never for a moment insincere; he was always emphatically real: and, in stating that he habitually played a part, I mean merely that he was always giving wonderful expression, through his voice, his carriage, his mobility of face, to the mood that for the moment burned within him. The great public may debate whether Chevrial or Brummel, Richard or Ivan, Cyrano or Peer Gynt was the best of his impersonations; but now that he is gone, his private friends will remember him most poignantly in still a greater character,—the character of host.

CLAYTON HAMILTON.

INSANITY AND THE NATION.

BY H. ADDINGTON BRUCE.

Not long ago the United States Census Bureau issued a report which should have provoked instant and wide-spread discussion. Of all the publications giving the results of the twelfth census, there is hardly any of such importance to the American people. For in language the most explicit, and supported by statistics gathered with the scrupulous care that has characterized all the enumerations of the latest census, it reveals the existence of conditions making strongly against the continued prosperity of the United States and its continued progress to headship among the nations.

The reference is to the special report on "Insane and Feeble-minded in Hospitals and Institutions." At first glance, nothing alarming is to be seen in the statement that in 1903 there were in the insane asylums of the country a total of 150,151 inmates. What is this, it may be asked, in a population exceeding 80,000,000? But the matter quickly assumes another aspect when it is observed that in 1890, the year of the preceding census, the insane asylums held only 74,028 unfortunates; and that, ten years earlier, the asylum population was but 40,492. In other words, there has been a progressively more rapid increase in insanity than in population.

Just what the difference is, it is impossible to say. Statistically, it is enormous. Thus, from 1880 to 1890, while the total population increased by about 25 per cent., the asylum population increased by 85 per cent., and from 1890 to 1903 by more than 100 per cent. as against an increase of less than 30 per cent. in the total population. These ratios, it must be said, do not afford an exact measure for the increase in insanity. For one thing, the more humane methods of treatment now in vogue are

of themselves sufficient to induce an increase in the asylum population.* Friends of the insane, having lost much of the old-time prejudice against asylums, now send the afflicted to institutions instead of keeping them secluded, as was formerly an extensive practice. Formerly, too, the asylum population was largely confined to acute cases, which is very far from being the fact to-day. Again, the patients, being treated better, live longer. Whence in no small measure is attributable the increased provision for the insane. The census of 1890 had to do with only 162 asylums; that of 1903 with 328.

Here, curiously enough, is another gain of more than 100 per cent. As a matter of fact, making all possible allowance for factors tending to exaggerate the actual increase in insanity, there is reason to believe that it is increasing almost as rapidly as the figures above quoted would indicate. It must be remembered that the asylum population does not represent the total insane population. The census of 1890 found no fewer than 32,457 insane who were not inmates of asylums. The census of 1903 made no attempt to enumerate the non-asylum insane, the officials believing that any such attempt was foredoomed to failure for the reason that "the term 'insane' is necessarily vague unless applied to persons whose insanity has been established by experts, since the character or degree of mental unsoundness which constitutes insanity cannot be accurately determined by the layman." It is, therefore, most significant to discover that in 1903 the asylum insane, taken by themselves, outnumbered the asylum and non-asylum insane of 1890 by 43,666. As the census officials suggest, the non-asylum insane of 1903 must have been at least as numerous as the non-asylum insane of 1890—that is to say, must have been from 30,000 to 35,000 units. Which would

* It must be conceded that there still is wide room for improvement in the treatment of the insane. Impressive proof of this is contained in a forthcoming book, advance sheets of which I have been enabled to examine through the kindness of Professor William James. It is the work of a man who became mentally disordered and was confined for two years in sundry private and public institutions in Connecticut. Now, with his reason restored, he has written a detailed account of the treatment he then endured; in a sober, rational, and temperate way making revelations that cannot fail to appeal powerfully and persuasively to the public conscience. His book is one of the most remarkable human documents I have ever seen, and what makes it the more valuable is the fact that it proposes a practicable, constructive programme of reform, looking not only to improvements in asylum methods but to the adoption of measures tending to check the growth of insanity in the United States.

bring the total insane population of the United States in 1903 well up to the 200,000 mark.

It may readily be conceded that in point of proportion to population the United States is better off than several other countries. In 1903 the ratio of asylum insane in the United States was 186.2 per 100,000 of population, as against 490.9 in Ireland, 363.7 in Scotland, 340.1 in England and Wales, 238.6 in Canada, 224.2 in Switzerland, and 191.6 in Germany. Small comfort, though, is to be derived from this, and less comfort in view of the circumstance that the statistics indicate a tendency on the part of the United States to outstrip even the countries named in the production of lunatics. Some sixty years ago, according to the best figures available, England, Scotland, and Ireland had between them a total of about 25,000 insane; now they have some 160,000, or more than a fivefold increase in six decades. But in the same period the total of insane in the United States has leaped from the neighborhood of 20,000 to at least 180,000, or a ninefold increase. Even allowing for the more rapid increase in the growth of the population of the United States, as compared with the growth of the population of the United Kingdom, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that conditions of life in the United States are peculiarly provocative of insanity.

This conclusion, be it noted, is suggested by the census officials themselves attacking the problem from another standpoint. Their statistical survey of the asylum population showed that of the 140,312 white insane in asylums on December 31st, 1903, 90,297 were natives of the United States, 47,078 were foreign born, and 2,937 were of unknown nativity. This meant that, relatively, the insane were more numerous among the foreign-born whites than among the native born. But, pursuing the subject further and endeavoring to ascertain just what quotas the several nations contributed to the insane population of this country, the investigators made some singular discoveries. They found that the Scandinavian peoples were second only to the Irish in supplying American asylums with inmates. Yet, in point of home insane, the Scandinavians were far more happily situated than the Scotch, English, Canadians, Swiss, Germans, French, or Dutch, to say nothing of the Irish. Again, an amazing "form reversal" was found in the case of the Germans and French, who outdistanced the English as contributors to American insane

asylums. Similarly with the Hungarians, whose native ratio was the lowest of all—a scant 14.1 per 100,000 of population—but who outranked the English, Canadians, and several other nationalities in the asylum statistics of the United States. These discrepancies seem to defy explanation. As the authors of the census report aver, they can hardly be due to the fact that some of the foreign nationalities are represented in the United States by the best of their stock and some by the worst. It is, moreover, significant that "insanity is apparently most prevalent in the nationalities who were among the earliest immigrants to this country and contributed the sturdiest of their people." Taking one thing with another, therefore, the census investigators incline to the opinion that "it may be that an explanation of these discrepancies is that conditions of American life are conducive to an increase in insanity."

What makes the prospect for the future more deplorable is the circumstance that an increase in insanity is necessarily accompanied by a still greater increase in those nervous and mental ills which, while they may not culminate in insanity, prevent the individual from fulfilling his whole duty to himself and to society, and thus act as a drain on the national body politic. Then, too, the dread factor of heredity intervenes. Lunatics and neurasthenics cannot beget sound children, and already there are indications that neurasthenia, as well as insanity, has a firm foothold in every section of the country. Let not the reader deceive himself with the thought that this is a generalization incapable of positive proof. Statistical proof, to be sure, we cannot have, for it is impossible to enumerate our neurasthenics as we enumerate our lunatics. But the statement finds its vindication in the life of every American city, town, and hamlet—in the life, even, of the most remote farmhouse. Who among those chancing to read these lines fails to number among his acquaintances some of unstable temperament, of flighty impulse, of unsound mind? On every street, at every corner, we meet the neurasthenics; we meet, too, the lunatics whose madness may perchance pass unrecognized until the morning paper tells its story of violence and sudden death.

It is futile to say, with many an eminent alienist, that this is the price that must be paid for civilization—futile, because a civilization that would sap the vitality of mankind could never

hope to prove an enduring fact. Nearer the mark is it to say that this is the price that must be paid for *lack of adaptation to the exigencies of civilization.* And thus we are brought to the *crux* of our argument—namely, that what is needed, in view of the portentous increase in nervous and mental disease throughout the civilized world, and in the United States in especial, is the application of some agency, some force, some principle that will enable the human organism successfully to withstand the added strain that has been put upon it by the demands of modern life. It is not a question of turning back the wheels of progress—it is a question of finding a way to make the wheels of progress run more smoothly.

The sooner our alienists, our neurologists—indeed, our general practitioners of medicine—appreciate this fact, the better for the individual and the race. The discovery that insanity and allied maladies are on the increase is no new thing. It has been remarked for generations, and many have been the radical suggestions looking to prevention. Some of these—as, for example, the prohibition of the marriage of persons with a family history of insanity or alcoholism—would undoubtedly prove more or less ameliorative. But the great defect in all is that they do not take into account the continuance of the *external* conditions making for mental instability—the multiplication of human activities, the growing complexity of the concerns and relations of every-day life—in a word, the increasing severity of the struggle for existence. Now, it is unreasonable to suppose that by legislative enactment or any other process it will be found possible to make the struggle for existence appreciably less severe. On the contrary, as the world grows older, more problems, greater complexities are certain to arise. To this the finger of history points unerringly. Consequently, the thing to do is to take conditions as we find them, admit that the individual must be subjected to an ever-increasing strain, and seek to fit him to carry the added burden.

Can this be done? It cannot if the human mind has reached its utmost development. But of late years certain facts, as yet little understood, have been accumulating to indicate the contrary. These facts, recorded sporadically from time immemorial, but misinterpreted and passing unheeded in the hurly-burly of the workaday world, point to the presence in the human organism

of faculties transcending those of which man avails himself in his commerce with his fellows. It is only within the past quarter of a century that any systematic attempt has been made to explore and correlate the phenomena indicating the existence of such hidden processes and powers; but already discoveries have been made of immediate practical benefit and prophetic of greater discoveries yet to come. For this the credit belongs to two groups of investigators—the "psychical researchers," who, under the leadership of Henry Sidgwick and F. W. H. Myers, began in the early eighties to probe the marvels of the *seemingly supernormal* in human life, and the "psycho-pathologists," who have devoted themselves to research into the *obviously abnormal* in human life. The credit belongs to both these groups; but for the purposes of our present inquiry it will be necessary to dwell only on the results attained by the psycho-pathologists.

For starting-point, these adventurers into the abnormal took the phenomena of the hypnotic trance. Whence, they asked themselves, came the power that enabled one man to "will" another into a state of unconsciousness; and that enabled that other, while still seemingly oblivious to all about him, to reply intelligently to questions and perform the most startling mental and physical feats, some of them quite impossible to him when in the normal, waking state? Whence, still more, the power that invested hypnosis with a therapeutic efficacy, assisting weary nature to recuperate, to conquer disease, to ward off death? Delving deeper, experimenting ceaselessly, the psycho-pathologist presently began to discern, though at first dimly, that the power lay not with the hypnotist but with the hypnotized—that the hypnotist was, in reality, merely an agent setting in motion some secret principle or faculty lodged within the inert form before him. Now came, for the first time, scientific recognition of the influence of "suggestion" in the realm of matter as well as in the realm of mind.

But how could suggestion suffice to effect all the varied phenomena of hypnotism—the feats of memory, the performance of post-hypnotic commands, the actual cure of disease? This question the psycho-pathologist has not as yet succeeded in answering to his entire satisfaction. In pressing for an answer, however, he has brought to light facts that promise ultimately to revolutionize our conception not only of the mind of man but

even of the nature of man. Already the psychical researcher, attacking the same problem from another vantage-point, has made bold to declare that the human self is a much more complex and unstable affair than is generally supposed—that, indeed, the self of which a man is normally conscious is but a self within a larger self, of which he becomes aware only in moments of inspiration, exaltation, or crisis. To this doctrine, with the supernatural implication commonly attaching to it, the psycho-pathologist will not yield a ready assent. But he, too, has been led to insist on the complexity and instability of the self, and, insisting on it, has devised ways and means of rendering the self, if not less complex, at any rate more stable.

Here, so far as concerns the problem of combating the growth of nervous and mental disease, is the point of supreme importance. For some years, though for very few, in Europe and America, and in the teeth of an opposition composed of the most diverse elements — conservatism, prejudice, superstition, and ignorance—the psycho-pathologist has been quietly making practical application of the theories he has evolved from the first basic discovery, or rather appreciation, of the influence of suggestion in the life of man. Of these theories, the most important are the theory of subconscious mental activity, the theory of "dissociation," and the theory of "reassociation." Briefly, the first postulates the existence of subsidiary streams of consciousness flowing unperceived beneath the main stream, the stream of waking thought and action; the second assumes that under some unusual stress—such as overwork, anxiety, profound emotion, a blow, or an illness—there may result such a psychical disturbance that the main stream of consciousness becomes dissociated—part, and in extreme cases all, of it degenerating into a subsidiary stream; the third affirms that through suggestion, scientifically applied, there is always hope of reassociating the main stream of consciousness and thus restoring the victim to perfect equilibrium, provided dissociation have not proceeded so far that cellular destruction has set in. The story of how these theories have been vindicated forms one of the most absorbing chapters in the annals of science, but it would require far too much space to tell it here. Enough to say that, now employing hypnotism, now employing a method known as hypnoidism, and now employing suggestion pure and simple, the psycho-pathologist has succeeded

in effecting most marvellous cures in a wide category of nervous and mental diseases. Lost "personalities" have been restored, deep-seated delusions have been uprooted, neurasthenics and hystericals have been remade into useful members of society."*

But, it may be objected, this is doing no more than may be done by "orthodox" methods to solve the problem in hand. Granted that, here and there, individuals are rescued by psycho-pathology from the asylum and from the grave, what guarantee have we that psycho-pathology can benefit the race, can infuse a richer vigor into the stock, enabling it to rise superior to the storm and stress of modern civilization? This guarantee we have —that quite apart from its curative achievements, and although still in its infancy, psycho-pathology has demonstrated its ability to draw from the remotest depths of the human consciousness some latent power, and apply this power in such a way as to strengthen the human mind, render it the more receptive, increase its capacities. For the psycho-pathologist does not deal only with hystericals and neurasthenics. His *clientèle* includes mankind in the large—mankind criminal, mankind weak, mankind ignorant, mankind weary. Already he has won his spurs in the domain of mental and moral education. He has taken defective children, and enlarged their powers to an unexpected degree; he has taken vicious boys and girls, and developed them into useful men and women; he has taken the victims of liquor and drugs, and saved them when all else had failed to save them. And always, it cannot be too strongly emphasized, regeneration has come from *within,* not from *without.* The power that strengthens and heals is a power resting not with the psycho-pathologist but with the unfortunates appealing to him for aid. His task is to evoke that power and so direct it that it will do the most good.

This fact it is—not to speak of the corroborative evidence borne by the discoveries of the psychical researchers—which inspires the hope that a way has at last been found to overcome the ravages of insanity and kindred ills. But the process of mental expan-

* For a detailed view of the theories of psycho-pathology and the results that have followed the application of these theories, the reader may advantageously consult the works of Pierre Janet, Boris Sidis and Morton Prince: particularly Janet's "The Mental State of Hystericals" and "The Major Symptoms of Hysteria," Sidis's "The Psychology of Suggestion" and "Multiple Personality" and Prince's "The Dissociation of a Personality."

sion and adaptation, so far as it affects the race, must necessarily be slow. The element of heredity will have to play its part in transmitting to future generations the more robust "characteristics" by which a sound reaction to the environment of civilization is to be secured. The immediate procedure, then, should be to take steps to afford heredity the largest possible field of influence. Which, manifestly, may be done by generous support of the efforts of psycho-pathology, and by educating the great general public to an understanding of what psycho-pathology means and does.

It is gratifying to observe that, few in number as the psycho-pathologists are to-day, they have already won recognition—albeit grudging—in many lands. Especially do they find encouragement in France and Germany. In the United States, on the contrary—and this is the more unfortunate, since nowhere, as we have learned from the census statistics, is there greater need of their services—they have scarcely made their presence felt. But there are hopeful signs. Certainly, no country is more alive—though in a blind, crude, haphazard way—to the potency of suggestion. Witness the phenomenal growth of the Christian Science movement, which has its root in suggestion, and is, in a sense, psycho-pathological. Far more encouraging, however, is the spectacle of one of the foremost of living psycho-pathologists, Professor Pierre Janet, of the College of France, delivering a course of lectures before the faculty and students of the Harvard Medical School. Here, in truth, is proof positive that the old barriers are breaking down, that the physicians of the country are at last awakening to the necessity of acquainting themselves with the principles of the new science. Psycho-pathology will not, as has been feared, degrade the practice of medicine. It will exalt it, giving the practitioner a surer grasp of his subject, truer methods of diagnosis, and wider means of cure. For which reason the first forward step should be the foundation of chairs of psycho-pathology in every medical college in the land. And after this—if possible, contemporaneously with it—the establishment, in the leading cities and towns, of psycho-pathological institutes and laboratories to which patients may resort for treatment, and at which lectures may be delivered instructing the public in methods of personal utilization of the energy hidden in the recesses of the subconscious.

All this, of course, will cost money, but it will be money well spent, spent to the making of better citizens, of a sturdier race, of a Greater America. It would be vain to hope that the ultimate result will be the utter eradication of nervous and mental disease. In point of fact, the psycho-pathologist confesses himself helpless in the presence of such a disease when the dissociation has proceeded from the functional to the organic stage—that is to say, involves cellular destruction—or when the disease is essentially organic in its nature, being the consequence of profound physiological disturbances. Thus it is with actual insanity. But what proportion of insanity is "actual" remains to be ascertained. Certainly, the psycho-pathologist has even now shown that much supposed insanity is really but a functional derangement and thus susceptible of cure. And, in any event, there is no reason to doubt that, once heredity has had opportunity to operate on a sufficient number of psycho-pathologically strengthened individuals, the racial power of resistance will become such that insanity, with minor mental ills, will markedly decrease.

H. Addington Bruce.

SOME FUNDAMENTAL MISCONCEPTIONS CONCERNING SOUTH AMERICA.

BY L. S. ROWE, PH.D., LL.D., PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

THE awakening interest in South-American affairs has served to make prominent the confusion of the public mind on certain fundamental questions relating to the present situation and the probable future of political and social institutions in that quarter of the globe. This confusion is due, in large part, to the widely divergent opinions of writers on South America. At first, this conflict of views was received with a certain amused indifference, it being assumed that this unknown land, so rich in adventure, was rapidly becoming the theatre of the romantic novel, displacing to a certain extent the battlements and towers of mediæval Europe. During the last few years, however, our attitude toward South America has undergone a profound change. We are no longer satisfied with the swashbuckler description of revolutions and other armed conflicts, but are demanding unvarnished statements of the actual situation. There is a real national interest that this demand be satisfied, for it is evident that the time is rapidly approaching, if indeed it is not already at hand, when the people of the United States must be prepared to express themselves clearly and unequivocally on certain fundamental questions affecting their relations with the peoples of Latin America.

We must, first of all, abandon all hope of studying South America *en bloc*. There are, of course, certain common traits due to community of racial origin, social tradition and political antecedents. But as soon as we get beyond these fundamental traits it becomes necessary to distinguish carefully between the economic and social growth of the various republics. Each

country developed under economic and social conditions peculiar to itself. To-day the countries of South America, when compared with one another, present differences quite as marked as those which distinguish the countries of Europe from one another. In Brazil, we find a federal republic, loosely knit together, but with an administrative organization sufficiently developed to assure stability and security of person and property. The Argentine offers the spectacle of an organized democracy, which has passed through a peaceable social revolution, and in which the political system is gradually adapting itself to the new social conditions. Chile is still, in many respects, a political aristocracy, which is entering upon the first stages of social revolution through the gradual awakening of the laboring classes to consciousness of power.

In order to understand these countries, we must begin with a study of their social organization. The first and most serious mistake into which we have fallen has been in judging the life of these nations by the play of their party politics. The constant shifting of governmental policy, due to the ephemeral character of party combinations, has created an impression of instability which a more careful analysis of the situation fails to justify. In all the countries of South America there exists a wide gap between the political life of the nation on the one hand, and its economic, industrial and social activities on the other.

In Chile, for instance, it would be difficult to imagine a more rapid shifting of governmental policy. Under the parliamentary system, for the maintenance of which the revolution of 1891 was fought, the ministries succeed one another with almost bewildering rapidity. It was even rumored in Santiago that the German government had instructed its diplomatic representative not to report cabinet changes until the new ministry had been in office at least one week. And yet this instability of political life affects the life of the nation to a very limited degree. The great mass of the business community look upon politics as the game of a small group of professionals, a necessary evil, tolerable so long as it does not become too serious an obstacle to progress. Politics is looked upon as a career, which one must either enter as a professional or remain entirely aloof. The idea of civic effort with no end in view other than the public welfare is gradually breaking ground, but it has as yet

exerted but little influence upon political life. In Chile, as in the Argentine and Brazil, a small group of young men are beginning to sound a new note, that of the civic obligation of every citizen—an idea new to the political life of South America.

It is important in interpreting South-American conditions to distinguish between two forms of political instability. There is, on the one hand, the type of political instability which finds expression in perpetual revolutions, constituting a constant menace to life and property and an insuperable obstacle to industrial progress. We need not go far to find classic instances; the long series of revolutions in some of the Central-American states is fresh in the mind of every student of Latin-American history. There is, on the other hand, a form of political instability which expresses itself in a constant shifting of political power between different parties or combinations of parties, but which does not affect the fundamental bases of social order. This is the form of instability which exists in Chile and to a certain extent in the Argentine Republic. Ministries succeed one another every few months, but the industrial and social life of the nation follows its normal course unaffected by these changes. It is largely through the confusion of these two types of political instability that we are led to misinterpret the actual situation in the more advanced countries of South America. In spite of all the disadvantages of political instability, a careful study of other phases of national life in South America leads one to the conclusion that there exist in the social and economic life of these countries elements of stability which far outweigh in importance the apparent instability of political conditions, and which offer the best guaranties for the maintenance of order and protection to person and property.

There is probably no other section of the world in which the family organization rests on so solid a basis. It is true that the unmarried woman enjoys relatively little freedom in these countries, and it is equally true that the legal rights of the married women are far more restricted than in the United States. The social status of the unmarried and the limited legal rights of the married woman are apt to mislead the foreigner, unless he undertakes a careful study of the family itself. He will there find a strength of organization and a solidity of structure which cannot be found either in the United States or

in any European country. The unity of family feeling extends not only through the direct line of descent, but to all the collateral branches. It is within this large family group that the spirit of cooperation finds its most distinct expression; and it is this spirit of mutual helpfulness within the family group which lends stability to the social organization of the South-American countries. Divorce is unknown in the South-American codes; but, even were it recognized, it would be most sparingly used. The public opinion of these countries is so unalterably opposed to the dissolution of the marriage tie that social ostracism would confront those who attempted to avail themselves of this remedy.

It must not be supposed, furthermore, that the legal subordination of the wife means either the elimination or diminution of her influence. Throughout South America the rearing and education of the children are left to the mother to a far greater extent than in Europe or in the United States. In marked contrast with conditions in the United States, there is a lack of companionship between father and children. This gives to the mother a predominant influence in the internal affairs of the family. In fact, on her judgment depend the education of the children and, to a very large degree, the callings which they are to follow.

Another error into which we are apt to fall in our interpretation of South-American conditions is to take the violent play of party politics as an indication of the absence of real patriotism. Because political differences are largely personal differences, there is a general tendency on the part of foreign observers to sum up the situation with the remark so often quoted, "No one cares for anything but his personal interests."

The fundamental error of this idea consists in making universal the point of view of a comparatively small group of politicians. Throughout South America the mass of the people are quite as devoted to their respective countries as in any portion of Europe. They are as conscious of the sacrifices that have been made to secure their present position of independence, and are as determined to allow no outside interference with the normal development of their native or adopted land. It is this fact which makes so objectionable the theories of European and American scientists as to the desirability of "placing turbu-

lent South America under the domination of races who have demonstrated their aptitude for self-government." Propositions of this kind are extremely attractive to the northern mind. They are clothed in scientific language, and have all the appearance of careful scientific deductions. The real reason for their widespread acceptance, however, is to be found in the fact that they flatter that complacent sense of national and racial superiority which is so deeply imbedded in the American mind, and which is largely responsible for the feeling of distrust that still exists in certain sections of South America.

The history of South America abounds with deeds of heroism and self-sacrifice, the memory of which has been a constant spur to national pride and patriotism. To think that these countries regard lightly their past or their future is fundamentally to misconstrue the temper of the people. The strength of national feeling and the consciousness of national purpose are becoming more definitely marked with each decade. The invitation to attend the second Peace Conference at The Hague was but the formal recognition of an accomplished fact—the establishment of a group of sovereign and independent states in the southern hemisphere whose political importance could no longer be ignored. We, in the United States, are but beginning to realize that these nations are no longer the object of our condescending sympathy. For the most part, they are full-fledged states, ready to assume their share of the world's work and destined to exert a powerful influence upon world-politics. To our government their co-operation and support will be invaluable in raising the plane of international relations and in maintaining the higher interests of international peace. This phase of the situation we have hitherto ignored, taking it for granted that while we might be of service to the countries of South America, we could not expect anything in the nature of counter-service.

To this series of misrepresentations of South-American conditions we may add the opinion, so generally expressed by all writers, that individual initiative and enterprise are totally lacking; the government being expected not only to perform its usual functions, but also to assist individuals in undertakings of a purely private character. It is true that this tendency, inherited from Spain, strongly impresses the foreign observer, and it requires some time to detect the changes that are taking

place. Amongst the members of the younger generation the example of the United States is exerting a marked influence. In Brazil, in the Argentine and in Chile; the influence of the new spirit is most marked, not only in commercial life, but also in civic and philanthropic effort. The improvement of the educational system, the closer commercial and intellectual contact with the United States, and the example of the large foreign population, have all contributed toward fostering the new movement. Unless the signs of the time are fundamentally misleading, we may confidently look forward to the gradual disappearance of the old Spanish tradition of parentalism, and to the inauguration of a period of individual initiative and enterprise which will set at rest all doubts as to the capacity of the people of Latin America to avail themselves of the rich and varied resources with which this section of the American continent has been endowed.

The views of the people of the United States with reference to South America have been formed in part from newspaper reports, which have until recently been devoted almost exclusively to the details of revolutionary movements, and in part from the highly colored accounts of writers in search of adventure or fascinated by the picturesque. We are now entering upon the transition from fiction or half-truth to reality, a change which will not only give us a clearer appreciation of South-American conditions, but will also pave the way for a closer understanding between the republics of this hemisphere. L. S. Rowe.

HOW TO ADJUST THE ELECTION LAWS TO MODERN CONDITIONS.

BY JAMES T. CLARK.

STUDENTS of all the current election-reform plans are conscious that, underneath the campaign of the reformers against the politicians, is steadily developing the true democracy. We are too much inclined to think of democracy as a political institution, to be compared and weighed in the balance against monarchical, aristocratic and other forms of government, whereas is is simply the assertion of the equal right of all to enjoy the earth. Ever since science gave society to understand the possibilities of this enjoyment and Voltaire's school taught it to fix its eyes on this world, instead of another, the destiny of democracy has been plain. It is a pity that the means, or machinery, of popular government should lag behind the economic and social realization of it.

That progress to this end should go by currents and counter-currents is inevitable. At present, with all the eagerness of intelligent modern society to work out some adequate scheme of popular control of government, it has got foul of the contrary principle of tyrannical control by a few, represented by political party organization. So dominant has this power become that the majority of American citizens accept it as permanent. All their plans for bettering the results of democracy begin with party. It is no wonder, since party has so firmly intrenched itself in the popular mind and in the law; but if it is in principle opposed to democracy, it is plain that it cannot be the effective instrument of the latter. All the election reforms now agitated, the various forms of the ballot, direct as opposed to primary nominations, and the corrupt-practices legislation, all are the sequels of party domination and assume its continuance. The

direct-nomination plan, in theory, seeks to cut out the party primary, but in fact it keeps the party primary alive by giving the party label its same old sway. Whether in large constituencies any true selection of candidates can be made by the direct voting of all, is a question that reason must answer in the negative. Unless something corresponding essentially to the party primary intervenes, the vote, it is evident, must be scattering and inconclusive. Any more diffused influence toward concentrating the vote in a large city—say, by the high reputation of conspicuous citizens—must be easily overborne by a little organization after the machine pattern, using its powerful traditions. That this is the fact, Mr. Luce, the author of the Massachusetts direct-nomination law, himself testifies. He told the writer recently that under this method no more independent candidates are put forward than under the old.

Its exhibition in Boston this year was dismal. Hardly half the registered voters participated in the primaries, and the nominations were confined to the regular candidates of machine factions.

The laudable efforts of the Association to Prevent Corrupt Practices in New York State have resulted only in such a complicated, though thus far ineffective, law that the State Department is at a loss how to interpret it and is at a standstill as to its enforcement.

The ballot of to-day, whose complexity perplexes most of our voters, is but a physical index of the complexity and absurd futility of our election scheme. Is any private business done by such ill-adapted means? Yet we go on reforming the ballot without touching the profound fallacy behind it.

The fact is that something corresponding to the party primary is, in its nature, an essential of democracy in large populations. England's experience under its present low suffrage is almost a demonstration of this. With us the caucus sprang up spontaneously with the growth of our population, beginning with the large constituencies. The Congressional caucus of the beginning of last century, which undertook to converge the choice of the country on Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates, was the prototype. It scandalized our forefathers. In England, after the Reform Act of 1867, with great extension of the suffrage, this "Yankee invention," as it was scornfully called, appeared

full-fledged to meet the problem of vast constituencies. Joseph Chamberlain was the first to appropriate it as the means of controlling mere numerical majorities to which democracy had come. John Stuart Mill, representing the minds in advance of the times on that subject, protested against this machinery devised to swamp individualism by massing individuals. Nevertheless, it is probably true that the caucus has ruled England's political destinies since its adoption in Birmingham in 1868. The whole apparatus of the party system as known among us arose in England in turn. On the death, some eight years ago, of Mr. Thomas Schnadhorst, the London "Times" told the whole history. He had been a sort of Hanna or Croker of the Liberal party; to him Mr. Gladstone frankly attributed the success of his party. The "Times" admitted that the caucus, which the Tories scorned when it was first employed by the Radicals and Liberals, had forced itself upon the Conservatives, until that party had carried it to further lengths than those who introduced it in England. This would seem good evidence of the necessity of the caucus to the system of direct universal voting in large populations, contrary as the idea was to British traditions.

As long as the conditions call for some agency of this kind for the operation of at least a nominal democracy, it will play its real part whether recognized by the law or ignored by it. It is plain that this party primary commands the situation at present and has been the master of our destinies. The people have steadily less and less control of it. After the experience we have had with it, it seems an unavoidable conclusion that the permanent party organization plan is a false democracy.

No wonder the eagerness for political liberty took this first course. That every one should vote for everything seemed the obvious mode of popular government; but this is reducing society, in principle, to a dead level. Not that the grades of men are fixed, but that there is an eternal touchstone of their classification, that is their usefulness to society. In all other relations of life, except government, this element of individual force has play. In business, there is the nicest selection, according to services. Every active member of society comes to be labelled as honest or the contrary, industrious or slothful, close-fisted or open-handed, generous or ignoble, stanch or timid, and so forth, and society uses them accordingly. But our proposition in the

present form of democracy is that every one should count the same in the important business of selecting our officers. The desirability of some distinction among men in this function will be readily assented to; and it will even be claimed that the party system meets this need. But it cannot be denied that it works to private and to anti-popular ends. The test of a property or educational qualification of the voter is rejected as being too little plastic and only a rough method, like the civil service examination system. Their importance to it as judged by society itself seems to be the only criterion of the fitness of men to have a hand in the direction of government. The whole problem of democracy, then, is how to give that judgment of society free play. It is submitted that the present party system does not effect this.

It needs to be said here that what is known as the party system is really a perversion of the party principle; but it has become a fetish to which we have transferred all our ideas of party, and our minds are so fully in its control that we cannot conceive a change. So, "like boys that swim on bladders," we are not using our powers. We have virtually handed over the whole business of government to party organizers, and turned ourselves to other affairs quite aside from the public thing.

Among all the hopeful projects of reform, there is one which has the distinction of not beginning with party. It is a plan poposed some years ago by a citizen of New York State,* which is virtually a return to the New England Town Meeting idea, with adaptation to new conditions and safeguards against the invasion of machine politics. The plan recommended itself so well to the citizens of the city where it was first put forth that a bill embodying it was put through the Legislature, only to be vetoed by Mr. Flower, who was then Governor. This plan begins by obliterating the politician's map of election districts. In a typical city, it preserves the ward boundaries, but mingles all the voters within those limits without geographical separation. Assuming that within such limits as a ward there is some community of acquaintance and interests, it proposes that a registration of the voters therein shall be made and groups of two hundred, or about that number, selected by lot, the names of voters being chosen from the ward register as those of jurors from a

* The late C. C. P. Clark, M.D., of Oswego.

panel. These groups, it is proposed, chosen thus by lot, should at once meet and perform the single part of choosing a representative, not necessarily from their own number, but from the ward, to meet with other representatives chosen in the same way by the other groups of the ward. These representatives in each ward form a college of electors, which has the double function of naming ward officers, when met together, and also naming a representative for the ward to a higher college composed of representatives chosen in like manner. This system of compound representation is logically extensible according to the complexity and rising planes of government.

A prime feature of the plan is that the officers thus chosen must take office and continue in it until they are removed by the same representative electors who appointed them. The representative electors are likewise removable by the constituency which chose them. A redivision of the voters into primary groups by lot is to be made periodically.

It is claimed for this system that it employs two principles essential to any true popular government, which the present election system violates: first, an actual conference of citizens limited to a number small enough to permit actual free discussion and the operation of the influence of personality; second, restricting the participation of citizens in the control of government to the scope of their intelligence.

That is, it corrects two lies of our present system—namely, the false assumptions that the voter can express his real choice, and that he is qualified to choose all officers. All the election law today amounts to, aside from the regulation of the party primaries — that is, aside from the party nomination machinery—is that every voter should on a certain day go to the polls and vote for all officers. The rest is regulation by the party system. It provides for no meetings for deliberation, but assumes that a choice of public officers with regard to satisfactory fitness can be had by the impulse of the mass of voters. Of course, the explanation of this is that this simple law is the survival of the early period of our history when society was as simple. But the conditions have changed from the simple to the complex. Yet there has been no adjustment of the fundamental law to the new conditions.

The need of this adjustment tells the whole story of the rise of

party organization and the machine politician. It has been their occasion and their opportunity. All the Demogorgon mass of party machinery—primary, convention and committee, extending over the whole sphere of government—is the necessary aid and supplement to the utterly inadequate election law. The point, in connection with its effect on our politics and on the development of democracy, is that it has all been supplied by individuals or organizations without authority of, or responsibility to, the people, and that it is controlled more and more for the party organizers' private ends. It is admirably adapted to their purposes. There is reason in their division of the party voting body into small primary units. The whole principle here contended for, of a subdivision of the work of election, is recognized in the politician's plan. It is the plain means for organizing a large mass like, in its formation, to an army. Its other fundamental, as in military discipline, is obedience. The eternal conquest of spoils stimulating its spirit, its organization is vital and vigorous. It is this intrenched power that all movements of citizens outside of party have to cope with and overcome. This established rule, with its permanent organization, fed by the continuous returns of office, sets the measure of the public's effort necessary to take control of the public's affairs.

It is claimed for the plan of popular election briefly sketched above that, by beginning at the bottom and cancelling the politician's map of operations, this unequal contest is put on a more even basis. If, instead of beginning with small local units (election districts), whose voters are commandeered by the district lieutenants as so many counters to be cast up in the sum of the boss, the body of voters within a ward are fluxed and their assortment in primaries is determined by lot, as has been indicated, limiting this mingling to the boundaries of a ward as commonly existing in American cities, it is believed the principle is preserved that those grouped from such a body to meet together shall have neighborhood acquaintance, as far as it exists in modern cities, and local common interests to guide their simple part in the ascending process of selecting the fittest and best men. The base of this theory is "men not measures." For it is held that good measures can only come from good men, and that from them they will come.

We are proud and confident of the virtue of the old New Eng-

land Town Meeting; but it has still an older title to importance. It was only rediscovered and adopted by our forefathers, for it appeared spontaneously in the early budding of free Teutonic ideas after the Middle Ages. It has appeared likewise at various crises of society, when old institutions were in flux and natural methods asserted themselves. The plan here outlined was resorted to for the assembling of the *tiers état* in the States General at the time of the French Revolution, which became the National Assembly. How admirable its results, let those instructed and patriotic historians, Erckmann and Chatrian, testify.

In "The Story of a Peasant"* will be found the proclamation of the King that called this body together and ordered the manner of its election. The document provides (1) that the voters of each parish and community were to meet at the "Guild Hall" and elect deputies who should constitute "the assembly of the third estate" of the town; (2) that this body should appoint deputies at the rate of "one for every hundred houses," to represent it at the convention of the "principal bailiwick"; which, in turn, (3) was to send a fourth part of its number to "represent it at Paris."

Commenting on that compound system of representation, the authors remark:

> "It will be observed that instead of naming, as we do now, deputies of whom we know nothing . . . we chose, as was sensible, from one's own village. . . . Those persons then selected the most sensible, the most able, the boldest and best educated to sustain our appeals to the King, the princes, the nobles and the bishops. In this fashion we had what was good. Look at what our deputies did in '89, and what these do to-day; then you will see whether it was better to have folks who were chosen because they were known, or men whom you elect because the prefect recommends them to you."

Substitute in the last sentence "politician" for "prefect," *et de te fabula narratur.*

Cromwell's army, when they demanded their right to be heard in Parliament for the part they had played in bringing about the Commonwealth, adopted much the same plan. The testimony of the great founders of the Republic is almost an injunction to us. The Town Meeting, with which Samuel Adams knit up the bone and sinew of a new nation, has well been called "the primordial cell of democracy." John Adams, when our Minister in Eng-

* Vol. I, p. 135, *et seq.*, Beeton's Library Edition.

land, explained the young nation's strength to her wondering mother by the simple secret, "the town meeting, the school meeting, the church meeting and the meeting of the militia on training-day."

Thomas Jefferson, the most practical as well as the most far-seeing of the prophets of democracy, said:

> "Those wards, called townships in New England, are the vital principle of their government, and have proved themselves the wisest invention ever devised by the wit of man for the perfect exercise of self-government and for its preservation. As Cato then concluded every speech with the words, '*Carthago delenda est*,' so do I every opinion with that injunction, 'Divide the country into wards.'"

That is, divide the voting body into small primary groups.

Virtually the very plan proposed here was left as a legacy by Turgot, that prophet of human rights and liberty, so far ahead of his times that the peaceful revolution which his ideas were beginning to work, and surely must have worked, was made a matter of posthumous centuries by the actual bloody Revolution.

Any such plan of popular elections as that here broached, assuming it is approximately politician-proof, must seem at present almost a counsel of perfection. Especially must this seem so to those who have most acquaintance with what has to be overcome before so radical a substitution could be made for the present hierarchy of politicians. Only those who have worked in season and out of season to gain an inch toward the protection and freedom of the ballot know what the arts and stratagems are that must be encountered. The very law confounds them; the sinister minds of the party legislators have wrought a confusion.

The permanent party idea being imposed on us, the laws, even when ostensibly directed to curbing its absolute rule, have served to perpetuate it. If now anything is undertaken which promises to essentially modify the machine's control, it is a Sisyphean and endless task to revise and amend appropriately the existing statutes, only with the prospect that the particular and vital point will be dropped out of the new legislation in its course through the legislature.

The question then arises whether anything can be hoped from following up this endless and heretofore fruitless negotiation with the politicians, in which hardly anything has been wrested from their main purpose and design. Bold as the proposal is, it is

a question whether some radical renovation of our election law cannot be *forced* by public sentiment from the politicians, at least enough for an experiment on a small scale of something like pure democracy. The politician is content to lead us on false scents, throwing us now and then a fair-sounding, nominal but unsubstantial concession. These herrings drawn across the trail have thus far led nowhere.

On this point, the history of the effort to try the plan described here is instructive. It proposed a radical change. Nevertheless, when submitted in the public prints in the city where it originated, it was supported by a large majority, if not a substantial unanimity, of the voters. This was testified to by the outgoing and incoming mayors. The bill, incorporating the plan as an amendment to the city charter, went to Albany with a large delegation of the foremost citizens behind it. The local representatives in Senate and Assembly could not refuse to promote it ostensibly, simply as a measure of home rule. Yet how insincere the politicians were was shown by the appeal of the Assemblyman who had the measure ostensibly in charge to the local boss to save him from the pressure for the measure of the thousands of best citizens of both political parties. He wrote he had received just two letters against it. The only response to this unhappy politician was from a handful of notoriously active machine men. But the popular demand was too strong to be denied. The measure passed both houses, but its importance had been measured and the higher powers had decreed its death. Even Tammany aroused itself to suppress this promising project of reform from a distant part of the State. The result was a veto by Governor Flower in a message so inept that it showed neither a knowledge of the measure nor a knowledge of democratic principles. Why should it? They have not been the politicians' study.

JAMES T. CLARK.

INVESTMENT SECURITIES—III.

BY FINANCIER.

General Mortgage Bonds.—Following their First, Second, Divisional and other Mortgage Bonds, many roads have issued their General Mortgage Bonds. A number of these securities were issued during the business depression of 1890 to 1896, when, as a result of the reckless railroad financing of the decade prior to 1890, many roads were forced into the hands of receivers.

The General Mortgage Bonds were secured by a general or "blanket" mortgage on all the property of the company, the lien being, of course, subject to the first or underlying bonds, many of which were not disturbed by the paring down of securities which the reorganization entailed. Most of the General Mortgage Bonds issued at this time bore four or five per cent. interest; and, as a result of the reorganization, holders of the secondary or junior mortgage bonds bearing six or seven per cent. interest were compelled to take General Mortgage Bonds, in part or in full, in exchange for their securities on which the road had been compelled to default. The result reduced the annual interest charges within the amount which it was anticipated the road could earn. In some instances, it was found possible to issue additional amounts of these General Mortgage Bonds, and with the funds thus obtained to rehabilitate the roads, the physical condition of many of which was deplorable.

Usually, the authorized issue of these General Mortgage Bonds was very large, and their term was made a long one—frequently a hundred years. Only a comparatively small proportion of the total amount authorized was put out at first. A large part of the issue would be reserved to take up or refund the underlying bonds as they matured.

A number of General Mortgage Bonds of some great systems are

now secured by a first lien upon important parts of the roads, as some of the First Mortgage Bonds which formerly preceded the General Bonds have matured, and have been paid off with the proceeds of the General Mortgage Bonds which had been reserved for that purpose. The General Bonds have thus become subrogated to the first lien of the bonds retired.

It is also usually provided in the General Mortgages that a certain amount, varying from $1,000,000 to $3,000,000 of bonds, may be issued each year to pay for improvements, the construction of branches, extensions, etc.

A typical issue of this class, although not created as a result of a reorganization, is found in the General Mortgage Gold Bonds of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway, a part of which bear 3½ per cent. interest and a part 4 per cent. The total amount authorized is $150,000,000, but only $40,000,000 has been issued, the balance being reserved to take up Divisional and Branch Bonds having a prior lien, or to provide funds for improvements, extensions, etc. These bonds are now secured by a first lien on over 1,700 miles of road and are a junior lien on nearly all the balance of the system. The Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul General Mortgage Bonds are regarded as thoroughly high-grade securities, not only because they are in part First Mortgage Bonds, but also because the total indebtedness of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway is very light in comparison with the value of its assets, and because the net earnings of the road are between three and four times the amount required to pay the bond interest.

The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railway General Mortgage Four-per-cent. Bonds, due in 1995, were authorized in 1895 as a result of the Reorganization Plan which terminated the receivership of the road in that year.

Of the $165,490,500 of bonds authorized, $146,634,500 are now outstanding, and they are secured by a first mortgage on more than 5,000 miles of road. Since the reorganization, the Atchison has developed into a road of great importance, and its General Mortgage Bonds rank well among investment securities. The net earnings are not only sufficient to meet the interest charges, but they exceed the amount required for this purpose by an ample margin.

The Erie General Mortgage Four-per-cent. Bonds of 1996 are

less conservative in character than the Atchison or St. Paul bonds above mentioned. They are secured by a first mortgage on only a few miles, while on important parts of the road they are preceded by no less than six prior liens.

Consolidated and Unified Mortgage Bonds.—Bonds issued under Consolidated and Unified Mortgages are very similar to the General Mortgage Bonds. Usually, the total authorized issue is a large one and they run for a long period. As the underlying bonds mature, they are paid off by issues of the Consolidated or Unifying Bonds reserved for that purpose, the bonds being so named because many comparatively small debts are thus consolidated or unified.

Consideration of General, Unified and Consolidated Mortgage Bonds as Investments.—The fact that the total amount of General Mortgage Bonds outstanding is usually large—frequently exceeding $100,000,000—is in one sense an advantage to the investor because, as a result, there is, under almost any conditions, an active market for these issues. They are listed on most of the large Stock Exchanges in this country and some of them on some of the European Exchanges. They become widely distributed among bond-buyers; and, as the number of investors interested in them increases, the demand for them broadens. They may be at any time immediately converted into cash; and, as sales of the active issues occur on the Exchanges almost daily, one knows from the quotations which are published in the papers of all the large cities just what his bonds are worth. On the other hand, the fact that $1,000,000 or more of the bonds may be issued each year is regarded as a disadvantage by many investors. The influx of such a large amount of new bonds into the market may depress the prices. However, it may be said that the railroads, unless they can obtain a fair price for their securities, frequently withhold them from sale, and, too, as the bonds usually appear through the medium of a large banking firm, their distribution is accomplished without unduly affecting the markets. Nevertheless, careful investors favor bonds secured by a "closed mortgage"—that is, by a mortgage all the bonds authorized by which are outstanding and in the hands of the public. There is no occasion for apprehension, in the case of such a security, that the exigent needs of a road for funds, or other causes, will precipitate the throwing upon the market of a large block of the bonds for whatever price

they will bring. The demand for bonds, secured by a closed mortgage, is usually great enough to absorb, at fair prices, whatever sales may be made by investors.

First and Refunding Mortgage Bonds.—The First and Refunding Mortgage Bonds are in many respects similar to the General Mortgage Bonds. Most of them bear 3½ or 4 per cent. interest and run from thirty to fifty years. Several large issues of this class of security made their appearance three or four years ago, their creation being a result, in some respects, of the very prosperous business which the railroads were enjoying at that time.

The panic of 1893, as stated above, had resulted in a large number of railroad bankruptcies and reorganizations. The insolvency of a number of roads was due to the fact that many of them were extravagantly bonded; and, when business decreased, with the years of depression following 1893, they were unable to meet the interest on their obligations. Following this period of adversity, however, the roads have been, generally speaking, conservatively managed. Generous appropriations for rehabilitation and improvement have been made from earnings, and, as a result, the credit of our railroads in general has largely improved.

Following 1900, however, the roads found themselves without facilities for handling the traffic which was pressed upon them. They needed additional mileage of double track, new equipment, larger terminals, etc. It also happened that there were a number of high-rate obligations maturing at that time, and it became necessary to refund them. Our general financial situation was exceptionally strong and large funds of capital were available for investment. The railroads took advantage of the situation by creating these First and Refunding Mortgage Bonds. They not only managed to refund the bonds maturing at that time and to make provision for other issues becoming due, but also made the bonds provide funds for other purposes. Our banks and bankers were in an easy position, and had no difficulty in financing an issue of from $50,000,000 to $100,000,000, because they found the public ready to absorb these Refunding Bonds at a comparatively low rate of interest. Inasmuch as many of the maturing bonds were secured by a First Mortgage, the new Refunding Bonds—through the issuance of which the maturing bonds had been redeemed—became partly a First Mortgage Bond. If that part of the road on which they are a first lien is an essential part of the

system and the amount of the issue is not too heavy, the fact that the bonds are secured in part by a First Mortgage makes them attractive to those who favor conservative investments.

But, besides providing for the redemption of maturing bonds, the Refunding Mortgages usually provide for the issuing of bonds for other purposes. Under certain restrictions, an amount of bonds may be issued for extensions and improvements, and in some mortgages a part of the authorized issue may be floated to pay for stocks or securities which the issuing road may purchase. As an instance, the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway Company issued a part of its First and Refunding Bonds to finance the purchase of $10,000,000 of Chicago and Alton stock. So the mortgage securing these bonds is not purely what its name implies, *i. e.*, a First and Refunding Mortgage.

These First and Refunding Mortgage Bonds are similar to the General Mortgage Bonds in having a broad and active market. Associated with the bankers who were successful in floating large issues of these securities were a number of European banks and banking firms. As a result, the issues have not only a national, but an international, market. Some of them are listed in New York, London, Frankfort, Berlin and Amsterdam. It should be noted that there is a disadvantage in this world-wide market. A financial depression in any one of the foreign centres where the bonds are held may result in low prices for the bonds there, and as quotations in all markets must remain approximately equivalent, may depress the American markets. But a broad distribution of bonds is generally regarded as a point in favor of the issue. It means a larger demand for the securities than could be found in any one market, and therefore greater stability of prices under all conditions.

FINANCIER.

THE MOSQUITO THEORY, YELLOW FEVER AND ARSENIZATION.

BY REGINALD B. LEACH, M.D.

More than twenty years ago, Dr. Carlos Finlay, of Havana, Cuba, presented to the profession a theory to the effect that yellow fever is transmitted from a yellow-fever patient to healthy persons by mosquitoes. The Doctor's theory was long a mooted one among physicians, but he persisted in talking about it to all who would listen and in writing about it in every available publication, until, by direction of Congress, the President was empowered and requested to appoint a commission of physicians to investigate it. Drs. Walter Reed, James Carroll, A. Agramonte and Jesse W. Lazear, of the United States Army, comprised the commission.

These gentlemen at once proceeded to Quemados, Cuba, where, in June, 1900, experiments were begun and carried on until this so-called theory was proved to be a fact, and a report confirming Dr. Finlay's assertions was submitted to the Government in the following language: "Natural yellow fever is transmitted by the mosquito, and always and only by the mosquito."

The correctness of this theory being admitted, a practical objection to successful operation under it is instantly obvious. This objection was tersely stated by the New Orleans Board of Health, in a pamphlet circulated gratis in the City of New Orleans in 1905, as follows:

"The adaptation of protective measures to this important discovery renders the prevention or suppression of an epidemic very simple, *theoretically.* It is *practically impossible* to screen from mosquitoes every case of fever that might be yellow fever, and *it is impossible, also,* to be certain of the destruction of all mosquitoes that may have been infected from mild and *unrecognized cases* of the disease."

The results of the New Orleans epidemic of 1905 bear out this

conclusion. It appears therefrom that the most diligent and systematic effort along the lines of the Mosquito Theory failed to prevent 3,391 cases of yellow fever, resulting in 448 deaths, in that city at that time. It is apparent, then, that, if yellow fever is to be conquered, other methods must be used in conjunction with those of Dr. Finlay.

Preventive medication, by the mouth or by inoculation, is now an accepted medical fact. It is along these lines, therefore, that the solution may reasonably be sought. The purpose of this article is to show that the solution has not only been found, but has been proved.

It consists in what is termed "Arsenization," and, as a theory, it was first presented to the United States Government as the result of researches undertaken by the writer at the request of the late Senator C. K. Davis. A memorial, calling attention to these researches, which was presented to the Senate by Mr. Davis, June 4th, 1898, was duly referred to the Committee on Public Health and National Quarantine, and by them was referred to the Surgeon-General of the Army, with a request for a reply.

On May 7th, 1900, the reply requested was presented to the Congress in what is known as Senate Report 1215, and was to the effect that "there is not sufficient *experimental evidence on record* to justify your Committee in giving the subject any special consideration."

At that time, this reply was apparently justifiable, for, up to 1900, arsenization was little known outside of Brazil; and the assertions of the petitioner of June 4th, 1898, were supplemented only by those of a dozen Brazilian experts in the treatment of yellow fever, whose affidavits may have appeared rather fulsome in their unqualified laudation of a theory which had but twenty thousand practical tests at that time to its credit. To all intents and purposes, therefore, Senate Report 1215 put a quietus upon any prospect of an immediate practical demonstration of arsenization north of the Equator.

The persistence of a few physicians kept this theory before the profession through various medical journals and medical Societies, with the ever-present hope that, eventually, action similar to that taken by Congress to prove or disprove the Mosquito Theory might yet be taken in regard to a theory involving the immunization of everybody exposed either to "natural yellow fever" or to

those "mosquitoes that may have been infected from mild and unrecognized cases of the disease."

No opportunity for a practical test existed except in the Canal Zone, and the authorities on the isthmus, having adopted the Finlay Mosquito Theory as "the only known rational means of preventing or suppressing yellow fever," were reluctant to test another theory simultaneously, though the two acted along different lines toward a common goal.

In August, 1905, the long-awaited opportunity was presented; consequently, it is now possible to give to the world some facts and figures, concerning both the Mosquito Theory and arsenization—*practically tested simultaneously in the same community under the supervision of Government officers*—that it is believed will prove interesting even to the laity.

These facts and figures are comprised in a report of the practical results following the exhibition of arsenization in New Orleans in 1905. The report comprehends the greatest number of experiments with an alleged protective against a specific contagion ever made, within an equal radius, during an equal time, with such phenomenally favorable results to every individual experimented upon.

In July, 1905, the authorities of the State of Louisiana and of the City of New Orleans requested the Federal Government to assume the responsibilities of the quarantine. This action was apparently imperative because of the rather unfraternal attitude of neighboring commonwealths, whose "shotgun quarantines" threatened commercial destruction for Louisiana.

The State of Louisiana and the City of New Orleans having made suitable financial provision, the President directed the Marine Hospital Service to assume control in the infected districts, and Dr. J. H. White, Deputy Surgeon-General, was placed in charge, with headquarters at New Orleans.

The Mosquito Theory was at once put into practice. The destruction of all mosquitoes, especially the *stegomyia fasciata,* (the only species of mosquito known to transmit the yellow-fever miasm) *plus* sanitary and hygienic measures, was vigorously instituted, and a propaganda of education of the populace in the Mosquito Theory was begun.

The local Board of Health, cooperating with the Federal authorities, appointed physicians of known ability along these

lines to give lectures nightly upon the new theory of protection, which, up to this time, had never been tested within the borders of our country.

All available halls and opera-houses were utilized, where, with charts and slides and stereopticons, these physicians elucidated Dr. Finlay's theory of yellow-fever prevention or suppression, as it had been demonstrated in Quemados, Cuba, by the above-mentioned commission. The lecturers also not only urged the people to screen and oil their cisterns and to clean up their premises, but requested them to urge their neighbors to conform likewise to the law of their city—thus augmenting the utility of the Mosquito Theory by removing other breeding-grounds and feeding-places for the deadly *stegomyia.*

At the urgent request of the Federal authorities, the City Council of New Orleans enacted a special ordinance, to take effect at once, to the effect that all residents of New Orleans must at once screen their cisterns.

At the same time, with an appropriation fund of $350,000 provided for the special purpose, all idle teams in New Orleans and vicinity were pressed into the service of the officials, and all idle labor was provided with employment. Many volunteer organizations sprang into being; house to house inspection became the order of the day; and much housecleaning was attended to promptly. But the epidemic that showed 54 new cases on August 3rd, 1905, continued to increase in apparent severity, until, on August 12th, the climax was reached, with a report of 105 new cases on that day.

I do not mean to assert that the Mosquito Theory is unfounded. Its practical efficiency is vindicated by a comparison of the epidemic of 1878 with that of 1905, difference in population at the two dates being considered. I do assert, and the figures of 1905 bear out the assertion, that it is inadequate, of and by itself, to do more than mitigate the spread of yellow fever.

On August 3rd, 1905, a new factor entered into the contest. On that date, a letter from the writer was published in New Orleans setting forth the claims of the advocates of arsenization, and stating the manner in which the protective drug was to be used. A few days later, at the request of a number of prominent citizens of New Orleans, the writer went to that city and spent several weeks therein in educating the people along these lines.

The suggested preventive was taken up by the populace of the threatened city in a truly astonishing manner. The practice of arsenization spread so rapidly that, within a few days, "wholesale druggists and jobbers, who usually ordered arsenious-acid tablets from the manufacturers in 100,000 lots, began supplying same in 100,000 lots to the retail trade." Even this soon began to be inadequate to provide the public with the particular prescription it demanded the privilege of testing to the utmost. Jobbers and wholesalers soon ordered in millions, until, upon investigation by representatives of "The Druggists' Circular," of New York, and "The Lumber Trade Journal," of New Orleans, it was learned that between fifteen and twenty millions of this particular tablet had been supplied to the trade of New Orleans within the preceding twenty-three days, "with many more millions to the trade of outlying infected districts."

The figures contained in the reports made by the representatives of the two publications above mentioned, are the only figures thus far obtainable and are more or less meagre, of course, as the epidemic inquisition continued, as usual, until frost.

From these figures it appears that, on or before the date of investigation by the above-mentioned publications, enough arsenious-acid tablets had been disposed of to residents in New Orleans to properly arsenicize at least 165,000 persons; but 11,000 residents had left the city up to that time, and there were 16,000 immunes in the city at that time. The number of the persons thus accounted for, when subtracted from the known normal population of New Orleans, gives a total of not more than 95,000 non-arsenicized non-immunes in that city during the epidemic of 1905, under the alleged protection of the Mosquito Theory, *plus* sanitary and hygienic measures.

While 3,391 persons, of the 95,000 protected only by the Mosquito Theory, contracted the prevailing malady, and 448 of these succumbed to the disease, but *five* (5) of the 165,000 arsenicized persons in the same city, at the same time, contracted the disease; and all of these cases, though "showing unmistakable signs of yellow fever," were exceedingly mild in character, and *all* of these patients *recovered* within a very short time; in fact, it was stated by the father of two of the patients that, though pronounced by the authorities as "cases of undoubted yellow fever," they were at no time confined to their beds.

The result was such that, were it not capable of statistical verification, it would be incredible. The daily number of new cases, which, up to that time, had shown a marked increase over the corresponding period in the epidemic of 1878, (105 as against 43 on August 12th), rapidly diminished, until by August 26th, when arsenization had become general, official reports showed but 31 new cases as against 225 on the corresponding day in 1878.

What caused the sudden checking of the ravages of the plague? Was it arsenization or was it the efforts of the Marine Hospital officials along the lines of the Mosquito Theory? Two things point unmistakably to arsenization as the prime cause. First, the united efforts of the Federal, State and municipal authorities, for several weeks before arsenization was introduced, did *not* prevent a steady increase of the contagion. Its cessation dates precisely from the introduction of arsenization. Second, the practical immunity of arsenicized persons corroborates, and puts beyond dispute, the inference from this coincidence. If the same percentage of illness and death had been maintained among the 165,000 arsenicized, as among the 95,000 non-arsenicized, there would have been 5,890 *additional* cases of yellow fever and 778 *additional* deaths during the epidemic in New Orleans in 1905.

Summarizing briefly, these conclusions rest on evidence which is beyond all denial:

1. The destruction of mosquitoes is but a partial protection. It is a practical impossibility that it be made absolute. Only by an ever-present autocracy, which the temper of our people will not endure, except in the face of extreme peril, can it be maintained. Epidemics will become serious before it can be put in force.

2. Arsenization is practically a complete preventive of the contagion, and an absolute preventive of fatality.

3. Yellow fever is a recurring menace to a considerable section of our country, and a constant impediment to the greatest enterprise in which the United States is now engaged.

Do not these propositions imperatively demand an immediate investigation by the Government? Such an investigation will be asked at the next session of Congress. Whether it will fail of consideration, amid the great mass of business pressed on that body by selfish interests, depends largely on the intelligent people of the United States, to whom the facts are here submitted.

REGINALD B. LEACH.

WHAT AMERICA PAYS EUROPE FOR IMMIGRANT LABOR.

BY CHARLES F. SPEARE.

THERE are two powerful streams, quite reciprocal in nature—the one flowing toward, the other away from, this country—that have created new forces in our economic life while changing the whole current of events in parts of Europe. Both are to-day at high-water mark.

Every year from a million to a million and a quarter aliens are admitted to American ports. Some come to work and save and found new homes; others to work and sweat and save so that, finally, they may relapse into a life of ease in the land of their nativity. They come from impoverished countries, themselves poor. They form the westward-flowing stream.

Out of this stream there is created that other one whose current is eastward. But, whereas the first is of humanity, the second is of gold.

We import labor because we need it. The problem of 1,250,000 immigrants a year is a modest one compared with the problem that would confront our captains of industry should emigration of equal proportions set in. If Europe is to-day embarrassed by a stream which dries up the sources of her productivity, surely we Americans should be encouraged by the fact that it adds so abundantly to ours. It is not, however, of immigration, *per se,* that I propose to treat, but of the newer and less exploited phases of it suggested by the toll, in currency, that the United States pays to those countries from which she draws her laborers, and the imprint on the social and commercial life, of southern Europe especially, of this vast payment which goes to the support of nearly a million families of divers tongues.

Out of the savings of the foreign-born in America, $250,000,000

a year is now going abroad. The annual increase is about ten per cent. If this money were retained here, it would be sufficient, every four years, to liquidate our interest-bearing debt. It cannot be controlled. It is the *quid pro quo,* the international credit balance, to which the immigrant laborer is entitled if he is worthy of his hire. Until he becomes naturalized there is no particular reason why he should leave his balance here if he prefers to send it home, any more than there is cause for the European manufacturer of silks or wines to bank his surplus in New York when payment has been made him there for his products. The new immigrant labor that takes its place in the ranks each year adds a billion dollars in value to the industrial energy of the country. It is "human capital." Not only does it do this, but it stimulates all domestic markets by creating so much more consuming power. Against it is the annual loss of a quarter of a billion dollars which, by just so much, reduces our foreign credit balances. We get a great deal for what we give.

The annual distribution of this great sum of money throughout Europe is in the following proportions:

Italy	$70,000,000	Russia	$25,000,000
Austria-Hungary	65,000,000	Germany	15,000,000
Great Britain	25,000,000	Greece	5,000,000
Norway and Sweden	25,000,000	All others, including France, Switzerland, Belgium and Denmark	10,000,000

The total foreign-born population of the United States numbers about 15,000,000. The table below gives the division of it by nationalities and the *per capita* remittance of each:

	Number.	Per capita remittance.
Italian	2,300,000	$30.00
Austrian-Hungarian	2,250,000	28.10
British	3,500,000	7.14
Scandinavian	1,600,000	15.00
Russian	1,700,000	14.50
German	3,700,000	4.05
Greek	100,000	50.00

The earliest immigration into the United States was from Germany and Great Britain. High-water mark for those countries was reached years ago, although Ireland again is beginning to send large numbers to our shores. To-day we are dealing with new classes—those from southern Europe. The above figures demonstrate that the tendency to return money to Europe is strongest in the first few years of residence here. Against the *per capita*

remittance by Germans of $4.05 and by English and Irish of $7.14, races long ago established in the United States, we have the high *per capita* rate of $30 by the Italian, $50 by the Greek, $28.10 by the Slavic peoples and $14.50 by the Russian, all of whom are a relatively new element in our civilization.

Fully one-third of the drafts on Europe are remitted through the Post-office. The postal order is now the most popular form of exchange in use between the United States and Europe. It represents an annual value of $71,000,000. By five year periods, since 1885, and then to 1907, the figures are as follows:

1885	$6,840,358	1905	$47,516,028
1890	13,230,135	1906	63,047,867
1895	12,890,744	1907	71,000,000
1900	16,749,018		

Since 1895 the foreign postal orders issued have reached a total value of $325,000,000 and the number of orders mailed to Europe is represented by the enormous figure of twenty millions. All of this international business goes *viâ* New York. The superintendent of the foreign-money department there tells me that his weekly purchases of exchange on London, Paris, Berlin and the principal cities of northwestern and southeastern Europe amount to $1,500,000. This business is heaviest at Christmas time, when the remittances to Ireland, Italy, Germany and Scandinavia increase materially. The Italians send the largest individual amounts—two recently bought money-orders for $3,000 each—and the Irish the smallest. The steamship "Baltic," at Christmas two years ago, put off at Queenstown mail-bags containing 10,000 registered letters enclosing $125,000. The orders were payable at almost every post-office in Ireland. The average remittance was only two and one-half pounds, sterling. The Hungarian average is about $40, or 200 kronen. Aliens homeward bound buy postal drafts payable to their order at some foreign office. The foreign-born who have no faith in banks also purchase drafts and leave the money on deposit here until needed.

All sorts of outside agencies are employed by those who do not use the Post-office for their international banking operations. A leading one, of course, is the native banker. Through him goes the great bulk of all money sent out of the country. There are nearly 1,000 Italian bankers in the United States. About 300 of them are located in New York. Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Denver, New Orleans and San Francisco have their quota. There

are several hundred Hungarian bankers, but the majority of them are in the eastern cities and in the coal and iron regions of the Middle West. Small Russian bankers are quite numerous in the foreign quarter of the metropolis, and half a dozen banking institutions in the northwest, in Chicago and in New York handle the largest part of the remittance to Norway and Sweden. Altogether, about $125,000,000 is forwarded by drafts on Europe sold by these private concerns.

The demand on the part of the immigrant for a forwarding agent for his savings has brought into being these native bankers. Originally, many of them were the agents of steamship lines and did a small supplementary business as money-changers. But now their main transactions are in remittances. This trade has grown enormously in the past ten years. There are probably a score of banking firms in New York city alone, whom the downtown financial district rarely hears of, dealing in from $3,000,000 to $5,000,000 of exchange a year. The foreign banker, particularly the small Italian, is the business adviser of his client. His influence with his compatriots is something for ward politicians to reckon with on election day. To his office comes the mail of the unestablished and itinerant immigrant, and through it is spread the gossip of the special province to which the banker caters. It is a general clearing-house for all affairs in the life of the foreigner, and, in small towns and cities, it is his club and lounging-place. The banker exercises a sort of paternal influence over his customer, and, on the whole, treats him fairly. There was a time in the nineties when a goodly proportion of the money deposited with these private concerns, subjected to no banking laws, went directly into their pockets. Occasionally now one hears of an absconding banker. But, compared with the tens of millions of dollars intrusted to them, the percentage that fails to reach its destination is infinitesimal. "I give money to big Russian and he give me red ticket; I no worry," was the way our Polish maid described her occasional international banking transactions.

Then there is the part played in this great forwarding movement of American money by the express companies, which undoubtedly contributes $20,000,000 to $25,000,000 to the whole amount. The remaining $10,000,000 or $15,000,000 is remitted by consular offices, charitable institutions, and associations of

different sorts—such as the Norwegian sailors' homes and Irish immigrant protective societies—and in currency through the mails. This last form of remittance is not over $1,500,000 to $2,000,000, and takes the form mainly of Italian lira and Russian rouble notes, with a small sprinkling of kronen to Hungary. The actual currency is remitted by the most ignorant and suspicious foreign element, who have no faith in the Post-office or in their native bankers. Sometimes, however, this method is adopted in order to stop the gossip that is excited in every little town in southern Europe when a registered letter arrives for one of the villagers.

The Banco d'Napoli was the pioneer in the business of making remittances for Italians in America. Last Christmas, it received at its head office 32,000,000 lire for distribution throughout the country. Of recent years, however, the Credito-Italiano and the Banco-Commerciale have outrun it and have been drawing very many more drafts than the Bank of Naples. In some cases, the drafts on the banks are transferred on arrival into money-orders payable at the Italian post-offices, and, in others, they are sent out from the head centres of the banks in actual coin of the realm. About the same principle applies to drafts drawn on Russia, Hungary and the other nations receiving their weekly allowances from the United States. There is not a mail-carrying steamer leaving the port of New York, from one year's end to the other, that does not convey a credit, ranging from $1,000,000 to $2,000,000, to some thousands of needy Europeans, whose idea of America is a land where gold lies exposed in the streets and labor has most abundant compensation.

While the direct outgo of money in the form of bank drafts or postal orders may be reckoned at $250,000,000, there is another large item to be considered. It is the funds that immigrants take home with them on their periodic pilgrimages eastward. This will much more than offset the $25,000,000 that was declared in pocket last year by those arriving at American ports. For several months prior to sailing the immigrant ceases to remit. He hoards his savings. His American money he converts, let us say, into lira notes or kronen. This has first to be imported, and the importation of foreign currency assumes a prominent part in the business of the foreign bankers. It has been estimated, for instance, that $10,000,000 of kronen are brought in for the use of the Hungarian people alone, and probably as much more

might be put down to the account of the Italian. The Norwegians and Swedes also use a considerable sum of their native money when they start homeward at Christmas.

To one who has not made an intimate study of the immigrant and his way of living, it is inconceivable how he is able to apportion so large a percentage of his actual earnings to the account of savings. It is from the most poorly paid of our people—those who constitute what we are sometimes tempted to term the "dependent class"—that the great bulk of the remittances come. But we must remember that the immigrant is earning, at the lowest, from three to six times his European wage, and that the actual cost of living in his new sphere of life has not greatly increased. His savings do not result from increased economy or personal sacrifices. He has been used to cheap and hard fare in Italy, in Hungary or where not, and he is content to exist in the same way for the first few years on American soil. I know of an Italian working with a railroad constructing gang, and living sometimes in a shanty and sometimes in a bunk-car, who, every three months, remits to Naples $90 of the total of $125 earned. He is buying land. Professor Steiner estimates that the Hungarians send back in the proportion of $15 to every $40 of income per month. This is undoubtedly a fair average, but there are thousands of individual cases where the percentage is much higher. A Hungarian banker in New York who does a business of $3,000,000 annually, and who has twenty thousand clients distributed over the United States representing many occupations, allowed me to look over the cards on which a record of each remittance is made. These go to prove that the Slovaks and the other peoples whose drafts are drawn on Budapest are saving every last penny, and living in circumstances that seem almost animal, in order to accumulate, as soon as possible, what to them would be a competency and permanent financial independence in their home town. Complaint has been made by foreign government authorities that the stress of this sort of existence very quickly undermines the health of the immigrant, and that, laden with gold, but broken in body, he comes home to die of consumption or some other disease which poor nourishment, exposure and unceasing toil finally fasten on the sturdiest of physiques.

Not the least important aspect of the matter is the effect of this wholesale exodus on the countries whence it comes. Emigration

is a vital economic problem of the day in Italy, in Greece, in Austria-Hungary, in Ireland and, to a lesser extent, in Poland, in the Baltic provinces of Russia, in Spain and in Norway and Sweden. A royal commission is now working here among the Swedes trying to persuade the young men to return to a country that is losing its vitality through emigration. Sections of southern Europe are rapidly being depopulated. But the partial compensation for this great ebbing away of population, this loss of blood and sinew by emigration, is to be found in the money constantly sent into these countries by their expatriated sons. Government officials admit it, even if it is a one-sided kind of reciprocity that takes a strong-bodied laborer from his country, probably for all time, in return for the tiny stream of gold that may, for a few years, trickle back into his home town from earnings in some distant land. For instance, the Italian laborer, with a family of four or five to support, may have lived in extreme poverty on the little piece of land allotted to him. He leaves home and comes to the United States and straightway earns good wages. These earnings in the main go back to Italy; they raise the domestic condition of his family from wretched penury to, at least, moderate comfort. I reckon that the annual Italian remittances from America are sufficient to feed 150,000 families of a half-dozen persons each, or the equivalent of a city of the size of Boston, according to the manner of cheap living in the southern provinces. This is not all. The money returned liquidates debts that have been fastened upon peasants for years; it cancels mortgages and gives a freehold on property that has been in arrears for taxes for over a generation. It provides means to educate the young and to make the declining years of the old and infirm a little more cheerful. But the savings of the immigrants are not exclusively used for the support of those left behind. A good proportion of them is forwarded for deposit in European banks. Pass-books are continually going backward and forward with their credit balances rising. In many cases, savings go for the purchase of real estate and the implements of agriculture. Land in Italy, in Greece, in parts of Hungary and of Ireland, is very cheap. In some places it is bought as an investment; in others, with the idea that the owner will return to his native province and begin his career there anew as a freeholder and not as a tenant. A large proportion of the Ital-

ians who come here have that idea in mind. Only a small percentage carry it into effect. They migrate back and forth for several years, until, finally, the fascination and remuneration of American life hold them down to the soil of this home of the free.

The Russian Jew, fleeing from religious persecution, and the Slovak, Servian, Croatian or Pole abandoning a country that has oppressed him with its political injustice and its economic burdens, and even the Irishman, with dreams of a land of plenty, have little thought of returning home when finally their material circumstances permit it. With the Greek it is different. It is said of him that he never becomes attached to the country of his temporary adoption, but lives always in the hope of returning some day to his native heath. Consequently, the *per capita* remittance of the Greek people is the largest on record. They forward every penny they can spare for the purchase of land and improved property.

Now we come to the unprofitable sequel of this interchange of European laborer for American gold. Obviously, the depopulation of a country heightens the cost of remaining labor. The increase in some cases is fifty per cent. Friends in Germany have told me that the servant-girl problem there has been greatly complicated by stories of large earnings of domestics in America, and by the evidence of prosperity in the dress of returning immigrants. A few years ago, in an Italian village along the Mediterranean, where I spent part of the winter, I well remember the commotion caused by the arrival of some laborers who had been two years absent in the United States. Their daily wage when they left Italy had never been more than two or three lire. In this country they had been able to command from seven to ten lire, with but a slightly increased cost of living. They sowed the seeds of discontent so deeply in the minds and hearts of their village friends that it was almost impossible, for a time, to get the ordinary work of the place done. But this is not all. The inflow of foreign money into impoverished sections increases prices in every direction. This is prominently illustrated in the advance in land, for which immigrants, who never before had possessed a surplus, pay two or three times the real value. As is well known, large numbers of Italian, Hungarian and Scandinavian immigrants go home each winter. Professor Pasquale Villari, a noted Italian economist, has recently pointed out that the sav-

ings which the immigrants from America bring back with them, and on which they live during the period of enforced rest, go chiefly to the taverns, and that the fruit of this ready money is increased drunkenness, epidemics of venereal diseases and a rising percentage of crime and insanity. Greece is already beginning to feel similar economic and social changes, in spite of the fact that emigration from that country did not start in any volume until after 1900, and that the Grecian population of the United States is still less than 100,000. The peasants either go away to America or to the Transvaal, or else sit about in the cafés of Athens and the Piræus and refuse to work. Labor, rents and all the necessities of life have advanced amazingly. Butter is $1.03 a pound, sugar 10 cents, and milk 14 cents a quart. It is said that there are about 1,000 empty houses in Athens, and, in spite of it, rents have risen fifteen to twenty per cent. in a comparatively few years. This paradox is due very largely to the heavy remittances made from the United States and South Africa, which, in turn, have caused a steady decline in the price of exchange. Grecian exchange, which was quoted at 1.57, or 8 drachmas to the dollar, is gradually approaching par. The improvement, not only in Grecian, but in Italian, Spanish, Austrian and Hungarian, exchange in the past five or six years, is, I believe, very closely allied with this whole subject of foreign remittances.

Several attempts have been made by government authorities to check the tendency to excessive emigration. I am inclined to doubt, however, whether it is always looked upon as a national catastrophe. Italy, for instance, has made very elaborate arrangements with her banks to facilitate the receipt and transmission of money-orders from her subjects living abroad, and is just now agitating lower postal rates to remitters. A contribution of 350,000,000 lire *per annum* to the finances of the kingdom is not to be despised. I suspect that there is very little regret exhibited when a peasant, be he Italian, Greek, Slovak or Irish, who is unable to support himself or his family and is inevitably to become a burden on the state, abandons his country for one that can support him and from which he can return sufficient gold to provide for those left behind.

The commercial advantage of this trading of men for gold is surely with the United States. As far back as 1870, it was fig-

ured that the economic worth of a laborer was about $1,200. With the rising scale of wages the past generation, this value to-day may be reckoned at $1,500 to $1,800. Italian economists argue that it costs the state $1,000 to maintain a male subject up to the age of eighteen years. From that period of life he enters the producing class and eventually pays back his indebtedness. But, with emigration depleting the ranks of the producers and the male members of the native family leaving home just at the time of life when they would be able to give their services to their country, the cost of early maintenance is entirely lost. On the other hand, the United States, not having had to bear the burden of cost up to the productive age, has a net gain and accepts the able-bodied foreigner just when he is blossoming into usefulness. Assuming that, of the million and a quarter immigrants that come to America each year, sixty-five per cent. are able to work, we are increasing the potential value of American labor over one billion dollars annually. Against this is the loss of about $250,000,000 in money remittances by the entire 15,000,000 of foreign-born resident in this country, or a ratio to our credit of 4 to 1. In losing a subject whom it has cost $1,000 to sustain, Italy, or any other country, does not suffer irreparable injury; for, at the rate at which immigrants are sending back their savings, the debt to their state is entirely liquidated every four or five years.

Is the present tendency of heavy money remittances a permanent one? I doubt it. By this I do not mean that there is to be any immediate change, although it is quite evident that a period of industrial depression, lasting two or three years, would materially reduce the total figures. It would not only restrict immigration, but would mean a necessity on the part of the wage-earner for confining his income to his personal needs, thus leaving no surplus for other requirements. Indeed, the present unparalleled exodus of aliens, whom a commercial reaction has deprived of work, will mean the cutting of a big slice from the annual contribution to Europe in this fiscal year. My own idea is that a generation marks the limit of home remittances by the individual. This embraces a period in which he may become established in the new country, surround himself with a family, liquidate his old debts and become independent of old ties, which, through aged and dependent parents, bound him to his native

country. Furthermore, it is evident that emigration from Europe cannot continue very long at the present pace without exhausting the vitality of the nations so rapidly depopulated. The movement is now at the flood. Then, too, remittances contract by reason of the steady rise in the cost of living here and by the tendency, ever more apparent, of the foreign-born to adopt extravagant ideas.

Emigration has been in progress ever since the children of Israel left Egypt, but not towards a common centre. But there never before existed such a situation as I have tried to describe. It is only possible between countries where the scale of wages is the highest in the world and those others where the scale of living is low. One can easily see what future periods of industrial depression, when labor will be at a discount, will mean to some far-away village in Italy or Hungary, now sustained by an unfailing stream of American money. Unconsciously the United States is doing a great deal to solve the pauper problem in parts of Europe where it has been most difficult of solution. In so doing we help to salve the wound that depopulation makes.

CHARLES F. SPEARE.

THE PASSING OF POLYGAMY.

BY REED SMOOT, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM UTAH.

It is well to be fair in referring to Utah as to other localities. That some differ with me in this attitude, I am convinced from the persistent calumny and misrepresentation which they put forth. But, just the same, I maintain that it is well to be fair—indeed, it is the better course—with Utah as with other States.

Under pressure from within as well as from without, the Mormon Church, in the year 1890, adopted a Church manifesto requiring a cessation of polygamy, or the marrying of plural wives, which it had been practising in this nation against the national sentiment. In 1896, Utah was admitted to Statehood, one condition being that polygamous or plural marriages should be forever prohibited. This condition was complied with in the State Constitution, which applies a penalty of five years' imprisonment and five hundred dollars' fine for each case of polygamy.

In the recent investigation by the United States Senate, in what is known as the Reed Smoot case, it was proved conclusively that since the manifesto of 1890 there had not been celebrated in Utah—or elsewhere throughout the United States, for that matter—a solitary polygamous marriage by or with the consent, connivance, countenance, sanction or approval of the Mormon Church. In view of the fact that permission to engage in the system of plurality of wives, just as leading characters named in the Bible had done, had been taught affirmatively by the Mormon Church for nearly half a century; that many of the Church members had entered into that relation; and that thousands of children had been born and reared in polygamous families,—this strict adherence to the requirements of the manifesto is conclusive evidence of the sincerity of the Mormon Church with reference to its further practice of polygamy in opposition to the national

sentiment. The Senate inquiry established clearly that polygamous marriages in Utah became a thing of the past more than sixteen years ago, and that no polygamous relations assumed since 1890 have received the sanction of the Church. A certain class of preachers and politicians seem to regret the fact, as it removes a notable excuse for assailing the Mormon Church; but it is a fact, nevertheless, established beyond successful dispute.

Another condition of Utah's admission to Statehood was that there should be no union of Church and State, and that no Church should dominate the State or interfere with its functions. Prior to the manifesto stopping polygamy, there were in Utah two political activities—the People's Party and the Liberal Party. The former was composed almost wholly of Mormons, and the latter of non-Mormons. The party issues virtually were along Church lines, and at least gave the appearance of Church questions dominating the State. In 1891, however, these lines were abandoned, and the national political parties permanently occupied the field, the party divisions being on the national party issues. Mormons as well as other people took sides with one or other of the parties, and officials were elected without respect to religious affiliations.

The evidence in the recent Senate investigation shows, beyond the peradventure of a doubt, that Mormon citizens are as persistent in upholding their political party tickets as are non-Mormons; that they do this without dictation from or interference by the Church; and that, so far as the Mormon Church is concerned, there is in Utah no union with the State nor domination thereof by the Church. The State Constitution contained the required provision on the subject, and it has been observed strictly. Thus the State of Utah, and the people thereof, have kept faith with the National Government in respect to Statehood, and will continue to keep it.

The matter of polygamous cohabitation is quite distinct from that of polygamy. The latter is the forming of new polygamous relations, and the formation of these having stopped by the cessation of plural marriages by the Mormon Church, it is merely a question of time when those previously formed will disappear in the death of the parties. At the time of the Church manifesto of 1890 stopping plural marriages, those already in the polygamous relation found themselves in a new position of difficulty.

They were good people, against whom no charge could be brought except that, under the idea of religious right, they had entered into the polygamous relation. There was a feeling that these people were entitled to humane consideration; human nature, the ties of kindred and intense religious convictions had to be reckoned with, so the people of Utah did what they believed best under the circumstances.

Prior to 1890, Congress had been most rigid in its attitude against the contracting of polygamous or plural marriages, and also toward the sustaining of those relationships by polygamous families. The Edmunds law of 1882 directed a blow specifically at the latter, which was defined as unlawful cohabitation, and made punishable by fine and imprisonment. Under this law the Government multiplied prosecutions, and there were many convictions. In 1887, the Edmunds-Tucker law added to the stringency of regulations up to 1890, when the Woodruff manifesto was issued. Later, there was no relaxation of the severity so far as it affected the contracting of plural marriages; but the Enabling Act of July 16th, 1894, omitted all mention of unlawful cohabitation, while it required as a condition for Utah's admission to the Union "that polygamous or plural marriages are forever prohibited."

In view of the attitude on old polygamous relationships, as exhibited in the acts of 1882 and 1887, and the toleration shown by the Government prosecuting officers toward these old cases in Utah, this omission by Congress of "unlawful cohabitation" from the Act of 1894 affords a contrast that is susceptible of one construction only.

This same toleration was recognized in the formation of the Utah State Constitution, when Mr. Varian, a non-Mormon who, as United States District Attorney, had been among the most determined prosecutors in enforcing anti-polygamy laws, presented in the Convention the clause which gave effect in the State Constitution to the prohibition therein of polygamous marriages, under heavy penalties, Mr. Varian stating that "it did not touch cohabitation." Such a statement was acceptable only under the tolerant sentiment which had prevailed since 1891. It was assented to when the State Constitution was adopted in 1895 by an overwhelming vote composed largely of non-Mormon citizens.

The condition in Utah, its treatment, and the finding thereon as connected with the Reed Smoot case, are thus briefly and explicitly set forth in the report submitted to the Senate by Senators Foraker, Beveridge, Dillingham, Hopkins and Knox, and endorsed by the affirmative vote of seven out of the thirteen members of the Committee on Privileges and Elections which heard the testimony, and by almost two-thirds of the United States Senate, at the final disposition of the case, on February 20th, 1907; this report says:

"The evidence shows that there were at this time (1890) about 2,400 polygamous families in the Territory of Utah. This number was reduced to five hundred and some odd families in 1905. A few of these families may have moved out of the State of Utah; but, so far as the testimony discloses, the great reduction in number has been on account of the death of the heads of those families. It will be only a few years at most until all will have passed away. This feature of the situation has had a controlling influence upon public sentiment in the State of Utah with respect to the prosecutions for polygamous cohabitation since the manifesto of 1890.

"Whether right or wrong, when plural marriages were stopped and the offence of polygamy was confined to the cohabitation of those who had contracted marriages before 1890, and particularly those who had contracted marriages before the statutes of 1887 and 1882, the disinclination to prosecute for those offences became so strong, even among the non-Mormons, that such prosecutions were, finally, practically abandoned.

"It was not alone the fact that if no further plural marriages were to be contracted polygamy would necessarily in the course of time die out and pass away, but also the fact that Congress having, by the statutes of 1882 and 1887, specifically legitimized the children of those polygamous marriages, it was inconsistent, if not unwise and impossible, in the opinion of even the non-Mormons, to prohibit the father of such children from living with, supporting, educating and caring for them; but if the father was thus to continue to live with, support, educate and care for the children, it seemed harsh and unreasonable to exclude from his relationship the mothers of the children. . . .

"In other words, the conditions existing in Utah since Reed Smoot became an official of the Mormon Church in 1900 have been such that non-Mormons and Mormons alike have acquiesced in polygamous cohabitation on the part of those who married before the manifesto of 1890, as an evil that could best be gotten rid of by simply tolerating it until in the natural course of events it shall have passed out of existence.

"With this disposition prevailing everywhere in the State of Utah among all classes—the Gentile or non-Mormon population as well as among the Mormons—the undersigned are of the opinion that there is no just ground for expelling Senator Smoot or for finding him disquali-

fied to hold the seat he occupies because of the fact that he, in common with all the people of his State, has not made war upon, but has acquiesced in, a condition for which he had no original responsibility. In doing so, he has only conformed to what non-Mormons, hostile to his Church, as well as Mormons, have concluded is, under all the circumstances, not only the wisest course to pursue, but probably the only course that promises effective and satisfactory results."

It may be suggested here that to place the number of polygamous families in the Mormon Church to-day at 400 would be a very liberal estimate; this gives as polygamists about one-tenth of one per cent. of that Church's population—a proportion which is decreasing rapidly. Back in 1904 a census was taken of polygamists in Salt Lake City, showing 74—or less than one to each one thousand of population—and all but two of these were over fifty years of age.

I observe that in a recent issue of "The Independent," Senator Burrows advocates a constitutional amendment to the effect that neither polygamy nor polygamous cohabitation shall exist within the United States. He bases his advocacy thereof upon assertions such as these:

(1) That, since the manifesto of the Mormon Church stopping polygamy, five of the Apostles, A. H. Cannon, George Teasdale, M. W. Merrill, J. W. Taylor and M. F. Cowley have taken plural wives;

(2) That "fully 12,000 members of the Utah branch of the Mormon Church, or 23 per cent. of the whole number, are living in polygamy"; and,

(3) That the records of the Attorney-General's office show that in 1905 there were in Arizona sixteen convictions under the Edmunds law, twelve of this number being for unlawful cohabitation; and that of thirty-one convictions in New Mexico and Arizona a majority were for polygamous cohabitation.

These statements may be measured by the facts which came out during the recent Senatorial inquiry and discussion in Congress. These are as follows:

1. The rumor regarding A. H. Cannon did not become current for some time after his death, which occurred in 1896; the charge against George Teasdale and M. W. Merrill was shown to be untrue; and J. W. Taylor and M. F. Cowley are not members of the Apostles' quorum, having been dropped from it and others sustained in their places at a general conference of the Church;

2. Instead of fully 12,000 members, or 23 per cent. of the whole number, of the Mormon Church living in polygamy, the evidence established that in the year 1903 there were 647 polygamist families in the United States, and in 1905 it was estimated that there were about 500, and to-day I am positive there are not over 400 such families;

3. That the Attorney-General, directly correcting Senator Burrows on a former occasion,* officially stated that in the year 1905 there were but ten Mormons convicted in Arizona of polygamous cohabitation, all of them being cases of plural marriages which had occurred previous to 1887, and that not one of the convictions in New Mexico was of a Mormon, or a Mormon polygamous marriage. The truth is that there are only four men, members of the Mormon Church, in the whole of the Territory of New Mexico who are polygamists.†

It would seem highly improbable that the great American nation is eager to amend its Constitution upon the basis of such a misrepresentation of conditions.

The matter of a constitutional amendment in this nation is something more than the subject of a whim; it is a question of grave importance. So far as one specifically affecting polygamy is concerned, the State of Utah can stand it as readily as can other States; but can the other States afford to adopt such a provision merely to point the finger of scorn at a sister commonwealth because of past conditions, when present conditions or future prospects do not require it? A constitutional amendment directed at a practice abandoned seventeen years ago, through which three or four hundred men, now nearing the end of life's journey, are left in the heritage of the polygamous relationship, does not appear extremely consistent.

On a broader plane, however, there may be a call for a constitutional amendment. If so, it should be anything and everything but the self-emasculated proposition put forth by Senator Burrows. If we have an amendment to the National Constitution, let it be on a living question, so as to be of worth to the nation. Come out of the cemetery of the past into the life of the present. In following the President's suggestion, let us go

* See "Congressional Record," Fifty-ninth Congress, First Session, pp. 8649–50.

† See "Congressional Record," Fifty-ninth Congress, First Session, p. 8650.

the full length, and take in the whole subject of the marital relation. If Congress can be trusted with anything on that subject, it can be trusted with all of it, and an amendment something like the following be considered:

"Congress shall have exclusive jurisdiction over marriage and divorce, and all matters relating thereto."

That would include polygamy, polygamous cohabitation, adultery and kindred offences against the law and national sentiment, and could provide a uniform rule of conduct for all that marry. If there be another amendment to the National Constitution, let it be placed on a manly, straightforward, honest, broad foundation; not based on misrepresentation or intolerance. Let us be fair; then we are reasonably certain of being right.

REED SMOOT.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED.

BY W. D. HOWELLS AND ALVAN F. SANBORN.

THE POETRY OF MR. MADISON CAWEIN*

When a poet begins writing, and we begin liking his work, we own willingly enough that we have not, and cannot have, got the compass of his talent. We must wait till he has written more, and we have learned to like him more, and even then we should hesitate his definition, from all that he has done, if we did not very commonly qualify ourselves from the latest thing he had done. Between the earliest thing and the latest thing there may have been a hundred different things, and in his swan-long life of a singer there would probably be a hundred yet, and all different. But we take the latest as if it summed him up in motive and range and tendency. Many parts of his work offer themselves in confirmation of our judgment, while those which might impeach it shrink away and hide themselves, and leave us to our precipitation, our catastrophe.

It was surely nothing less than by a catastrophe that I should have been so betrayed in the volumes of Mr. Cawein's verse which reached me last before the volume of his collected poems, now at hand in the comely form which a Western house has honored itself in giving the beautiful work of the Western poet. I had read his poetry and loved it from the beginning, and in each successive expression of it, I had delighted in its expanding and maturing beauty. I believe I had not failed to own its compass, and when—

"He touched the tender stops of various quills,"

I had responded to every note of the changing music. I did

* "The Poems of Madison Cawein." With seventeen photogravures from oil-paintings by Eric Pape. Printed by The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, for Ben La Bree, Jr., Louisville, Kentucky. Sold by Subscription. In five volumes, limited to 250 sets. 1907.

not always respond audibly either in public or in private, for it seemed to me that so old a friend might fairly rest on the laurels he had helped bestow. But when that last volume came, I said to myself, "This applausive silence has gone on long enough. It is time to break it with open appreciation. Still," I said, "I must guard against too great appreciation; I must mix in a little depreciation, to show that I have read attentively, critically, authoritatively." So I applied myself to the cheapest and easiest means of depreciation, and asked, "Why do you always write Nature poems? Why not Human Nature poems?" or the like. But in seizing upon an objection so obvious that I ought to have known it was superficial, I had wronged a poet, who had never done me harm, but only good, in the very terms and conditions of his being a poet. I had not stayed to see that his nature poetry was instinct with human poetry, with his human poetry, with mine, with yours. I had made his reproach what ought to have been his finest praise, what is always the praise of poetry when it is not artificial and formal. I ought to have said, as I had seen, that not one of his lovely landscapes in which I could discover no human figure, but thrilled with a human presence penetrating to it from his most sensitive and subtle spirit until it was all but painfully alive with memories, with regrets, with longings, with hopes, with all that from time to time mutably constitutes us men and women, and yet keeps us children. He has the gift, in a measure that I do not think surpassed in any poet, of touching some smallest or commonest thing in nature, and making it live from the manifold associations in which we have our being, and glow thereafter with an inextinguishable beauty. His felicities do not seem sought; rather they seem to seek him, and to surprise him with the delight they impart through him. He has the inspiration of the right word, and the courage of it, so that though in the first instant you may be challenged, you may be revolted, by something that you might have thought uncouth, you are presently overcome by the happy bravery of it, and gladly recognize that no other word of those verbal saints or aristocrats, dedicated to the worship or service of beauty, would at all so well have conveyed the sense of it as this or that plebeian.

If I began indulging myself in the pleasure of quotation, or the delight of giving proofs of what I say, I should soon and

far transcend the modest bounds which the editor has set my paper. But the reader may take it from me that no other poet, not even of the great Elizabethan range, can outword this poet when it comes to choosing some epithet fresh from the earth or air, and with the morning sun or light upon it, for an emotion or experience in which the race renews its youth from generation to generation. He is of the kind of Keats and Shelley and Wordsworth and Coleridge, in that truth to observance and experience of nature and the joyous expression of it, which are the dominant characteristics of his art. It is imaginable that the thinness of the social world in the Middle West threw the poet upon the communion with the fields and woods, the days and nights, the changing seasons, in which another great nature poet of ours declares they "speak in various language." But nothing could be farther from the didactic mood in which "communion with the various forms" of nature casts the Puritanic soul of Bryant, than the mood in which this German-blooded, Kentucky-born poet, who keeps throughout his song the sense of a perpetual and inalienable youth, with a spirit as pagan as that which breathes from Greek sculpture—but happily not more pagan. Most modern poets who are antique are rather over-Hellenic, in their wish not to be English or French, but there is nothing voluntary in Mr. Cawein's naturalization in the older world of myth and fable; he is too sincerely and solely a poet to be a *poseur;* he has his eyes everywhere except on the spectator, and his affair is to report the beauty that he sees, as if there were no one by to hear.

An interesting and charming trait of his poetry is its constant theme of youth and its limit within the range that the emotions and aspirations of youth take. He might indeed be called the poet of youth if he resented being called the poet of nature; but the poet of youth, be it understood, of vague regrets, of "tears, idle tears," of "long, long thoughts," for that is the real youth, and not of the youth of the supposed hilarity, the attributive recklessness, the daring hopes. Perhaps there is some such youth as this, but it has not its home in the breast of any young poet, and he rarely utters it; at best he is of a light melancholy, a smiling wistfulness, and upon the whole October is more to his mind than May.

In Mr. Cawein's work, therefore, what is not the expression

of the world we vainly and rashly call the inanimate world, is the hardly more dramatized, and not more enchantingly imagined story of lovers, rather unhappy lovers. He finds his own in this sort far and near; in classic Greece, in heroic England, in romantic Germany, where the blue-flower blows, but not less in beautiful and familiar Kentucky, where the blue-grass shows itself equally the emblem of poetry, and the mouldering log in the cabin wall or the woodland path is of the same poetic value as the marble of the ruined temple or the stone of the crumbling castle. His singularly creative fancy breathes a soul into every scene; his touch leaves everything that was dull to the sense before glowing in the light of joyful recognition. He classifies his poems by different names, and they are of different themes, but they are after all of that unity which I have been trying, all too shirkingly, to suggest. One, for instance, of the longest in the volume of "New World Idylls and Poems of Love" is the pathetic story which tells itself in the lyrical eclogue, "One Day and Another." It is the conversation, prolonged from meeting to meeting between two lovers whom death parts; but who recurrently find themselves and each other in the gardens and the woods, and on the waters which they tell each other of and together delight in. The effect is that which is truest to youth and love, for these transmutations of emotion form the disguise of self which makes passion tolerable; but mechanically the result is a series of nature-poems. More genuinely dramatic are such pieces as "The Feud," "Ku-klux," and "The Lynchers," three out of many; but one which I value more because it is worthy of Wordsworth, or of Tennyson in a Wordsworthian mood, is "The Old Mill," where, with all the wonted charm of his landscape art, Mr. Cawein gives us a strongly local and novel piece of character painting.

I deny myself with increasing reluctance the pleasure of quoting the stanzas, the verses, the phrases, the epithets which lure me by scores and hundreds in his poems. It must suffice me to say that I do not know any poem of his which has not some such a felicity; I do not know any poem of his which is not worth reading, at least the first time, and often the second and the third time, and so on as often as you have the chance of recurring to it. Some disappoint and others delight more than others; but there is none but in greater or less measure has the witchery native to the poet, and his place and his period.

It is only in order of his later time that I would put Mr. Cawein first among those Mid-Western poets, of whom he is the youngest. Poetry in the Middle West has had its development in which it was eclipsed by the splendor, transitory if not vain, of the California school. But it is deeply rooted in the life of the region, and is as true to its origins as any faithful portraiture of the Mid-Western landscape could be; you could not mistake the source of the poem or the picture. In a certain tenderness of light and coloring, the poems would recall the mellowed masterpieces of the older literatures rather than those of the New England school, where conscience dwells almost rebukingly with beauty. Perhaps if I name Mr. Cowein with Mr. James Whitcomb Riley, and with both those poets as true and fine, Mr. J. J. Piatt and Mrs. S. M. B. Piatt, I shall be making my meaning clearer. No doubt, there are others who will not at the moment name themselves to me, but keep themselves for the reader's less hurried recollection, and with whom he will like to group these. If the Middle West had produced no poets but these, she would have uttered herself in poetry in a voice not mistakable for any other. Each of them is an artist, and with their native quality in common, each has a peculiar charm. It is enough to say that Mr. Cawein's poetry has a beauty which is enchantingly its own, and with a family favor recognizable in the work of the others, is otherwise akin to that only as it is akin to what is beautiful in all poetry.

W. D. HOWELLS.

RENE BAZIN'S NEW NOVEL.*

"'AH! there you are, father! I am not late?'

"'Prompt as a soldier, my friend, like myself: I have only just come.

"General Philippe de Meximieu was standing on a convex, pebbled strip between green slopes, awaiting the arrival of Michel. . . . He allowed his son to approach without making a movement towards him: he was preoccupied; his back was turned to his château, and he was looking fixedly, with an air of distrust and surprise, towards the Southwest, into the arch formed by the leafless oaks over the forest road.

"'Did you hear that?' he demanded.

"'What?'

"'What they are singing. Listen, they are coming this way.'

"The force of the wind and the accidents of the ground had prevented Michel from hearing before. In the woods to the left, powerful, ardent, musical voices were singing the '*Internationale*.'* Most of the words

* "*Le Blé Qui Lève.*" By René Bazin. Paris: Calmann-Lévy.

were drowned in the depths of the wooded solitudes; a few, however, came with perfect distinctness to the ears of the two men. . . .

"'Scoundrels!' said the General. 'Is it possible to sing such horrors?'

"'They are drunk.'

"'That is one vice the more.'

"'Drunk with the hatred which has been poured out to them in overflowing measure. But how many there were who saw only the label of the beverage! And that was beautiful!'

"'You think so? The murder of officers?'

"'No, fraternity.'

"'Listen!'

"The wood-cutters approached. The wind bore their cries on its cold wings. At times, these cries seemed to be hymns, of which they had the amplitude and the prolonged resonances in the forest. Besides, the approaching night rendered the air attentive. All at once, to the left, a group of men appeared in a narrow path almost perpendicular to that in which M. de Meximieu and his son were standing. They were marching in disorder, and one of them flourished a bugle before him. . . . When they reached the crossroads and perceived the two bourgeois motionless at the entrance to the Fonteneilles road, they hesitated. The song was arrested on the parted lips of the young men in the van. But Ravoux, President of the Union of the Wood-cutters of Fonteneilles, took up the couplet with a voice metallic and knotty as a hickory bough.

"His companions imitated him. A flame of joy illumined their eyes, the malicious joy of vexing and berating the adversary with impunity. Still most of them lifted their hats as they passed, and Ravoux was of the number. . . . They disappeared in the direction of the village.

"Another band larger than the first appeared.

"'They come from my woods,' said M. de Meximieu, 'and they insult him who gives them bread! Do you know these fellows?'

"The heads emerged from the shadow one by one.

"'All,' Michel replied.

"The men advanced, singing or mute, lifting their hats or remaining covered.

"Michel named them as they went by: Lampoignant, Trépard, Dix-neuf, Bélisaire, Paradis, Supiat, Gilbert Cloquet,—Cloquet saluted with averted head—Fontroubade, Méchin, Padovan, Durgé, Gaudlion, etc. . . .

"A young voice launched anew one of the vindictive couplets of the vindictive chanson. Through the immense, deceitful peace of the forest the words coursed and issued forth to proclaim afar that the worst passions of politics had invaded the rural regions."

This fragment from the opening chapter of René Bazin's new novel, "*Le Blé Qui Lève,*" strikes the key-note of the volume and prefigures adequately its trend. The father, General Philippe de Meximieu, owner of the Château of Fonteneilles, is an absentee

* A sort of twentieth-century "Carmagnole"; the rallying song of the contemporary European revolutionists.

landlord for whom his inherited lands are nothing more than a source of revenue. The son, Michel, who administers the estate, loves every inch of its ground, and takes a keen interest in the welfare of the humble laborers who earn their daily bread upon it. Furthermore, Michel is a sort of Christian Socialist. He has a lofty idea of the social rôle of the landed proprietor, and yearns to bridge the constantly widening chasm between the rural laborers and their employers by instilling into both a higher and a Christian conception of life. But he knows that he is suffering from an incurable disease which condemns him to an early death, and he despairs of being able to make any material contribution himself to this transformation. Among Michel's day laborers, however, one Gilbert Cloquet,—he who in the defiant march of the wood-cutters through the forest saluted with averted gaze,—appreciates his motives, although he disapproves his methods, which he does not comprehend; and this one is destined, without suspecting it, to succeed him as a propagandist of the application of the teachings of the Gospel to the strained rural conditions.

Cloquet is a leading member of the Wood-cutters' Union of Fonteneilles, in the mission of which he believes with all the intensity of a strong nature. Michel is not opposed to the Union, but he desires to see it imbued with his own noble aspirations—Christianized, in a word. In the course of a conversation with Cloquet in the wood, he explains his attitude:

"It is the fashion to flatter the laborer and abuse the noble. The truth is, Cloquet, that we have both sadly deteriorated. We are suffering from the same malady; indolence and pride. All the hatreds come from that. . . . What makes me angry, what gives me pain, and what causes me to pity you is the impossible ideal of injustice that is held up to you, an ideal so ignoble and petty that not one of the sturdy wood-cutters of the France of yore would have deigned to listen to it. Your wings have been clipped by your chiefs, as if you were barnyard fowls. Appetites have been given the place due to justice, hatred the place due to love. But listen! All this can be changed. If the Union shall one day be baptized, if there shall be a benediction of the mounting sea, that day, Gilbert, living or dead I shall be with you, I shall applaud, I shall believe in a better, that is to say, a more noble, land, in a new chivalry, in a return of the saints among a blessed people. As true as the sun is shining, it is for that I am hoping."

By virtue of what ordeal Gilbert Cloquet, wood-cutter, came in time to adopt the belief and attitude of Michel de Meximieu,

noble, it would take too long to recount here. Suffice it to say that, after a succession of novel trials and tests (which take him far afield and which terminate in a Belgian monastery), he returns to Fonteneilles, forms an alliance with the village priest and (at risk of expulsion from his Union and even of bodily violence) announces to his free-thinking, priest-baiting fellow unionists that he has seen a new light and that he proposes to follow it. His exposition of the new order of things is brief but unequivocal:

"I have no ill to say of any one. My heart has not changed for the worse. Quite the reverse. But I have learned that we did not have life, and I have come back to tell you where it is to be found. I shall tell it to you once, twice, a dozen times, as long as I shall be in the world. No one shall prevent me. I mean to stay with you in the Union. The justice I have always desired I still desire, but now I know that it is more beautiful than I dreamed, and I am going to it."

"*Le Blé Qui Lève*" contains picturesque and dramatic portrayals of tumultuous labor-meetings in the woods and the village cabarets; sermons (less terse than Gilbert's) which might well be spared; and a touching love episode. It also contains descriptions of rural scenery and delineations of rural character which no other living French novelist could match.

Some years before René Bazin had given the full measure of his literary power in that magnificent prose-poem of the Vendée "*La Terre Qui Meurt*" (1899), which won him a seat in the French Academy, the critic, René Doumic, said of him: "We like him for the delicacy of soul and elevation of feeling shown in his books, and for his courage in remaining a pure and decent writer, while he is, at the same time, a truthful and clear-sighted one. . . . He inclines toward realism whose tone, at once frank and true, is a new note in our literature."

Granted that if all French novelists had been of the exceedingly scrupulous type of René Bazin, we should have missed some of the choicest passages in French letters; nevertheless, it would be a great pity if there should be an utter dearth of French novelists capable of depicting in all its marvellous strength and charm the almost patriarchal family life of the provinces of France. Because M. Bazin does this easily, spontaneously, inevitably even, as a provincial who loves the provinces and has always remained faithful to them, his writings deserve to be better known than they are in America.

ALVAN F. SANBORN.

WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON: BERLIN: WASHINGTON: ST. PETERSBURG.

LONDON, *December, 1907.*

IT was with a pang of very real sympathy that all Englishmen, and in particular all members of the House of Commons, without distinction of party, received the news of the Prime Minister's sudden illness; and it is with a not less genuine solicitude that the country watches the course of his convalescence at Biarritz. "C.-B." has been one of the great successes of his Government. No member of it, unless it be Lord Elgin, whose administration of the Colonial Office falls decidedly below the Chamberlain standard of practicality and understanding, and whose personality is not an inspiring one, can be said to have actually failed. Many of them have fortified their titles to public confidence with unlooked-for success. Mr. John Burns, for instance, has shown himself an eminently capable and statesmanlike President of the Local Government Board. He is one of the most honest men in English public life—honest, I mean, in the sense that he never minces matters, is not to be lured by any will-o'-the-wisp, however attractive, and does not hesitate to tell the working-classes that there is little the State can do for them compared with what they can do for themselves, and that, so long as they waste $15,000,000 a week on drink and gambling, the scope for political and social reforms through the medium of legislation is distinctly limited. Like M. Millerand, when he joined the Waldeck-Rousseau Cabinet, Mr. Burns has found in his old colleagues of the Labor Party his bitterest opponents; but on public opinion at large his rugged sanity and outspokenness, his quite remorseless zeal in exposing the petty jobbery and corruption of local Boards of Guardians, and the courage he displays in resisting all schemes which he regards as prejudicial to the virility and self-reliance of the

masses, have made an admirable impression. The country looks to him to effect one of the most needed and difficult of English reforms—a thorough overhauling and reconstruction of the Poor Law administration. Another Minister whose appointment was regarded two years ago as something of an experiment, but who has abundantly established his qualifications for office, is Mr. Lloyd George. All Englishmen subscribe to the conviction that the country possesses in him a second Chamberlain of energy, enthusiasm, courage and businesslike capacity.

Mr. Haldane, again, the Minister of War, has achieved a success which, as I believe, though I quite admit it is too early for any final judgment, will ultimately rank him among the greatest of military reformers. He has, at any rate, produced and carried through a comprehensive and original scheme, thought out to its minutest detail, flexible and interdependent in all its parts, for remodelling the armed forces of the Crown on a basis of local patriotism and local organization. It is a scheme which only the people themselves, by their own efforts and their own enthusiasm, can bring to fruition; and I do not think the common opinion wrong which regards it as virtually the last, as it is by far the most reasoned and thoroughgoing, attempt of the voluntary system to prove itself capable of bearing the immense and complex burden of Empire. No Minister, of course, can expect to win popularity, in such a country as England, by any project, however brilliant and successful, of army reorganization. Whatever scheme he proposes, half the experts are sure to condemn it, and the general public, I fear, regards the whole subject as unutterably dry, technical and repulsive. But the more serious mind of the country has already, I think, worked round to the conclusion that Mr. Haldane's plans are the best solution of Great Britain's military problem that the national conditions and the national repugnance to any form of compulsory service permit of, and it acclaims their author as one who has done more than any of his colleagues to revive the somewhat tarnished reputation of Liberal Governments for works of bold and effective administration. Equally solid and equally unspectacular have been the achievements of Sir Edward Grey in the Foreign Office and of Mr. Morley at the India Office. The routine of these departments is so absorbing that neither Sir Edward nor Mr. Morley has been able to spare much time for

the House of Commons. The country has not complained. Trusting both men and feeling an implicit confidence in their policies, it has allowed each to work in silence and in secret; and it absolutely endorses the lines they have respectively pursued. In Parliament, however, there has been some muttering over the seclusion in which these great offices are administered; and it is certainly a remarkable fact that, under the most Radical House of Commons that has ever assembled in Great Britain, the conduct of foreign affairs should have been shrouded in an unusually baffling and almost impenetrable reserve, and that the country should have found itself time and again committed to courses which its representatives have had no opportunity of discussing. But neither in Parliament nor out of it will you find any serious disposition to deny that Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Morley have sensibly increased their hold upon the confidence of the country; nor will any dispassionate observer dispute that with their names should be bracketed that of the brilliant and untiring Under-Secretary for the Colonies, Mr. Winston Churchill.

But beyond all his colleagues it is "C.-B." himself whose development has most impressed the country. In the House of Commons his ascendency has mounted beyond all expectation; and, within his own Party, which is not by any means an easy one to manage, his unruffled patience, good-humor, kindliness and common sense have proved an emollient of the highest efficacy. He has all of Mr. McKinley's aptitude for smoothing things out, for reconciling the most opposing views and personalities to a common concentration upon the *via media,* and for governing by the incommunicable touch of urbanity. Everybody likes him; nobody can quarrel with him. After the *finesse* and elusiveness, almost, as it seemed, the deliberate disingenuousness, that marked the last two years of the Balfour Ministry, the country has turned with gratitude and relief to "C.-B.'s" palpable sincerity and straightforwardness, his genial, unpretending humor, and his complete incapacity and disdain for ambiguities, dissimulation and shifty tactics. If it does not rank him as one of its great men, it certainly ranks him as one of its most amiable; it has observed almost with surprise the ardor with which he has risen to the exacting duties of the Premiership, and the admirably mellow and dignified spirit in which he has discharged them; and, while it does not pretend that he owes his present position to any

commanding powers of intellect or of character, it entirely agrees that he has well and honorably earned it and fills it with a success that many abler men have failed to achieve. He has, in short, the affection both of his Party and of the country, and a Prime Minister who has that, and who has won it, as "C.-B." has won it, by the resiliency and dependableness of his character, by a pluck that was never discouraged by any amount of political adversity, and by a natural sweetness of disposition, finds his task enormously simplified. "C.-B.'s" leadership has been a very real and effective thing. He radiates the good-humor which makes agreement easy; he is by far the most experienced Parliamentarian in his Party; and he has mastered the art, which with such a factional following as his is of inestimable value, of leading with the minimum of friction and with next to no appeal to the authority of his mere *ipse dixit*. His temporary retirement, especially at a time when the Cabinet should be arranging the legislation for the next session, is a grave inconvenience to his Party; his permanent retirement would immensely impair its harmonious efficiency.

It was thought, two years ago, that "C.-B." would take an early opportunity of retiring to the House of Lords. But the development of events, and especially the definite raising of the whole question of the Upper Chamber, have made such a course impossible. If the Prime Minister retires at all, it will be as a Commoner, and because his age and health no longer enable him to stand the incessant strain of the Premiership. That time, I hope and believe, is still far distant, but his momentary breakdown has inevitably led to a good deal of discussion over the problem of his successor. It is not likely, in my judgment, to prove either an immediate or an anxious problem. Mr. Asquith, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, seems clearly designated as the man upon whose shoulders the mantle will fall. He had a brilliant career at Oxford and followed it up by an even more brilliant one at the bar. Entering Parliament at the election of 1886, he quickly made his mark, so quickly, indeed, that Mr. Gladstone appointed him Home Secretary in 1892. In that position he showed not only extraordinary capacity, but very real courage in certain of the measures he adopted for the maintenance of internal law and order. There has been no better Home Secretary furnished by either Party for half a century. In

foreign affairs, Mr. Asquith belongs to the Rosebery school of Liberal Imperialism. During the Boer war he took a line that, though it made him unpopular with the more extreme sections of his Party, commanded the instant assent of the average Englishman. But it was not until the fiscal question arose that Mr. Asquith stamped himself upon the country as a man of really exceptional powers. Such a controversy precisely suited his trenchant, lucid style. He at once took it up with enthusiasm, dogged Mr. Chamberlain's footsteps from town to town, and answered him speech for speech, and point by point, until at times it almost looked as though the issue would resolve itself into a gladiatorial combat between the two men. As a debater, Mr. Asquith stands in the front rank, his clearness of argument and exposition, his nimbleness of mind, and his command of concise and clear-cut language being surpassed by no one on either side of the House. The two Budgets that he has produced as Chancellor of the Exchequer have been, on the whole, sound performances. He has paid off $115,000,000 of the national debt, has stopped borrowing, and has introduced the principle of distinguishing for the purposes of income-tax assessment between earned and unearned incomes. He has also taken the momentous and, as many think, the dubious step of setting aside a sum of money as a nucleus for a non-contributory old-age pension fund. The general sense of the country approves, I believe, Mr. Asquith's administration of the national finances, and has an undoubted admiration for his many and varied talents. He is not, however, a popular man, being somewhat too close and self-contained to strike the imagination of the masses. The Labor men, especially, regard him as precisely the kind of Whig whom it is their business to get rid of. But the predominant feeling of both the country and of the Party will, I think, rally to his side when the question of "C.-B.'s" successor becomes an actual and immediate issue.

The Government, which according to Mr. Chamberlain's calculation was to have been "hissed off the stage in a few months," has now been in office for two years. If it were not to add a single other measure of legislation to its long list of achievements, it would still go down to history as a great reforming Government. It is apparently as strong as ever in the good-will of the nation. Its opponents are still a remnant, and a remnant divided

against itself. In spite of an immense parade of unity on the platform, every one is well aware that the great Party which Lord Salisbury left intact has been reduced by Mr. Balfour's nervelessness and Mr. Chamberlain's precipitancy to a chaos of warring factions, and that the moment of reconciliation is not yet within measurable distance. Mr. Balfour continues to be hailed alternately, and sometimes simultaneously, as a lukewarm Free Trader and an unconvinced Protectionist. The resolute Tariff Reformers behind him abhor his cautious tactics, are exasperated by his indecision, his provisos, his subtleties and his glosses, but have to acknowledge that he and he alone can lead the Party. The Unionist Free Traders find comfort in enrolling an occasional new recruit—Lord Cromer is the latest and by far the most distinguished adherent to their cause—and in reflecting, first, that Mr. Balfour has not yet capitulated to the Protectionists and, secondly, that Tariff Reform shows not the smallest sign of gaining ground among the electorate. These are omens that might well encourage the present Ministry to look forward to a long and undisputed lease of power. But the Liberals, too, well as they have done, find themselves menaced by a gathering cloud of anxieties. The next session will be a critical, perhaps a decisive, one. Not only are the Government pledged to tackle the licensing question and thus to come to grips with the wealthiest and the most consummately organized "interest" in the country; not only have they announced their intention of bringing in a new Education Bill, with a prospect of repeating the fierce strifes and ultimate failure of 1906; not only is Mr. Birrell already at work on the thorny problem of an Irish University Bill; but the Government are resolved also to push their campaign against the Lords a step further by reintroducing the measures that were rejected or mutilated by the Upper Chamber during last session, and submitting them once more to the judgment of the Peers. Moreover, there is the possibility—some think it the probability, and others the certainty—that the recent wave of commercial prosperity has well-nigh spent itself, and that Great Britain, like Germany and the United States, stands on the threshold of the lean years. And finally—and these are the most disquieting portents of all—the breach between Liberalism and Labor shows no sign of contraction and many of distention, and the propaganda of Socialism grows daily in activity

and effectiveness. It may, I think, be now taken as part of the established framework of English politics that there should be a third Party in the field, calling itself Labor or Socialist, drawing votes from both the two historic Parties of Liberals and Conservatives, fighting a politico-economic issue on a class basis, and appealing to the proletariat with an ever-increasing intensity and success. What this development foreshadows no one can say with any definiteness, but that it must profoundly affect the fundamental conditions of English politics, the two-party system, and the kind of issues on which they have hitherto been divided, seems indisputable. The intervention of a third and uncompromising Party may mean the transfer of many Liberal seats to Conservatives. It may even mean that a minority of the electorate will acquire control of the Government of the country. Both the old Parties repudiate Socialism; but the instinct of the average voter, if he regards the defeat of the Socialist candidate as the transcendent object to be aimed at, will be to vote for the Tory rather than the Liberal. It is significant that already Liberal Journals are discussing the advisability of introducing the system of the second ballot or the alternative vote. English politics are in a very interesting, because a very fluid, condition; but the form in which they will eventually solidify is at present beyond speculation. The breaking away of the English masses from their old moorings, and their irruption into politics as an organized force, are phenomena as essentially revolutionary as any that have appeared during the past few years in Russia itself.

BERLIN, *December, 1907.*

THE German Emperor's visit to England last November constituted one of the most interesting events in the sphere of European politics during the latter part of the year. The Kaiser's reception by the King and the British Royal Family put an end to the insinuations of those who had failed to appreciate the significance of the meeting between the King and the Emperor at Wilhelmshöhe in the summer, while the respectful cordiality of the city of London's welcome afforded eloquent and convincing testimony of the absence of any malice or grudge on the part of the British nation against its Imperial guest.

What the results of the Imperial visit to England will be it is, of course, at this juncture, impossible to predict. Although

nominally official, the event in itself cannot fairly be described as in any sense political. At one time, indeed, it was suggested that the Imperial Chancellor would accompany the Emperor to England; and, if Prince von Bülow had not been detained at home by Parliamentary considerations of the most urgent kind, he would undoubtedly have received in all quarters the welcome to which his eminence entitles him. For a variety of reasons it is to be regretted that the Chancellor was unable to attend his Imperial master, since Prince von Bülow's urbanity and statesmanlike qualities would have conciliated the sympathies of those in England who have not yet had the advantage of being brought into contact with him. Indications, however, have not been wanting that in Berlin, as well as in London, it appears to have been felt that the Imperial Chancellor's presence at Windsor and in the city might lead to undesirable and unwarranted speculations with regard to the objects of German policy which would be incompatible with British as well as with German intentions.

The *entente cordiale* between England and France is one of the constant factors in the European situation, and the series of agreements which have sprung from the understanding between the two Powers has only served to make its stability and necessity more clear. If Germany can be brought to recognize that these developments are not directed against her, but are solely designed to safeguard existing conditions, England and France will be the first to welcome this change of view. The French for their part will acknowledge the benefits which they may expect from an improvement in Anglo-German relations, while a subsidence of strained relations between Germany and France would be equally gratifying to the English people. The sooner all attempts to undermine or in any way to impair the efficacy of the mainspring of British policy are abandoned as useless, the better it will be for the peace of Europe and, indeed, of the whole world. The re-establishment of confidence is chiefly to be desired as the most potent element in this consummation. The lines of British policy are fixed, but they do not run counter to any legitimate German aspirations, and it is only upon the basis of a recognition of this settled fact that any lasting understanding between Germany and England can be achieved.

The present improvement in Anglo-German relations in particular is being generally treated in this country as an eminently

favorable opportunity for developing the aspect of German World-Politics which is reflected in the creation of a powerful navy. German aspirations in this direction are perfectly well known, but the ultimate end in view is less clear. The German Navy League is persistently endeavoring to inculcate the belief that, until Germany is able to measure herself with Great Britain on the seas, German development will be repressed and blighted. A natural development on the part of a great and growing nation cannot be arrested by purely material forces. This fact is universally admitted by all sensible Englishmen; and, in so far as German expansion is not consciously promoted at the expense of Great Britain's position in the world, the German element is free to assert and to establish itself wherever economic superiority is on its side. But legitimate and natural expansion of this kind is something quite different from the designation of England as the objective of elaborate and painstaking schemes culminating in the creation of a navy which shall be a match for the British fleets. The chauvinists have long ago ceased to mask their aspirations, and the function of the once purely "defensive" German Navy has now become avowedly "offensive." The fairy-tale about the foreign-service cruisers which were necessary for the protection of German commerce has long been abandoned in favor of the new theory that German commerce must be protected by a fleet of battle-ships in the North Sea. Those who still consider it worth while to dissemble smoothly allege that a strong German Navy will operate in the interests of peace. The German public has been skilfully inoculated with the idea that, if, for example, during the Morocco crisis, Germany had been able to exert "diplomatic pressure" on England by mobilizing a strong armada in the North Sea, the course of those fateful negotiations might have been less humiliating to Germany. The inference is suggested that, at moments of crisis in the future, the menace of the German double squadrons at Wilhelmshaven will impose an effectual check upon any tendencies of British policy which Germany may consider to be detrimental to her "interests."

The extent and character of the present naval proposals before the Reichstag are eminently suggestive. The navy law of 1900 was amended in 1906, and this year's bill makes it manifest that the "law" of only a few years ago is a highly elastic conception. The ostensible effect of the reduction of the age limit for battle-

ships from twenty-five to twenty years is to add three battle-ships to the strength of the German Navy during the period from 1908 to 1917. But, in reality, the sum of the proposed changes is far more extensive. It is sufficiently significant that this alleged total increase should have been apportioned to the first four years of the period for which the programme of construction has been framed. This proceeding lends to the programme for 1908, 1909, 1910 and 1911 a degree of compactness in marked contrast with the skeleton scheme which is presented as the "programme" for the succeeding six years. It is easy to imagine what arguments will be adduced in 1911 in favor of maintaining the rate of construction. By that time the question will have become one of economic necessity, quite apart from any considerations which the political situation at the moment may dictate. The future, however, may safely be left to take care of itself. The immediate programme shows that, in addition to the usual complement of auxiliary craft, four ships of the largest class are to be laid down each year for the next four years. Furthermore, there are indications of a financial character, in the manner in which the grants for construction are apportioned, that these new vessels are destined to represent a considerable advance upon anything still on the stocks. The four battle-ships laid down at the rate of two each in 1906 and 1907, and the large cruiser laid down this year will certainly be outclassed in design and execution by the ships of the new era. According to the provisional scheme, only one battle-ship and one large cruiser are to be laid down each year after 1911; but even now nobody in this country doubts that fresh demands of at least equal magnitude will be made by the Government as soon as the proper moment has arrived. The financial cost of this expansion is, of course, stupendous, especially since every provision for the new ships in the shape of dock and harbor accommodation is simultaneously being made. The torpedo and other submarine arms of the service, as well as the coast defences, are also being perfected and proportionately developed. Those who have listened with discerning ears to the throbbing activity at Kiel, and who have watched the transformation of Wilhelmshaven into a first-class naval base on the North Sea, will appreciate the nature and the significance of the effort which is being exerted. Moreover, there is more method than would at first appear in the seeming recklessness with which these

formidable armaments are being built on credit. As far as justification is concerned, there is enough money in Germany to build twice, or even three times, as many ships as are actually projected. But, unfortunately, as a result of the inextricable tangle to which the finances of the Empire and of the Federated States have been reduced, the country cannot be taxed to its full capacity; and, so long as the States retain the right of direct taxation to the exclusion of the Empire, the situation is practically equivalent to an entail. The German Government, however, is evidently convinced that the chief thing is to build the ships, and that the bill can be settled later on, perhaps at somebody else's expense. By 1911 naval expenditure will have reached the enormous figure of £23,000,000 ($115,000,000). Even if the British vote of £31,000,000 ($155,000,000) for 1906 were fully effective, there would be considerable ground for vigilance on the part of England. But as a matter of fact only some £29,000,000 ($145,000,000), or even less, can be ranked as effective expenditure, since a large ineffective vote for the payment of the *personnel* has to be deducted from the British budget. As Germany, under the conscription system, gets her men for practically nothing but the cost of their maintenance, the German vote is almost entirely and exclusively effective, while pensions and similar items are charged to a separate account. It is perfectly evident that some adequate reply will have to be made to the German increases. What form the British programme will assume remains to be seen; but it is likely to be sufficient to preserve the present proportion between the two navies.

WASHINGTON, *December, 1907.*

IT is doubtful whether anybody in Washington has read the whole of the President's Annual Message, which comprised some thirty thousand words, and was loaded with copious quotations from the writer's preceding utterances. What Mr. Roosevelt had to say about the financial and industrial situation attracted, of course, the most interest. It was rather disappointing to find that his discussion of currency reform was made up largely of a repetition of the references to the subjects in a previous Message, including the allusion to ex-Secretary Shaw's scheme for an "emergency currency." After all, however, it is for Congress, and not for the Executive, to deal with the ques-

tion of currency reform; and, if the President refrained from recommending a central bank of issue, which is advocated in some quarters, it may have been because he doubted whether the country is ready to welcome another United States Bank, modelled more or less closely on the Bank of England, or the Imperial Reichsbank of Germany. There was nothing particularly novel in his suggestion that it might be well to determine whether bank officers and directors ought to lend the money of depositors to themselves, or in the opinion that trust companies ought to keep larger reserves than they do, and should be subject to the same rigorous supervision as are national banks. He wants to give the Federal Government power to inspect the accounts of trust companies, as it does those of national banks, and he also proposes a Federal supervision of big industrial combinations, which, he thinks, could be secured on the ground that those combinations are engaged in interstate commerce. In spite of the fact that the United States Supreme Court, in the second Cleveland Administration, pronounced an income tax unconstitutional, the President recommends with peculiar earnestness a graduated income tax and an inheritance tax, manifestly assuming that the tribunal, as now constituted, might be prevailed upon to reverse its former decision. Nobody in Washington knows what reason, if any, there is for the assumption, although there has been no lack of rumors on the subject. We scarcely need say that army and navy people, who are so extensively represented in Washington society, highly approve of the President's proposal that the regular army shall be enlarged and made more efficient by increasing the pay of both officers and men, and that the navy shall be augmented by the addition of four battle-ships. It is true enough that such an addition is needful if we are to retain the second place in the list of naval Powers, for the German naval programme, which was revised the other day, provides that three battle-ships of the most formidable type shall be begun every year up to and including 1911. There are also solid reasons for Mr. Roosevelt's recommendation of an extension of the Ocean Mail Act of 1891 providing mail subsidies, in order that the United States mail may not be dependent on foreign steamship lines to South America, Hawaii and certain other countries. The President's approval of the establishment of post-office savings-banks is

based, doubtless, on the success of the institution in Great Britain. The reference to Japan is courteous, and calculated to promote the negotiations for a curtailment of the inflow of Japanese labor into our Pacific ports. It is obvious that friction would be averted if such curtailment could be brought about without recourse to the enactment of an exclusion law by Congress. We observe, finally, that in what he said about the tariff, the President seemed to take for granted that no general revision would be attempted during the remnant of his Administration, but he did advise the immediate repeal of the duty on wood pulp, a suggestion that ought to make him *persona grata* to newspapers. We have passed over certain recommendations because there seems to be not the slightest chance of their early embodiment in legislation. For example, Mr. Roosevelt proposed to reduce the number of accidents to railway employees by providing Federal inspection of railway-working; he wants Congress to pass an Employers' Liability Law, and to empower the Federal Government to intervene in labor disputes, to regulate child labor, to check the destruction of forests and the engrossing of water-power by industrial corporations, and to prevent the accumulation of land in too few hands.

The Message was not received with lively interest by Congress, nor with a chorus of approval by the country. The organs of the Republican party for the most part refrained from criticism, although, notwithstanding the seductive proposal about wood pulp, some of the newspapers known to be controlled by high protectionists did not hesitate to express a doubt as to whether the Dingley Tariff ought to be touched in any point at the present time. It is questionable whether a single one of the President's recommendations will be embodied in legislation at the present session of Congress, except that of the addition of four battle-ships to the navy. So far as can be judged from the editorial articles of independent newspapers, and from published interviews with business men, Mr. Roosevelt's suggestions by no means carry the weight which they would have possessed a year or even six months ago. The weeks spent by the President in bear-hunting in Louisiana seemed to have had much the same effect upon his fortunes that the months wasted in Alexandria had upon the fate of Julius Cæsar. It was certainly unlucky for the former that the financial crisis should have broken out

during his absence from Washington. The reaction against him, as the generally recognized author of "The Roosevelt Panic," has been promoted by the fact that he seems not to be in a repentant mood, and certainly in his Message he has not brought forth fruits meet for repentance. So far, indeed, as the States lying between the Sierra Nevada and the Mississippi River are concerned—States which have, collectively, but few electoral votes—he is apparently almost as popular as ever, but elsewhere he has lost prestige and influence with a suddenness and to an extent for which there is no parallel in American history. Andrew Jackson, of course, was responsible for the panic of 1837, and Benjamin Harrison for that of 1893, yet neither of them suffered greatly in public esteem because neither was in the White House when the catastrophe occurred. It is Mr. Roosevelt's mishap that the inevitable outcome of his systematic effort to destroy popular confidence in corporations was not postponed until 1909, which many close observers of the financial and industrial situation believed would be the case. As things are, Mr. Roosevelt cannot escape accountability. Nor would it be surprising if his second administration should end under a deep cloud. He may console himself with the remembrance that George Washington, who received every electoral vote for the Presidency, had the mortification of knowing, when he went out of office on March 4, 1797, that the Representatives in Congress of his own State, Virginia, had publicly thanked God that they were rid of him. No other elected President has ever been subjected to such humiliation. The changed sentiment with which Mr. Roosevelt is regarded by his countrymen will naturally be reflected abroad, and the foreign tour to which he is said to look forward may not prove a triumphal march.

There were those who said of a famous historical personage that nothing in his public life so became him as his mode of leave-taking. There are many American citizens who hold that Mr. Roosevelt's reassertion of his determination not to accept a nomination for a third term is the finest act he has performed. We are not so sure that it is the finest, but that it is the most prudent we have no doubt. The present President has probably no idea of the breadth, depth and intensity of the feeling against a third term in this country. As a matter of fact, had he been renominated in 1908, anybody could have beaten him, for it is

the height of absurdity to suppose that what was denied to the hero of Appomattox would have been granted to the pseudo-hero of San Juan. Not only would Mr. Roosevelt have failed to be elected in 1908, but he would no less certainly fail in 1912. By the latter date, moreover, other men will occupy the foreground, and Mr. Roosevelt will find himself relegated to the middle distance. His day is drawing to a close.

ST. PETERSBURG, *December, 1907.*

THE Russian Premier, having prevailed at the voting-urns, is rising rapidly in the Duma. To the authority invested in him by the Tsar he now adds the influence which the support of a great parliamentary party confers. He has become a personage to be reckoned with, the one man whom the Russian upheaval has elevated high above the dead level of the crowd. His strongest claim to distinction, however, is his personal integrity, his fine moral fibre. People have learned to respect his motives, to believe his word, to rely on his promise, and that amounts to a patent of nobility in a community where esteem is considered to be degrading, where beliefs are dying and motives for the best actions are naturally set down as base. The worst that people say about him is that he lacks the power which he would use so well if it were invested in him, that he is being utilized by the court as a new sign-board for the old bureaucracy, a decoy to lure honest patriots back into thraldom. And it cannot be gainsaid that certain appearances lend color to this assertion. If M. Stolypin has not been broken by the storm, it is undoubtedly because he can bend to the wind. More than once he is believed to have given way to the court, and to have silently abandoned a measure which he had warmly advocated.

But no adequate reason can be advanced why the court should not influence the Premier, if it can first convince him, and it is but fair to assume that in each case alleged by M. Stolypin's antagonists, he was persuaded that the specific which he was prescribing would fail of its good effects.

M. Stolypin is the hero of the day. The third Duma is his creation, he is its master; and if it carry out his behests representative government will never again cease to be a Russian institution.

By a series of clumsy but effective expedients, which ultimate

success would probably justify or condone, M. Stolypin succeeded in having a Duma elected which seems able and willing to work. The great majority consists of men who profess their readiness to render unto the nation the things that are the nation's, and unto the Tsar the things that are the Tsar's—as soon as they can distinguish which is which. And their efforts to effect this distinction produce the line of cleavage between them. Thirty-three, who, still at heart partisans of the autocracy, are docile to a hint from above that they must not be more monarchistical than the monarch, form the Extreme Right of the Duma, and no longer clamor for the abolition of this institution. Another group of the Right, nearly five times more numerous, is composed of men who harbor no desire for a return to absolutism pure and simple, but still regard the Tsar as the source of all real power in the State. Neither of these parties is wholly after the heart of M. Stolypin, who prefers the hundred men called "Octobrists," whose starting-point is the October Manifesto, who are monarchists by conviction, friends of order and Russian patriots. Although his agents helped members of each of those parties at the elections, the preference was generally given to the latter. And now that the legislative laboratory erected by Stolypin has begun to work people are anxious to learn whether it will distil the elixir of national life.

The Duma met on the 26th of November, and spent that day in wrangling as to whether the form of Government is constitutional or autocratic. As a vote of thanks to the Emperor, for the grant of a representative assembly, had not been passed by either of the two foregoing Parliaments, it was judged meet that the Third Duma should make good the omission of its predecessors, and that as large a majority as possible should be got to vote for the motion. Now as several sections of the Opposition would join in expressing their thanks, the first part of the address voiced this sentiment only. In the second part the Duma assured the Tsar that it would use all its knowledge and experience to strengthen the fabric of the Empire renovated by the October Manifesto. In the first part of the document the Monarchists wanted to have the Emperor's title of Autocrat mentioned; in the latter half the Constitutional Democrats and others insisted that some allusion be made to the constitution.

To Alexander Ivanovich Goochkoff, leader of the Octobrists,

fell the arduous task of reconciling these conflicting interests. And he was impatient to win his spurs. M. Goochkoff has been sneered at by his countrymen because he comes of a stock of hard-working tradespeople. Happily for himself, M. Goochkoff lives at a moment when artificial barriers between class and class are being swept away and every citizen may become the product of his own works. Those of Goochkoff were multifarious. Restlessness was his characteristic trait, and love of adventure the mainspring of his actions. He was successively a justice of the peace, a member of the Moscow municipality, a nomadic student of the famine in Central Russia, a member of the municipal board, an enemy of Turkish misrule in Asia Minor.

The Octobrists, about a hundred all told, form the political centre of the Duma. From the Constitutional Democrats they differ principally by their opposition to home rule, their determination to maintain the unity of the nation and the supremacy of the Russian race and by their fidelity to monarchical principles. From the Right they differed, until quite recently, by their loyalty to the constitution given by the October Manifesto, and by their willingness to enfranchise the Jews. But at present they admit the equality of Jews and Christians in principle only, holding that the moment for applying it has not yet come. On the other hand, the Monarchists having stretched a point and given a half-hearted assent to the "constitution," the differences between the parties are become somewhat shadowy. Consequently, by means of a permanent arrangement with either party to the right or left, or by alternate alliances now with one, now with the other, the Octobrists have it in their power to keep together a working majority until the Duma's legal term of existence has expired.

Goochkoff's maiden speech on the question: Is Russia an autocratic or a constitutional State? made a deep impression on every one. Conciliatory in tone, elastic in principle, it was almost artistic in form. A product of the head, it left the heart unmoved. He delighted the Monarchists by insisting on the necessity of thanking the Tsar for his generosity, and he charmed the Constitutional Democrats by declaring that the Emperor had limited his own rights and that the present form of Government is constitutional. "The Emperor," he said, "is become more free because the constitution has delivered him

from court camarillas and the hierarchy of bureaucrats." And the orator wound up hopefully by giving utterance to his conviction that in two or three years all dissensions on this question will have disappeared. After this act of faith and hope, it was peculiarly appropriate that a Bishop should pronounce an unctuous allocution asking that the Emperor should be addressed by his title of Autocrat of all the Russias.

After hours of discussion in which over fifty deputies took part the title "Autocrat" was excluded from the address, and the address was voted towards midnight by all present, except the extreme Right, the Poles and the Labor Party.

Next day a veritable storm of rage or exultation broke out all over Russia. The liberal press gloated over the "abolition of the autocracy" by the nation, and conservative journals anathematized the assembly that had "betrayed the sacred cause of monarchism." Members of the Extreme Right called for or prophesied the dissolution of the Third Duma. The Court allowed it to be known that the dissatisfaction of the Emperor was intense and well grounded, because the responsible leaders might have carried the address without provoking a debate, and could in any case have eliminated the question of autocracy. But having raised it, court Monarchists argued, consistency, if not loyalty, ought to have made them give the Tsar his legal title. Had they not themselves, each member in turn, signed a solemn declaration of allegiance to the Autocrat of all the Russias? And if they thus acknowledged the title with unanimity, what would be the effect of merely omitting it in a document which is only an act of gratitude?

The fanatics of the Right and the Left possess one solid advantage over the Octobrists, who are now the caryatides of the "renovated Empire." The ideals of the so-called "visionaries"—a democratic republic and an absolute monarchy—are quite possible, whereas an autocracy is inconceivable whose head is a constitutional ruler, and whose supporters consist of constitutionalists, who, holding that the monarch's power is limited yet boundless, can truly say with Tertullian, "We believe because the thing is impossible."

THE EDITOR'S DIARY.

Of Yankees and "Yankee Doodle."

REFERRING to certain sneering and intemperate allusions to this young land by English publicists reproduced recently upon these pages as indicative of the true British attitude toward us, Mr. Andrew Lang chides us gently for assuming that such journals as the "Academy" and the "Saturday Review" are really representative, and makes fresh declaration of the unselfish friendliness to us of our older cousins. Such assurances, especially from a source so distinguished, and presumably authoritative, find ever a ready welcome among those of us who continue to regard ourselves as lovers of peace and concord; and it was with peculiar satisfaction that we prepared to accept these in particular while sojourning temporarily within His Majesty's dominions. Imagine, then, the distress of mind which ensued, almost immediately, upon our finding that on that garden spot discovered by the Spanish Bermudez, but appropriated by the English Somers, American boys are prevented from attending schools by English lads who congregate in great numbers for the deliberate purpose of hazing them. Granting readily the essential brutality of youthful exuberance the world over, and conceding, of course, the non-participation and even perhaps the disapproval of their elders, the dominance of resentful prejudice in the breasts of these young Britons of the better class against their American relatives can only be held to mean that the disappearance of the traditional distrust and dislike which grew out of the Revolution is not yet complete. Whether, if the cases were reversed, American schoolboys would behave with like discourtesy we would not venture to assert; if common reports of actual experiences be correct, probably not; but positive protestation would ill become one in whose eyes the red coat is still

nearly, if not quite, as hateful as it was in those of the embattled farmers at Lexington. Such we imagine the effect to be, as English writers bitterly complain, of the accounts of the struggle against oppression formerly given in our primary school-books and reiterated with emphasis by teachers at the multitude of "four corners" throughout the length and breadth of the land. For the gradual but, as we are informed, certain elimination of these resentful teachings from the school-books of to-day we should, of course, be duly grateful—and probably are.

There is delightful irony in the fact that the most derisive term applied by an English lad to an American boy is "Yankee." True, since our own Civil War, during which social amenities prevailed to a limited degree between "Yanks," on the one side, and "Rebs," on the other, the word has taken on a new colloquial meaning; but, as originally used, it actually stood for "English," having been coined by the Indians, whose guttural limitations restricted their pronunciation of "English" to "Yengees," then "Yangees," from which "Yankees" easily followed. Even though Thierry's theory be accepted, that "Yankee" is a corruption of "Jankin," a diminutive of John, applied by the Dutch of New York to the residents of New England, the reference was, of course, to Britons, and therefore, from their view-point, necessarily complimentary—as "John Bull" is or even "Tommy Atkins." Moreover, as early as 1713, it was held to denote great excellence, being used at that time by the Cambridge farmers at their auction sales of "Yankee good horses," "Yankee cider" and the like.

Possibly that exasperating tune, "Yankee Doodle," had something to do with the discovering of the term "Yankee" by the English—and, if so, one could hardly blame them for harboring a prejudice against the Yankee nation, although even at that, if we admit their own pretensions, they had only their own stupid selves to blame. It has ever been the wont of the British upper classes to speak opprobriously of their stronger antagonists and sometimes, if we may be so bold, of their betters.

When Charles the First ascended the throne a ditty familiar in the nurseries of high society was "Lucy Locket," afterwards known in New England as "Lydia Fisher's Jig," and running like this:

"Lucy Locket lost her pocket,
Lydia Fisher found it;
Not a bit of money in it,
Only binding round it."

A smart Cavalier, adapting the jingle to political conditions, produced the following:

"Nankey Doodle came in town,
Riding on a pony,
With a feather in his hat
Upon a macaroni."

A "doodle," according to Murray, was a simpleton, "a sorry, trifling fellow"; a "macaroni" was a knot in the ribbon. The particular Nankey characterized thus derisively in this case was Oliver Cromwell. The next adaptation appeared in 1766 in connection with a caricature ridiculing William Pitt for espousing America's cause, and incidentally sniffing at the French and Virginia negroes thus:

"Stamp Act! le diable! dat is de job, sir:
Dat is de Stiltman's nob, sir,
To be America's nabob, sir,
Doodle, noodle, do."

It was but natural that shafts of the wit of the period should be aimed at the uncouth American soldiers; and there was much hilarity in the British camp in Boston when an officer-poet recited the lines which became the real "Yankee Doodle," beginning with the familiar verse:

"Father and I went down to camp,
Along with Captain Goodwin,
Where we *see* the men and boys
As thick as hasty-*puddin'*"—

and continuing with the well-worn references to "Captain Washington," "My Jemima," *et al.*, after the well-known fashion designed to "take off" the provincials thus:

"There was *Captain* Washington
Upon a *slapping* stallion,
A giving orders to his men:
I *guess* there was a million.

"And then the feathers on his hat,
They looked so *tarnal fine*,
I wanted *pockily* to get,
To give to my Jemima.

"And then they had a *swampin'* gun,
As large as log of maple,
On a *deuced* little cart—
A load for father's cattle.

"And every time they fired it off
It took a horn of powder;
It made a noise like father's gun,
Only a *nation* louder.

"I went as near to it myself
As Jacob's *underpinnin'*,
And father went *as near agin*—
I thought the *deuce* was in him.

"Cousin Simon grew so bold,
I thought he would have cocked it;
It scared me so, I shrinkéd off,
And hung by father's pocket.

"And Captain Davis had a gun,
He *kind* a clapped his hand on't,
And stuck a crookéd stabbing-iron
Upon the little end on't.

"And there I *see* a pumpkin-shell
As big as mother's basin,
And every time they touched it off
They scampered *like the nation.*

"And there I see a little keg,
Its heads were made of leather:
They knocked upon't with little sticks,
To call the folks together.

"And then they'd *fife away like fun*
And play on *cornstalk* fiddles;
And some had *ribbons* red as blood,
All wound about their middles.

"The troopers, too, would gallop up
And fire right in our faces;
It scared me almost half to death
To see them run such races.

"Old Uncle Sam *come* then to change
Some pancakes and some onions
For *'lasses cakes*, to carry home
To give his wife and young ones.

"I *see* another *snarl* of men
A digging graves, they told me,
So *tarnal* long, so *tarnal* deep,
They *'tended* they should hold me.

"It scared me so, I *hooked* it off,
Nor slept, as I remember,
Nor turned about till I got home,
Locked up in mother's chamber."

Some years before, a British army surgeon stationed at Lake George had composed one or two sneering verses entitled "Yankee Doodle," and Ethan Allen, whose liking for stirring melody was stronger than his taste for classical music, promptly appropriated the tune, so that the fifers and drummers at Dorchester were fully prepared when they received a copy of the Boston composition, and the shrill tune became, probably for all time, our favorite national marching air. It is essentially English, as we have pointed out, but only in our judgment as adapted; in any case, rightly or wrongly, we prefer to accept Duyckinck's declaration that it was taken by the predatory British from an old Dutch harvest-song whose refrain ran:

"Yanker didee *doodle* down
Didee dudel lawnter,
Yankee viver, voover, vown,
Botermelk und Tawnter."

The British officer-poet, however, is entitled to the credit of having made the first use of "Uncle Sam" on record, although there is no indication that he meant it to refer to the States then united only for defensive purposes, thus leaving to the Albany pork inspector the high honor traditionally accorded him for sardonic humor in the use of a branding-iron.

Disregarding considerations relating to the origin of the appellation or traditions enveloping it, what is the true position of the Yankee of the present day? Should one, so called, feel abased or exalted? Has he cause for shame or reason for pride? Assuming an intermingling of vices and virtues in the typical human, which in his case dominate? Does his traditional meanness pale before the glint of his stern morality, or have both been so modified as to be virtually lost in a flabby present? Verily, is there to-day a Yankee living, as Yankees once did live, with malice towards all and charity for none whose existence seems to be unrighteous?

This is a fruitful topic peculiarly inviting to our commercially consanguineous Jew and Scot; but, for the present, contrast may well be confined to the race whose physical robustness and dogged determination have served to triumph over the presumably superior intellectual attributes of their racial rivals. We should say, then, that, in common estimation, the Yankee is keener, shrewder, less dogmatic and more capable of sharp practices than the Briton. In combat, commercial or other, the two are about evenly matched, the exceptional quickness of the one nearly, if not quite, balancing in effectiveness the developed brutality of the other. True culture sits lightly upon both. In minor morals the Englishman excels; in major probities the Yankee is incomparable; the former being certain, the latter undecided, as to the future life. Neither could ever be agreeable to or sympathetic with the other. There is, therefore, little to choose between them in a personal way, especially if one be indisposed to regard his fellow humans with persistent gravity; but as to the effect of the national characteristics of each of the races, respectively, upon its activities and destined purposes, there is no possibility of comparison. Despite the splendid personal freedom which he has achieved and of which he justly, though too frequently, boasts, the Englishman has become so wholly imbedded in the feudal system represented by a landed aristocracy that he is a worse stifler of progress than a Turk. All in England to-day is paternal; therefore, socialistic and absurdly tentative in the face of threatening revolt against wrongs, not fancied, but real, because mentally stultifying by decree of those exercising fatuous authority.

It is idle to deny that, owing to a recent welcoming of political charlatanry, temporarily, at least, eclipsing all party organizations and their concomitant steadiness, like perils confront us in America, but even this briefest of great national existences has already indicated that subversion of a political ideal based upon encouragement of individual enlightenment and achievement is at least remote, if not in point of fact impossible. The self-reliant Yankee made this nation, welded it together successfully, and thus far, in every crisis, even to the recent financial cataclysm, has not only proved equal to, but dominated, every emergency. His habitation is no longer New England, but the entire country, as these late events have proven, and his civic creed con-

tinues to be faith in the supreme ability of mankind, educated to think and act individually, to solve all human problems.

Thus the Briton! thus the Yankee! Between the two, diffidence characteristic of a young and modest segment of the greatest of human races prohibits choosing.

In Defence of Widows and Spinsters.

We acknowledge the receipt of the following earnest communication from Albany, New York:

"Sir,—Your unwarranted and uncalled-for attack upon a respected and respectable class of the world's population entitled 'No Necessity for Widowhood,' must awaken a feeling of indignation from those who realize the falsity of its statements.

"Lips, long silent in the grave, seem to bear witness against this arraignment of those whom grief has touched, and dear folded hands, years ago laid to rest, seem raised in protest against this indictment for crime of those honored women not only of this age and clime, but of all ages and all climes, who have been the faithful, the intelligent home-keepers 'for better, for worse, for richer, for poorer,' till death has severed the bond.

"God said of woman, in the beginning, 'And she shall be a helpmeet for man'; not the hysterical, weeping, ignorant, hectoring creature described by the author, but a helpmate. This she has proved to be in the majority of cases from that time to this. And men of all ages have borne witness to the noble type of good, heroic womanhood.

"'As one whom his mother comforteth' is the compendium of all that is solacing to a grief-stricken heart, whether that mother be one whom sorrow has touched, or one fortunate enough to keep by her side, through life, the companion who has chosen her.

"First, as a wife is woman assailed; 'Practically all she knows is that milk is good for babies.' Can it be possible, in these days, when women in every branch of study are pressing up abreast of the men, when cooking-schools, dietary, hygienic conditions and nursing are receiving attention from all classes of women, both rich and poor, that one can imagine such a condition as depicted by the writer of 'Wilful Ignorance' and hectoring hysteria because a husband fails to eat as much as usual?

"Then the writer goes on to state: 'Women kill good providers by the score and then hold themselves fit objects of sympathy because, forsooth, of their self-imposed widowhood: we have no patience with such persons.' Never, probably, in all the history of the world has such a brutal sentiment been expressed. The writer states that 'Men are chivalrous.' Surely here, then, is an exception to the rest of humanity.

"Such women have not held themselves to 'be fit objects of sympathy.' On the contrary, as the world has known in all ages, most of the women

whom grief has stricken have, though with aching hearts, bravely taken up the burden dropped by their companions and have cheerfully and courageously gone on, in the thoroughfare of life, making the days sunny for the little ones left to their care, or bearing the burden of others too weak to sustain them. Woman has asked not for sympathy, nor for assistance; but when one would arraign her as a murderess because of her tender ministrations to the dead and gone she says: 'Touch me not; let my griefs make me sacred.'

"Why are there widows, then? God, not Mr. Harvey, is alone able to answer that question. Were one to express an opinion, it might be stated that ordinarily men choose women younger than themselves—sometimes by many years. It is in the course of nature, except for accident, that the younger should outlive the elder.

"Then, besides, men are out in the world, exposed to accidents, danger and disease thousands of times while the wife, keeping the home, is not so exposed.

"Men usually eat more heartily than women, eat at untimely and variable hours; eat at restaurants and hotels, where food is not always hygienic; eat when overheated or tired; drink, sometimes, when nature has called 'enough.'

"Another reason: a man usually marries a second time not, let us believe, because of lack of love or faithfulness to the lost one, but because ordinarily, having known the tender ministrations and home comforts which only a wife can give, he cannot endure life when deprived of them and so seeks another helpmate.

"'Primarily, therefore,' the author sums up, 'women are responsible, through ignorance, for the multiplication of tobacco hearts, and the filling of married drunkards' graves.'

"Could there be a more terrible arraignment? If, as Shakespeare depicts, when night comes wronged spirits return, surely, for one who could write such words, there must some time come a night when, in long procession, with white and haunting faces, the women of all ages and countries, faithful wives and loving mothers, who have made home happy, cured the sick, forgiven the outcast, reclaimed the lost, whose very name has been a talisman to hold back from evil the tempted soul, among them these whom grief has touched perhaps, but has purified—these souls must pass before his vision, and with dark forecastings of the future for one who thus lightly arraigns as murderesses those faithful ones who, even though touched by sorrow, have not in 'wilful ignorance,' but in greatest wisdom, as conceded by all ages, made home what it is,

> "'By heavenly pity and sweet sympathy,
> By patient kindness, by enduring truth,
> By love, supremest in adversity.'
>
> "FRANCES V. HUBBARD."

Another lady writes:

"SIR,—Referring to your latest injunction to spinsters that it is

'better to marry a bad man and reform him,' I ask permission to say that the risk is too great, as carefully collected statistics have proved that only one man out of every ninety-eight and one-half ever reforms. The accusation that any one who takes this risk is a fool is not easily refuted. Another man possessing, perhaps, equal ability with yourself in making wise remarks said:

"'As the husband is the wife is: thou are mated with a clown,
And the grossness of his nature will have weight to drag thee down.'

"Then, too, the Society for the Survival of the Fittest is emphatic in its protests against foolish females or bad males marrying at all, not to mention their marrying each other. According to the well-tested law of heredity, the marriage of these two types can only produce fools and degenerates, classes of which all observant students of human nature now declare we have an abnormal number."

St. Matthew XVIII: 12, 13; St. Luke XV: 4, 7.

The Family of an Undertaker.

We have received the following letter:

"SIR,—In your cheerful generalization leading up to a grave consideration of 'the helpful little book' entitled 'The Funeral,' you, one is assured, do an unwitting injustice to a business which is, by its very nature, harmless and necessary. You say, 'We have often wondered how it would seem to be an undertaker.' Why say this? Why wonder, when you conclude your paragraph with this positive non-wondering statement: 'Gradually they come to regard themselves as apart from other men,—and so, perhaps, they are, as a sexton is, or a hangman'? How do you know they so come to consider themselves any more than every man comes to consider himself as apart from other men, aside from his natural dependence on both the living and the dead? Who can claim that dependence in a greater degree than the undertaker?

"Then, O generalizer! you confess: 'Of the undertaker's home life we know practically nothing.' That is a very fitting confession. You place yourself beyond absolution, however, by your questions following:

"'Does he romp with his children?'

"'Does he ever have any children?'

"'As a matter of fact, did any one ever hear of the son or daughter of an undertaker?'

"Now, the children of Mr. Mould no doubt would have worn black mittens in the cradle if only Charles Dickens had thought of it. But the Moulds were cheerful people. I am sure you are glad you met them.

"It so happens that I once knew an undertaker who was a gentleman; a man who had the respect of the community in which he lived. He left a fair name to his children; and his fellow citizens few of whom are now living, knew him for an upright, honorable man. Many of his

personal charities became known after his passing. Those that are hidden may account for the smallness of the estate which he left. Those of his children whom I knew were certainly never ashamed of their father, nor the fact that his business was such as none of us would probably select, as a matter of taste.

"His oldest son, of whom, of course, no one has ever heard, carries on the business. Grandchildren of the men for whom the father conducted their last affair of consequence look to the son to do their own work when the time comes. He will do it; is doing it every day. He has not grown rich as he happens not to be a Funeral Director.

"He has no sumptuous chapel with stained glass memorial windows or other fashionable flummery. So, Mr. Editor, if you want a nice, cozy, comfortable funeral, large or small, I can direct you to the right shop. So much for the oldest son.

"The second son was a merry villain. Never have I known a more humorous, daring fellow. Friends came to him without effort. Clever with his pencil and his pen, his sketches and verses, written on margins of school-books, and, later, on menus and theatre programmes, are a well-remembered delight.

"It was he that told the story, with accompanying sketch, of one of those funeral-going old ladies who, living in a populous parish, went to the wrong funeral and had a really good time. Then finding that the funeral she desired to attend was coming down the street, she went to that and had as good a time as the circumstances allowed. If only that scrap of paper showing the church, the coming and the departing funerals, the old Frenchwoman and the fat Irish priest were in my possession, I would send it to you.

"This same son attended a masquerade as a long, lank, black undertaker, with a neat black pasteboard coffin—decorations, skull and bones—under his arm. So little was he ashamed of the business that brought him his bread, butter and gruesome jest that when last heard of he was high in the conduct of one of our great railroads.

"One of the very jolliest evening parties I ever attended was under his father's roof. The undertaker, his wife and sufficient small fry to have satisfied our Chief Magistrate were on view early in the evening, as was sometimes the case in those days when the opening of a home to guests meant hospitality. I remember no black mittens or gloomy looks, only a good, jolly evening.

"The daughter, who was beautiful, well-educated and had inherited from her French mother and Irish father both charm and wit, has made what is called, I believe, a successful marriage. She was a delightful girl, and very popular with the young men and women who were fortunate enough to know her.

"The place in which this family lived was a city where a real society existed long before some of our more pretentious cities came into existence. The social tone was taken from old French families, some of them of historic name. When one of these old French ladies,—they were all old,—gave a reception it was as if the social kingdom of heaven

were opened to the invited. The family of whom I am writing you took their place in these assemblies by right of birth, breeding, manners and education.

"Just how the younger generation are coming on, either in a social or any other way, I do not know. They tell me that the old town has changed in these days of extravagant refinement. Probably the snobs are all dead, and the old French ladies have dried up and blown away.

"You happened, you see, to ask your question of a reader who had known one undertaker and his family. So in justice to the craft with which I have no affiliation whatever, and with which I desire no early relations, I feel that I need send no apology with my reply. Instead, I wish to thank you inasmuch as the reading of your diary has brought freshly to my mind a pleasant family, almost forgotten.

"H. B. KAYE.

"EVANSTON, ILLINOIS."

LA SENTENCOJ DE SALOMONO.*

(El la Biblio.)

EL LA ORIGINALO TRADUKIS, L. L. ZAMENHOF.

ĈAPITRO II.

(1) Mia filo! se vi akceptos miajn parolojn kaj konservos ĉe vi miajn ordonojn, (2) ke via orelo atente aŭskultos saĝon kaj vian koron vi inklinigos al komprenado; (3) se vi vokos la prudenton kaj direktos vian voĉon al la saĝo; (4) se vi serĉos ĝin kiel arĝenton, serĉegos kiel trezoron: (5) tiam vi komprenos la timon antaŭ Dio kaj vi akiros konadon de Dio. (6) Ĉar Dio donas saĝon; el Lia buŝo venas scio kaj kompreno. (7) Li havas helpon por la veremuloj, Li estas ŝildo por tiuj, kiuj vivas pie. (8) Li gardas la iradon de la justo kaj zorgas pri la vojo de Siaj piuloj. (9) Tiam vi komprenos veremen kaj juston kaj pion kaj ĉiun bonan vojon. (10) Ĉar saĝo venos en vian koron kaj scio estos agrabla por via animo. (11) Bona konscio vin gvidos, prudento vin gardos, (12) por savi vin de la vojo de malbono, de homo, parolanta kontraŭveraĵon, (13) de tiuj kiuj forlasas la ĝustan vojon por iri la vojojn de mallumo, (14) kiuj ĝojas, kiam ili faras malbonon, trovas plezuron en la malordo de la malboneco, (15) kies vojoj estas malrektaj kaj la irado deflankiĝis; (16) por savi vin de fremda edzino, de edzino ne via, kies paroloj estas glataj, (17) kiu forlasas la amikon de sia juneco kaj forgesas la ligon de sia Dio; (18) ĉar ŝia domo kondukas al morto kaj ŝiaj paŝoj al la inferuloj; (19)

* Dr. Zamenhof has made this translation of Proverbs from the original text especially for The North American Review. The first chapter appeared in the December issue. The subsequent chapters will be published during 1908.

ĉiuj, kiuj eniras al ŝi, ne revenas, kaj ne reatingas plu la vojon de la vivo. (20) Ke vi iru la vojon de bonuloj kaj sekvu la paŝosignojn de piuloj; (21) ĉar la piuloj loĝos sur la tero kaj la senpekuloj restos sur ĝi; (22) sed la malpiuloj estos ekstermitaj de sur la tero kaj la maliculoj estos malaperigitaj de tie.

ĈAPITRO III.

(1) Mia filo! ne forgesu mian instruon, kaj via koro konservu miajn ordonojn. (2) Ĉar ili akirigos al vi longan vivon, jarojn de vivo kaj paco. (3) Favoro kaj vero vin ne forlasos; alligu ilin al via kolo, skribu ilin sur la tabuletojn de via koro. (4) Kaj vi trovos favoron kaj bonan opinion ĉe Dio kaj homoj. (5) Fidu Dion per via tuta koro kaj ne fidu vian prudenton. (6) Konsciu Lin en ĉiuj viaj vojoj, kaj Li ĝustigos vian iradon. (7) Ne opiniu vin saĝa, timu Dion kaj deturnu vin de malbono. (8) Tio ĉi estos saniga por via korpo kaj bona nutro por viaj ostoj. (9) Faru honoron al Dio el via havo kaj el la unuavenaĵo de ĉiuj viaj rikoltaĵoj: (10) tiam viaj grenejoj tute pleniĝos kaj viaj vinpremejoj superbordigos junan vinon. (11) La instruon de Dio, ho mia filo, ne malŝatu, kaj ne deturnu vin, kiam Li faras al vi punon; (12) ĉar kiun Dio amas, tiun Li punas, kaj Li favoras lin, kiel patro filon. (13) Feliĉa estas la homo, kiu trovis saĝon, kaj la homo, kiu akiris prudenton; (14) ĉar estas pli bone ĝin aĉeti, ol aĉeti arĝenton, kaj ĝia rikoltaĵo estas pli bona, ol pura oro. (15) Ĝi estas pli kara, ol juveloj, kaj nenio, kion vi povus deziri, povas esti komparata kun ĝi. (16) Longa vivo estas en ĝia dekstra mano, riĉo kaj gloro estas en ĝia maldekstra mano. (17) Ĝiaj vojoj estas vojoj agrablaj, kaj ĉiuj ĝiaj vojetoj estas paco. (18) Ĝi estas arbo de vivo por tiuj, kiuj ĝin ekkaptis, kaj feliĉaj estas tiuj, kiuj ĝin posedas. (19) Dio per saĝo fondis la teron, per prudento Li aranĝis la ĉielon. (20) Per Lia ĉionsciado disiĝis abismoj kaj la nuboj elverŝas roson. (21) Mia filo! ili ne foriru de viaj okuloj, konservu klarecon de la kapo kaj prudenton: (22) ili estos vivo por via animo kaj ornamo por via kolo. (23) Tiam vi iros sendanĝere vian vojon kaj via piedo ne puŝiĝos. (24) Kiam vi kuŝiĝos dormi, vi ne timos, kaj kiam vi kuŝos, via dormo estos agrabla. (25) Vi ne timos subitan teruron, nek pereigon, kiu povus veni de malbonuloj. (26) Ĉar Dio estos

via helpo kaj gardos vian piedon kontraŭ reto. (27) Ne rifuzu bonon al la bezonantoj, se via mano havas la forton por fari. (28) Ne diru al via proksimulo: "iru kaj revenu, kaj morgaŭ mi donos," se vi havas ĉe vi. (29) Ne pripensu malbonon kontraŭ via proksimulo, kiam li kun konfido loĝas ĉe vi. (30) Ne malpacu kun iu senkaŭze, se li ne faris al vi malbonon. (31) Ne penu imiti rabemulon kaj elektu neniun el liaj vojoj; (32) Ĉar la devojiĝantojn Dio abomenas kaj sian intencon Li malkaŝas al la piuloj. (33) Malbeno de Dio estas en la domo de malbonulo, kaj la loĝejon de piuloj Li benas. (34) La mokantojn Li mokas, kaj al la humiluloj Li donas favoron. (35) Honoron heredas saĝuloj, sed malsaĝulojn forportos malhonoro.

ĈAPITRO IV.

(1) AŬSKULTU, infanoj, la instruon de la patro, kaj atentu, por lerni prudenton. (2) Ĉar bonan instruon mi donis al vi; mian leĝon ne forlasu. (3) Ĉar mi estis filo de mia patro, dorlotata kaj sola de mia patrino. (4) Kaj li instruis min kaj diris al mi: via koro akceptu miajn vortojn, observu miajn ordonojn kaj vi vivos. (5) Akiru saĝon, akiru prudenton, ne forgesu kaj ne deflankiĝu de la paroloj de mia buŝo. (6) Ne forlasu ĝin, kaj ĝi vin gardos; amu ĝin, kaj ĝi zorgos pri vi. (7) La komenco de saĝo estas: akiru saĝon, kaj por via tuta havo akiru prudenton. (8) Ŝatu ĝin alte, kaj ĝi vin altigos, kaj ĝi donos al vi honoron, se vi ĝin enbrakigos. (9) Ĝi donos ĉarman ornamon al via kapo, belan kronon ĝi donacos al vi. (10) Aŭskultu, mia filo kaj akceptu miajn vortojn, kaj multiĝos la jaroj de via vivo. (11) Mi kondukos vin laŭ la vojo de saĝo, mi irigos vin sur rekta vojstreko. (12) Kiam vi iros, via irado ne estos malfaciligata, kaj kiam vi kuros, vi ne puŝiĝos. (13) Tenu forte la instruon, ne forlasu ĝin; konservu ĝin, ĉar ĝi estas via vivo. (14) La vojstrekon de malpiuloj ne iru kaj ne ekpaŝu sur la vojo de malbonuloj; (15) evitu ĝin, ne trapasu ĝin, flankiĝu de ĝi kaj preterpasu. (16) Ĉar ili ne ekdormas, se ili ne faris malbonon, kaj ili perdas la dorman ripozon, se ili ne pekigis; (17) ĉar ili manĝas panon de malpio kaj trinkas vinon de krimo. (18) Kaj la vojo de piuloj estas kiel lumo leviĝanta, kiu ĉiam pli lumas ĝis plena tagiĝo. (19) La vojo

de malpiuloj estas kiel mallumo; ili ne scias, je kio ili falpuŝiĝos. (20) Mia filo, atentu miajn vortojn, klinu vian orelon al miaj paroloj. (21) Ili ne foriĝu de viaj okuloj, gardu ilin en via koro. (22) Ĉar ili estas vivo por tiuj, kiuj ilin trovis, kaj sanigaj por ilia tuta korpo. (23) Pli ol ĉion gardatan, gardu vian koron, ĉar el ĝi eliras la vivo. (24) Forigu de vi falsemon de la buŝo, kaj malicon de la lipoj malproksimigu de vi. (25) Viaj okuloj rigardu rekte, kaj viaj palpebroj direktiĝu rekte antaŭen. (26) Fortikigu la direkton de viaj piedoj, kaj ĉiuj viaj vojoj estu firmaj. (27) Ŝanceliĝu nek dekstren, nek maldekstren, forigu vian piedon de malbono.

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Secretary of the United States Treasury under Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt, was born in De Ruyter, New York, and learned the rudiments of business in the Oneida Central Bank. From 1858 to 1868 he was employed in the Merchants' Loan and Trust Company. In 1868 he became cashier of the First National Bank of Chicago, and after holding the office of Vice-President of that institution for several years, he was appointed its President in 1891.

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THE FINANCIAL SITUATION.

BY LYMAN J. GAGE, FORMERLY SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY; WILLIAM B. RIDGELY, COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY; CHARLES A. CONANT; AND CHARLES B. MACDONALD.

I.

THE RELATION OF THE UNITED STATES TREASURY TO GENERAL FINANCE.

THE United States Treasury in its relation to the banking and financial interests of the country has occupied, since the creation of the national banking system, to go back no farther, an illogical, not to say an unjustifiable, position. By the National Banking Act, with its several amendments, the Government became sponsor for banking institutions now numbering more than 6,500. The rights, duties, qualifications and responsibilities attached by law to all these institutions were fixed by the Government itself. Having brought these agencies into being, it virtually declared to the citizens of the land: "These are worthy agencies, and they deserve your confidence. For the faithful performance of the duties imposed upon them, and in the interest of your safety, we, the Government, will maintain over them a watchful and detailed supervision, disciplining those unfaithful to duty, while we will peremptorily suspend the power

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of any who shall prove unfit." Clothed with those high warrants and sanctions, the national banks as a whole have made successful appeal to the business world; and these institutions now taken together are under money obligations to the people for a sum in excess of four thousand millions of dollars.

What has been the practical attitude of the Government, as expressed through its Treasury and fiscal department, to the banking agencies it has thus endowed with life? It can be set forth in a single paragraph. Never has the Government itself intrusted its financial interests to the safe-keeping of the agencies it has held out to the people as worthy of their respect and confidence. It has, indeed, on several and divers occasions, taken moneys from the Treasury hoard, and, under peculiarly exacting conditions, it has, for various periods of time, deposited a portion of these hoards with banking institutions; but it has in no way conformed to the general method by which the banking agency is utilized by the business public. It has, in fact, persistently refused to receive from that portion of the public from which it derives its enormous revenues those instruments of credit, known as "checks" and "drafts," which constitute the real currency of commerce and trade. Separate, distinct and aloof from the ordinary financial and industrial life to which, through its revenues and disbursements, it stands closely related, it is persistent in exacting cash in hand from its revenue contributors; while, on the other hand, it has distributed its payments in actual funds through its own special appointees.

In all these particulars, it has been as if the banking agency did not exist, or, if existing, as if it were unworthy of Government use. The excess of its revenues, when excess there has been, was withdrawn from that public service to which through the banks it might have been applied.

This, I say, was illogical. It might, indeed, have lain in the mouth of the great corporations—such as railroads, the Standard Oil Company and other enormous handlers of money values—to say to the Government: "Your ingenious so-called banking system does not commend itself to our respect and confidence. We believe neither in the people with whom we deal, nor in the banks you have created. Our revenues, however derived, must come to us in actual money. The device of checks and drafts, so convenient and economical to the people in their other

affairs, does not appeal to us. Having the power in our relation to do so, we dictate the conditions. Our money, when received, we will lock up; and, in the natural financial intimacies of life, we will stand separate, apart and independent. We justify this action on the ground that your banking system is unsafe."

Now, if it were excusable on this ground for these great corporations to take this arbitrary position—which nobody will affirm—it were inexcusable for the Government to do so, since the Government itself determined and decreed all the qualifications for safety and efficiency which its own creatures should possess.

Was this course of action on the part of the Government necessary for just prudence as to the safety of its funds, or proper economy in administration of its affairs? In answer to the first half of this question, I affirm it to be the fact, demonstrated by careful and thorough examination, that had the Government employed the national banks in centres known as the "reserve cities," depositing with them its revenues, with some just proportion to or regard for the relative capital of those various institutions, with no security from them whatever other than a first lien upon their assets, respectively, there would never have been a dollar of loss to the Government. If, on the other hand, the Government had required, in consideration for these moneys so deposited, an interest return by the banks of, say, two per cent. per annum, the Government would have realized from this source, up to the present time, a total revenue of something more than $70,000,000.

As to economy of administration of the Treasury funds, there would also have been an enormous saving, since the elaborate machinery of the Sub-Treasury and Sub-Treasuries need not have been employed. Nevertheless, the creator has steadily refused to employ its own agencies, while the rest of the business world, obedient to the law of economic advantage, has employed in its multifarious affairs the useful machine of banking-credit which the Government has thus rejected. To add piquancy to this contrast, it might be truthfully said that were the aforesaid large financial corporations to abandon their present methods and adopt instead the example of the Government, and install, each for itself, an "independent treasury," a cry of indignant protest would resound through the length and breadth of the land—

and rightly so, unless it be that our modern system of credit and credit machinery for the transfer of property and payment of accounts, etc., is a delusion and a snare.

If the credit system can be thus characterized, the Government is, no doubt, justified in maintaining its own private purse independent of all things else. It is in that case equally true that every one controlling money values should adopt the same rules. In short, the National Banking Act should be repealed. We are not, however, ready to return to a method closely allied to primitive barter. Concede this, and then the Government is wrong—economically and logically wrong—in its independent Treasury. The disturbing influence on general financial affairs of excessive money-hoarding by the Government has been too often described to require any detailed notice here. If, then, a vote were to be taken among those who have capacity to judge of things in their true relationships, I do not doubt that the proposition to abolish the independent Treasury and substitute for it the use of banking agencies as they *now* exist would receive a preponderating vote. I may be wrong in this opinion. I myself would hesitate, however, to vote in the affirmative on that proposition. I should much prefer that the motion be "laid upon the table" until our banking system can be so amended that it shall be free, or comparatively free, from the perturbations which periodically beset us, bringing in as a consequence a partial or complete suspension of the banking function upon which society depends for the regular ongoing of its business affairs.

I need hardly say that the amendments to which I refer must be in the line of unification or centralization of power. The banking units, whose weakness as they now exist has been so often demonstrated, must receive strength by association together or with some superior commanding agency able both to exercise control and furnish effective support. A central bank or a Government bank of adequate capital properly organized for safety and efficiency is the sort of an agency to which I refer. Great Britain, France and Germany offer good models which we may profitably study.

I would maintain the independent Treasury until such time as our banking system is so re-enforced; because, in spite of the lack of logical reasons for its existence, it has been, and is now, in our imperfect condition, the only agency which can, or

theoretically can, regulate and give to some extent a degree of steadiness to the erratic movement incidental to our financial and banking system as now operated.

By its intervention, the Treasury, on many occasions in the past, has averted threatened financial disaster. Given an always plethoric Treasury, directed by an infallibly wise administrator (one who has never yet appeared), it could, by timely deposits of these hoarded moneys, and by timely withdrawals of the same, in part or in whole, give steadiness and regularity where otherwise there would be irregularity, dislocation and panic. In these regards, the independent Treasury, when endowed with the needful power in money, can, and in my opinion has, to a degree, served the purpose and discharged in a crude way the functions of a great Government or central bank. This service, crude as it has been, often entirely lacking through want of power, often badly directed through lack of wisdom, is a development not anticipated nor foreseen in the laws establishing the independent Treasury. It illustrates an old truth often recognized that even out of evil good may incidentally come. Be the service to which I have referred worth little or much, it cannot safely be counted upon as a valuable factor in the future. The present overflowing Treasury, through changed conditions, may, at no distant date, be in a state of exhaustion. A perfect system of Government finance would, indeed, bring in each day from its sources of revenue a sum exactly adequate to meet its daily expenditures. We ought not, then, to retain permanently the independent Treasury for the sake of its ambiguous and uncertain control as an intermediary in our financial life, with which it should by right interfere to the smallest degree possible.

My conclusion, then, is, first, that the independent Treasury should be abolished whenever and as soon as our present banking system, which has been demonstrated to be faulty, is corrected in the direction I have pointed out rather than described; second, that the perfecting of our banking and currency system —so that it may at all times perform its important function in a safe and effective manner both for the Government and for all the people—is an end demanding the best thought and the most intelligent effort of financial students and political economists, and of all patriotic people who desire for their country what will best make for its economic welfare.

The end so much to be desired cannot, however, be achieved by any thoroughgoing revolutionary action. The proposition is too large, the complex problems too numerous, the involved financial relations of the Government too firmly fixed. To illustrate this, we have the legal-tender notes of the United States, with their special reserve fund of $150,000,000. We are met with the fact of a silver currency of some $600,000,000 possessed of a commercial bullion value of something like half that sum. For the difference between these stand the credit and pledge of parity by the Government. Who is to take the place of the Treasury in the practical work of maintaining equivalencies between these Government obligations and gold? I point also to the artificial status of United States bonds. Now impounded as security for national-bank notes, the question of an "elastic" bank currency is handicapped by the necessity of protecting vested interests, which would be imperilled by any course which would give an open, natural and free market to Government securities.

There is the guaranty of the Government to bank-note issues, an illogical and, I believe, a harmful influence in the currency. There are the established Sub-Treasuries with all their appointments and appointees. There are the great bureaus at Washington, known as the issue and redemption division, with the hundreds composing their personnel, all dear to the heart of the political administration. These reflections bring in the suggestion that "reform" must be by graduated steps, with possibly long intervals between each; it must be effected by modifications rather than by radical changes. The first object to be gained, as it appears to my thought, is the perfecting of the Banking and Currency System. This once placed upon scientific foundations, the next question will be in order, namely, how to bring the Treasury into more natural and more harmonious relations with our general financial interests through a broader utilization of the Bank Agency.

LYMAN J. GAGE.

II.

THE NATION'S CURRENCY AND BANKING SYSTEM.

THE dry details, indicating the condition of our banking and monetary system, and suggesting the future of financial affairs, are not, ordinarily, of sufficient interest to the average reader

to claim the time and attention necessary to a thorough understanding of them; but the subject has been so vividly brought to the fore by the recent stringency, by the efforts to relieve it and by the various suggestions as to how a repetition of it might be obviated, that a wide-spread and general interest in the question seems to have been created.

There is that in the situation itself, at the present moment, which demands the careful consideration of the thoughtful, as to whether our system is all that it should be, and, if not, how it should be reconstructed to meet future emergencies without creating opportunity for other and even more serious contingencies. Without going far into the voluminous figures which substantiate conclusions, a few preliminary facts will aid to the proper study and easier understanding of the necessities confronting those who attempt to correct the imperfections, and will indicate the value of the safeguard required.

No grave and general upheaval of financial affairs comes without more or less warning to those whose business it is to watch the signs of the times. The conditions both at home and abroad, very early in the present year, indicated the probability of a contraction in business in general and a tightness in the money-market, but the extraordinary conditions which developed in October were not foreshadowed to any appreciable extent in the bank reports as a whole up to August 22nd. There was a steady increase in the volume of loans and discounts—an increase due in part to the number of new banks chartered during the year, but mainly to increase in the business of the old associations. Individual deposits, representing fifty per cent. of the banks' liabilities, reached the maximum in the history of the system on May 20th, 1907, when they amounted to $4,322,841,141. The number of depositors in savings-banks reporting—exclusive of those having accounts in savings departments of the State banks of Illinois—increased since 1900, from 5,898,091 to 7,982,893, and the average deposit increased from $404.33 to $437.86. For the current year, individual deposits in all reporting banks aggregate $13,099,635,348—a gain of nearly six billion dollars, or 80 per cent., in the last seven years. The highest record of increase in individual deposits, in the year ending June 30th, 1907, was made by banks in the Western States, where they increased nearly twenty per cent. during the single year.

In 1891, the outstanding circulation of national banks reached the lowest point in the life of the system since 1865—only about $167,000,000, representing ten per cent. of the stock of money in the United States. There was very little variation from that percentage up to 1900, when the proportion increased to 13.23. On June 30th, 1907, national-bank notes represented 19.38 per cent. of the money in the United States.

Incident to the usual business of clearing, documents termed "Clearing-house certificates," representing lawful money deposited for the purpose, are issued for the convenience of members of the Association in settling balances. Under section 5,192 of the Revised Statutes, such certificates are deemed lawful money in the possession of any Association belonging to the Clearing-house issuing such certificates. Under exceptional circumstances, they have also issued Clearing-house loan certificates, based on bills receivable and other securities approved by the loan committee.

The Director of the Mint, from the most recent and reliable data obtainable, estimates that, at the close of the calendar year of 1906, the stock of money in the world was $14,280,100,000. Eighty-two per cent. of the gold was held by eight countries, as follows: The United States, $1,593,300,000; Germany, $1,030,-300,000; Russia, $939,400,000; France, $926,400,000; England, $486,700,000; Austria, $306,400,000; Italy, $215,500,000; Spain, $90,900,000. Over 56 per cent. of the stock of silver was held by the same countries, the United States leading again with $698,700,000.

In 1890, Mulhall estimated the world's banking power at $15,985,000,000, of which the United States was credited with $5,150,000,000. Since that year, the banking power of the United States alone has increased to $12,674,800,000—over 146 per cent.; that of all the other countries has increased only to $16,199,200,000—the banking power of the United States being thus little less than one-half that of the entire world. These colossal proportions and comparisons but imperfectly indicate the enormous extent of the banking and monetary system with which we have to deal in making any radical change.

There has been no lack of warning indications of financial troubles. For the last ten or twelve years there has been an era of advancing prices and of great industrial, commercial and

speculative activity, in all countries of the world. Credits were increased till the limit was reached in the amount of reserve money on which they must be based. For two or three years, it has been constantly more evident that there must be a slackening of the pace if we would avoid a general crisis in commercial affairs. As is always the case, when there is a demand for liquidation, it first manifests itself in the stock-market. For months, there has been a more or less steady decline in quotations. The difficulty in selling bonds became so great that many of the railways have had to raise money for their necessary expenditures through short-time notes instead of by the regular bond issues. Merchants and manufacturers of the highest credit have found it harder and harder to renew loans, and the rates have risen, steadily, for months.

It was under such conditions that we approached the autumn crop-moving period, when there are always withdrawals of balances from the reserve cities. For a time, there was reason to hope that there might be no more than a gradual liquidation of credits which would not develop into a bank or commercial crisis. But, in October, the collapse of a highly speculative corner in stocks dealt in on the "curb" in New York—not even listed on any regular exchange—brought suspicion upon an old and well-established national bank. Examination showed this bank to be entirely solvent; but public interest had been aroused to such an extent that runs developed in New York city on several other banks and trust companies. Some of them were not prepared for co-operation and protection against the sudden demands, and a number of failures followed.

In this emergency the Clearing-house banks of New York issued Clearing-house certificates for use in the payment of balances, and decided to suspend the shipment of currency to out-of-town banks. This example was followed by the central reserve banks and most of the other reserve cities, of necessity precipitating a famine of currency and a serious bank crisis. The means of remittance and collection were almost entirely suspended. Individuals, corporations and even the banks themselves drew and held all the money of any kind they could obtain. A curious feature of the situation was that there was more of a panic among the banks than among the people; but the hardship was to business generally. Every class of business was

interfered with, so that business operations of every kind were curtailed. Factories have suspended, workmen have been thrown out of employment, orders have been cancelled, the moving of crops has been retarded, exports have fallen off at a time of the year when they should be at their highest. Another serious result has been the reduction of the volume of foreign credits available, just at the time when they are most needed to offset the large imports of gold which have been made.

It was not the failure of a few banks which brought on the panic. It was the system which rendered a panic practically inevitable under certain conditions — and they are conditions which can be many times repeated. It was not lack of confidence on the part of the people, but lack of confidence in the banks themselves. They were fearful that the reserve system would break down, and it broke down. They were fearful that a sufficient amount of currency could not be supplied to meet the demands—the demands were all made at once and there was not a sufficient amount to meet them. The remedy lies in improving the reserve system, so that the reserve deposits of the banks shall be kept where they are always and certainly available, and in imparting to our currency system an element of elasticity, so that, when there comes a sudden demand for bank-notes, they can be supplied without obliterating the reserve. This can only be satisfactorily accomplished through the establishment by the Government of a central bank of issue and reserve—the system which is working so satisfactorily in all of the great commercial centres of Europe. It would not only solve the two great problems of our banking system, but would also provide the machinery for conducting Treasury operations with the least disturbance.

The real weakness of our present banking system is the result of the provision regarding reserve deposits, through which the reserves are piled up in central reserve cities, without a sufficient amount of actual cash reserve on hand, so that when an emergency arises the reserves are not reserves at all. It would help against embarrassment to add to the reserve required, all along the line; but the proper solution is to increase the amount and require all reserves to be held in a central bank organized for that purpose. The depositing bank would not only be sure that the funds were always available, but that, as long as it was

solvent, it could go to the central bank and get any amount of cash needed on notes of its customers or other good security. With such a bank to depend on, no solvent bank need ever doubt its ability to meet all possible demands.

The law concerning reserves, as it stands, requires that a minimum reserve of twenty-five per cent. on deposits be held in lawful money in the vaults of the central reserve city banks. The reserve cities must also keep twenty-five per cent. reserve, one-half of which may be on deposit in the central reserve banks. Banks in all other cities are required to keep fifteen per cent., three-fifths of which may be on deposit in reserve or central reserve cities. With any lack of confidence, this system is necessarily a source of weakness instead of strength. Realizing upon what small margins they depend, each bank is, in self-defence, impelled not only to collect its loans, but to withdraw its reserve deposits. Deposits of $10,000,000, in country or non-reserve banks, call for a cash reserve to be kept in those banks of only $600,000, with $900,000 on deposit in reserve city banks. These banks must have in their vaults only $112,500 of the amount, with the same amount on deposit in central reserve cities, where, in turn, there need be on hand but $28,125 representing it. There is, therefore, but $740,625 in cash, kept, unloaned, anywhere, against this deposit of $10,000,000 in the country banks. Of this only $140,625 is outside the banks' own vaults. If there is a reduction in the deposits of the country banks, of $150,000, out of the ten millions, only one and one-half per cent., it calls for more cash than has been kept on hand in reserve banks for the whole ten millions. What wonder that the fall demand for $200,000,000 in currency, for crop-moving, always causes anxiety, and that when it is accompanied by a withdrawal of deposits and curtailment of credits, caused by uneasiness or distrust, the banks are forced to drastic measures in self-defence.

There is nothing new in this situation. It has been known to all students of our banking and currency system, and has been written and talked about for many years. It has produced panic after panic, and a stringency in the money-market every fall for forty years. It was wholly due to this that the crisis of October assumed the phase of a bank panic and spread over the country. There was no other reason at all why the banks as a whole should have become involved, and their business and

that of all of their customers disturbed as it was. All that was needed to have prevented this was a proper system of credit bank-note currency and bank reserves, both of which would have been supplied by a central bank of issue and reserve. There would have been no scarcity of currency, no derangement of domestic exchange and no panic among the banks or among the people.

The only way in which bank-deposit credits can be properly protected from sudden calls, when all banks may be involved at the same time, is by a system of note credits which can be at any time and immediately exchanged for deposit credits. They are essentially the same thing, and they should be daily, hourly, if necessary, convertible from one to the other. With such a system there is no inflation or expansion when a note is paid out, and no contraction when a note is returned. It makes no difference to the bank or to any one but the customer, who uses either at his option, whether the deposit remains in the bank as a credit to be checked against or is taken away in the shape of a circulating note.

Our bond-secured bank-notes offer no help to a bank in sudden calls for deposits. They are a fixed currency, issued on the secured currency principle, as distinguished from the credit or banking principle. When issued they stay out indefinitely, only returning to be renewed when worn out. It is only when the bonds for security can be borrowed or some Government deposit is obtained that they are of any value in meeting an emergency. It will not help the matter to increase the volume of bonds. It would only increase the volume of rigid, unelastic notes. They would only be a power of expansion till they were issued. Then they would stay out, with no tendency to contraction when not needed. There would be no temporary expansion possible to meet the sudden demands of an emergency. We must have a note circulation which can change quickly and automatically in response to demands. Contractibility is quite as necessary as expansibility. Several of the panic reliefs which have at various times been suggested have good points. They would serve a purpose in quieting a panic after it is under way, but not in preventing it. The use of Clearing-house certificates by the banks has been found a very efficient means for their defence, and on many occasions has probably prevented a great number of

bank failures during panics. But they are only half-way measures. They carry us no farther than to the inevitable conclusion that we should have a national and central bank of issue and reserve. Clearing-house certificates, which are really credit-notes on a large scale, should be issued by a central bank under Government authority. This would have none of the disadvantages of the other system, while it would have all of the advantages and many more besides.

The real need is for something that will prevent panics, not for something that will relieve them; and the only way to attain this is through the agency of a Governmental bank. The experience of all other countries has demonstrated this. We shall surely have panic after panic till we learn the plain lesson which the others have learned and adopt the only efficient, scientific and proper means to protect our business interests. It is a matter of greater importance to the people at large than it is to the banks themselves. The banks devise ways and means to stand together, with the aid of the Clearing-house, and by suspension or partial suspension of payment to bridge over and avoid failure. But the other business interests of the country are left almost in a state of chaos. The machinery of domestic exchange suddenly stops. Collections and remittances are almost impossible. Manufacturers are forced to suspend. Workmen are thrown out of employment. Business men are forced to fail through no fault of their own. There is no citizen of the United States who is not in danger of more or less loss and embarrassment. And worst of all is the long period of depression which follows a panic, bringing suffering and privation to those who are in no way to blame. The thing which is absolutely essential is a banking system with bank-notes which will be responsive to the demands of business and will as readily contract as expand; with a system of bank reserves which shall be real reserves and always immediately available.

The installation of a central Government bank would be of incalculable value to all of the business interests of the country, and it would also solve the problem of the relations of our Treasury Department to business. It would provide a reliable and efficient system of handling our Government finances, add stability and safety to our banking system, and shield and protect the citizen in all the relations which are so vital to him for

the conduct of his business and the support of his family. When the revenues of the Government are in excess of the expenditures, there is always the problem before the Secretary of the Treasury as to how, quickly and efficiently, to replace in circulation the money which the Government is forced to collect. To deposit it with the banks is the only means available, but that course is unsatisfactory, unsystematic and inefficient. It is always a course provoking criticism and complaint. A central Government bank, to which all revenues could be paid and through which all disbursements could be made, would be far better for the Government and result far better for the people.

Such a bank should not be allowed to do a general commercial business. It should be confined to the Government business, the issue of credit-notes, the receiving of reserve deposits from other banks, the discounting of their paper on approved security or rediscounting of their notes from their customers. It should have the right to deal in bonds of the Government, and probably of States and municipalities, but not in stocks. It should have such authority for dealing in foreign exchange as would enable it to accumulate gold credits abroad and import gold and bullion when needed for its reserve. It should have exclusive right to issue bank-credit notes, and it could thus regulate the issue of notes in accordance with the demand, which would be determined automatically, and with perfect precision, through its relations with other banks. We need make no change in the present system of bond-secured notes of national banks, nor disturb the present volume of currency.

Such a bank would also be a great aid in the establishment of a Postal Savings-bank system, determining at once how the deposits should be handled and invested to prevent such savings-banks only adding to the amount of money which the Government already takes out of circulation. It would also greatly improve the efficiency and value of the Treasury Department, making it a means of assistance and benefit to business, and would make our currency and banking system a source of impregnable strength in times of financial stress. It would absolutely prevent, in the United States, the recurrence of any wide-spread bank panic. It would add to the stability of our business in every line, and give us a banking and financial system equal to any in the world.

The panic of last October only endorsed the lesson of the panics

from 1857 to 1893, in demonstrating beyond denial that perfectly solvent banks, if isolated units, without co-operation, cannot protect themselves and save themselves from failure without such suspension of payments as to produce demoralization in all the business of their customers. Well-managed, sound and solvent banks have often been forced to refuse payment, and commercial, industrial and financial affairs have been thrown into confusion in the past, and will be in the future until the Government provides the necessary machinery to protect them in times of excitement. The nations' banks must depend upon the nations. They do in other countries. They must in ours. Our financial stability will be subject to constantly recurring attacks until this plan becomes an established fact.

WILLIAM B. RIDGELY.

III.

THE LESSONS OF THE PANIC.

THE recent financial panic was due chiefly to the excessive manufacture of securities during the past ten years. Every panic has its special phases. While there is a similarity in the evolution of each, yet no two spring from exactly the same causes. The experience of one crisis is the lesson which guards against the same errors in the next; but, after the law has tardily and clumsily patched over the weak spots in old conditions, some new form of enterprise in finance brings on a new period of over-speculation and unwise banking. The panic of 1873 was largely due to over-extension of railways; that of 1893 was precipitated in this country by the danger of departure from the gold standard, although there were deeper causes which affected the whole financial world. In the panic of 1907, demands for capital from the railways had their share, but they were less influential than the abuse of industrial securities.

The essential feature of the recent panic was the collapse in prices of the great mass of securities poured upon the market since the revival of enterprise at the close of the last century. There were two possible dangers in this creation of new securities—some of them might not be good; and even if they were good, the amount might be greater than the available supply of capital would absorb. The difficulties of the recent situation

were, chiefly, that private industries of many kinds were turned into the form of the joint stock company with a rapidity which disregarded important financial safeguards in detail, and created an extensive volume of securities in gross. The absence of proper cash reserves, the issue of large volumes of securities against good-will, and the effort to persuade the public that this good-will would be speedily converted by proper economies into great profits, were among the features common in some respects to all periods of inflation, but carried on this occasion to an unusual degree of variety and ingenuity.

A few far-sighted and resourceful men, impressed with the evils of unrestricted competition, devised the first mergers. When the possibilities of the system were once revealed, men of financial daring, but of less constructive genius, sought to apply the new formula to every industry they could lay their hands on. The possibility of getting rich overnight, by the creation of securities, dawned with such dazzling power upon the mind of the promoter that he was able not only to deceive himself as to the ultimate results, but, by dangling the golden bait before conservative bankers and offering to share with them the spoil, to tempt them as well as the public. Private enterprises were turned into corporate form, promoters approached the heads of established industries with offers to buy out their interest with bonds; the mania to "put together" competing interests spread to every hamlet where there was a mill or a factory.

New issues of securities have gone on during the past decade at an amazing pace. For the United States alone the careful compilation of the "Journal of Commerce" puts total issues in 1906 at $1,637,013,350 and for 1907 at $2,102,552,000. When these amounts are added to estimated amounts of $35,000,000,000 already existing in 1905, it appears that nearly one-third of the wealth of the country is represented by negotiable securities. Careful estimates for the entire world, made by the "*Moniteur des Intérêts Matériels,*" put the net demands for new capital in 1903, after eliminating refunding operations, at $1,846,500,000; for 1904, at $2,431,700,000; for 1905, at $3,364,600,000; and for 1906, at $3,125,000,000. The figures for 1907, when fully compiled, are likely to be much larger. The total volume of securities in the world, with many probable omissions, is computed by experts at over one hundred thousand million dollars.

It is impossible to make comparisons for previous years for all classes of corporations, because the data are not available; but in several great classes, where statistics have been kept, in the United States, including Government issues, steam-railways, street-railways, national banks and trust companies, the par value of securities outstanding increased by nearly 25 per cent. from 1900 to 1905 and by 50 per cent. from 1890 to 1905.

Inevitably the issue of such a mass of new paper upon the world's markets, even if the paper had represented absolutely sound enterprises, would have created an opportunity for speculation such as the world has never seen. By the organization of the American system of dealing in securities, facilities are afforded for frenzied speculation which are lacking in Europe. Among the factors which offer this encouragement are the concentration of idle money from the West in New York when it is not needed for moving the crops; the system of permitting reserve deposits by national banks in New York, Chicago and St. Louis; the system of daily settlements on the New York Stock Exchange, instead of fortnightly settlements as in London, with the wide fluctuations which it causes in rates for call money; the acceptance of cash margins for speculating in securities from persons without financial responsibility to an extent unknown in Europe; the absence of elasticity in the currency system; the employment of national-bank notes instead of gold in local banking reserves; and the lack of any central control of the discount rate or the gold supply. Added to these local factors have been several of world-wide character, of which the large issue of securities and the rapid increase in the production of gold have been important.

It is not possible to deal here with all these elements of the problem. It is proposed only to refer to several which are either of the first importance or have not been given their full weight in other discussions of the subject.

In the first place, there is a fundamental error, appreciated by but few, even among conservative bankers, in the theory that securities represent circulating capital. In fact, they represent, almost invariably, fixed capital,—divisible shares or obligations of railways, buildings and factories. The distinction between fixed and circulating capital is somewhat abstruse for the unprofessional mind; but it means that savings which have been put

into permanent properties cannot be gotten out of that form, while savings which have been put into the ordinary processes of production in the form of raw materials and wages come back within a year, usually in a few months, in the form of cash paid for the articles produced and the labor employed. But, in more concrete form, the manufacturer who employs his capital in buying wool and paying wages to turn it into cloth has reason to expect that the cloth will be sold, and that the transaction will be completed within a limited time. The bank which takes a note based on such a transaction knows that the note will be paid from the proceeds of the sale of the cloth. When the transaction is completed, the money is paid and the debt is extinguished. If the demand for woollen cloths falls off, the manufacturer buys less wool, the amount of cloth produced is smaller, and banking transactions shrink in proportion.

No such quick liquidation of the capital invested,—no such adjustment of supply and demand,—takes place when capital is in the form of stocks and bonds of railways and mills. The capital has been put into permanent form. The divisible shares are easily transferable, through the system of the stock exchanges and transfer offices, and to the untrained investor they doubtless appear to represent circulating capital in a form much more effective and negotiable than the promissory note of the merchant in the hands of a bank. But, when the tide of speculation turns and banks begin to reduce the valuation of securities pledged for loans, there is no automatic law under which the supply of securities decreases, as commercial paper decreases when business declines. If an insufficient supply of capital in the market is confronted by an excessive issue of securities, the struggle to obtain capital in exchange for securities becomes more intense than the fabled struggle of the nations, under the theory of the bi-metallists, to drag over their shivering forms the scanty blanket of the world's gold.

Banks save themselves when securities decline by demanding additional margins. If these margins are not forthcoming, securities are thrown on the market for what they will fetch, prices tumble with a crash, and every broker or speculator is seized with panic. By these processes, while the quantity of securities remains rigid or is increasing, their value expressed in prices shrinks by the pressure of liquidation. It is an application, in a sense,

of the same principle which is laid down in the quantity theory of money. Securities fall in the ratio in which the supply of circulating capital has been diminished. The banks are saved, but the investor finds his properties shrunk far below the price he paid; and the speculator on margins, who has been dreaming of a fortune acquired overnight by the upward movement of prices, finds his margins wiped out and his golden dreams turned to leaden nightmares.

When to this condition in the American speculative markets, and to this policy of enormous loans on securities on the part of banks and trust companies, is added a currency system which has no adaptation to modern financial conditions, it is not surprising that panic and loss should occur. The lack of elasticity in the American bank-note system has been so often pointed out that it need not be dwelt upon in this article. There is a very serious menace in the situation, however, which has not yet been much discussed. This is the expansion of bank-note issues under a system which does not keep them related to gold. Thus far in the history of the United States, since the resumption of specie payments in 1879, a combination of happy accidents has blinded the eyes of the public to the danger of issuing notes upon bonds. The danger comes not chiefly from lack of quality in the bonds, but from the paper inflation which would ensue if bond issues became excessive.

Limited as circulation has thus far been to United States bonds, this menace has not confronted the country as a realized fact. It would loom large, however, if the proposition were once seriously entertained of allowing indiscriminate issues of bank-notes upon other classes of bonds. Safeguards regarding the quality of the bonds would afford no protection against the wildest paper inflation if the quantity available were beyond the legitimate currency needs of the country. If municipal bonds alone were admitted to the list of securities for circulation, over $2,000,000,000 would be available. Steam-railway bonds outstanding in 1905 were over $6,000,000,000; and, if only half fell within the provisions of the law prescribing their quality, there would be an opening for an inflation of the paper circulation exceeding in volume anything which has ever taken place in the most destitute southern republic.

The essential danger of bank-note issues on bonds is that the

quantity of bonds has no relation to the volume of current business, and notes thus issued are not subject to the great touchstone of the world's values, the ebb and flow of gold between international markets. If $1,000,000,000 in new paper were suddenly infused into the circulation of the United States, the effect would be to drive abroad approximately $1,000,000,000 in gold. This would mean suspension of gold payments, descent to an irredeemable paper basis, and a repetition of the unhappy experience of France with the *assignats* and of our own country with Continental money. The value of the security in liquidation would weigh little against the excess of the quantity of tools of exchange, and the absence of any provision that their quantity should be governed by the tests of values in all sound markets,—redemption in gold on demand and the maintenance of adequate gold reserves.

Curiously enough, the country has been going through a sort of paper inflation of this nature without realizing it. State and private banks and trust companies are usually permitted by State law to carry bank-notes in their reserves. As a matter of fact, they carry all forms of currency; but the fact that they are authorized to hold bank-notes, and are not required to hold lawful money only, as are the national banks, is practically equivalent to permitting them to build up their credits upon the bank-note, which is only another form of credit. If one form of credit can be thus used as a reserve against another, practically no limit is fixed to the excesses of speculation.

What has happened to demonstrate this theory? A glance at the expansion in State and trust-company banking affords the answer. The aggregate figures for all these institutions, except national banks, and including savings-banks, are as follows:

Growth of State Banking.

	1900.	*1907.*
Number of institutions	9,519	13,317
Total resources	$5,841,658,820	$11,168,514,516
Cash reserves	$220,667,109	$391,847,497

This table shows that the State banks and the trust companies have been able, by increasing reserves by about $171,000,000, to increase the volume of their obligations by $5,325,000,000. The reserve stands in the ratio of less than four per cent. of total liabilities. This percentage would be somewhat improved, of

course, if only deposits were taken into account, instead of gross liabilities; but, for the purpose in view here, the gross figures will serve equally well as an illustration.

Whence came the cash to increase reserves sufficiently to expand credit by five thousand millions? In any European country, the answer would be that it must have come by the importation of gold. And the gold could be obtained only by making such prices on export commodities and on securities, and such rates for money, as should prove attractive to foreign holders of gold. But, in the United States, expansion of bank-note issues occurred from $246,277,222 on January 1st, 1900, to $687,340,835 on December 28th, 1907. Here was an increase of about $440,000,000 in a form of credit counted by State banks as reserve money,—sufficient to form the tottering foundation of ten thousand millions of an airy structure of new credits! Perhaps those bankers who have manufactured credit through State banking institutions to the extent of five thousand millions are to be congratulated, like Clive, upon their moderation, when the increase in bank-note circulation alone would have permitted them to add another five thousand millions if securities had been manufactured fast enough to afford them the basis for making loans.

A volume might be written upon the dangers of this sort of financing; and yet it has gone on so gradually and unobtrusively that only with the appearance of the assembled figures of the Comptroller's report for the banks of all the States has the amazing character of this inflation been revealed.

What are the remedies against such dangers in future? There are many which might be considered,—the stricter regulation of trust companies, already proposed by Governor Hughes; changes in Stock Exchange methods which would diminish speculation on insufficient margins; regulation of corporations after the English fashion,—not for the purpose of clubbing the corporations over the head, but of protecting the investor; and a currency system which will afford a sheet-anchor in time of stress.

Macaulay declared of the American Constitution that it was "all sail and no anchor." He might have made the same declaration of our existing financial system. When the crisis came, conservative and resourceful skippers, who had watched with forebodings the reckless crowding on of sail by reckless boy captains, came to the front and welded together a few temporary

anchors out of such remnants of conservatism and sound finance as they found at their hands. They saved the ship by warping her off the rocks. What is needed, however, to keep the ship upon a steady course is a strong, permanent and well-tested anchor under the direction of an intelligent and far-sighted skipper with unquestioned power to act. This would be afforded, so far as the banking system is concerned, by the creation of a central bank of issue, with authority to rediscount for other banks, to issue its notes to meet business demands, to keep its reserves in gold, and to regulate its general policy by the state of the foreign exchanges as reflected by the movement of gold.

Every other advanced commercial nation has such an institution. France adopted it under the great Napoleon; Bismarck made it a part of the unification of the German Empire in 1873; backward Spain came to it in 1874; Austria-Hungary and Russia adopted it when they sought to put their finances upon a sane basis. Even Japan rejected our system of a bond-based currency issued by local banks, and intrusted her currency system to the Bank of Japan in 1882. Italy practically adopted the system after the bank scandals of 1893; and as recently as 1904 a central bank went into operation in Sweden, and in 1907 in the Swiss Republic. Only by such an institution, directed by officers approved by the Government, can the requisite unity be given to the financial system. The unity of action secured tardily in all our great panics by the union of leaders for self-preservation would become an established and smooth-working system.

A central bank stands like a Gibraltar amidst the waves of financial turmoil, where isolated banking units perish. With such a power of regulating the money-market, the grotesque gyrations of call rates for money, which make our market a wonder for civilized nations, would cease. With such an institution, the disgraceful spectacle of currency suspension, in time of profound peace, by all the banks of the richest nation in the world would be no longer possible. But, until some of these reforms are inaugurated, New York can never permanently command foreign capital at will, nor become a centre upon which foreign exchange would be drawn in transactions outside her own immediate local needs. Our present financial system is the outgrowth of Treasury needs in 1863. It handicaps this country in the contest with financial rivals as completely as an old side-

wheeler of 1863 would be handicapped in the race across the ocean with the "Lusitania" or the "Mauretania," or as the old wooden ship-of-the-line would be outclassed under the fire of a modern battle-ship.

CHARLES A. CONANT.

IV.

OUR PRESENT CRISIS.

IN an effort to judge concisely the character, the causes and the probable result of the 1907 panic, I have made a comparison between the present panic and the other great panics which have occurred in this country, and which have to a greater or less degree involved the world's markets. By "great panic" I mean one in which the country's banks have practically all suspended payments. This country has experienced five panics of that description—in 1837, 1857, 1873, 1893 and 1907. There were a number of intermediate disturbances or semi-panics, but they did not prostrate the country commercially and industrially. The similarity of the conditions which prevailed at these periods forces one to the conclusion that, in each and every instance, the same underlying cause occasioned the inevitable crisis.

The most striking similarity is to be found in the index price of commodities. In each panic, the index number reached its greatest altitude. In no other year can one find such high prices for commodities as prevailed immediately before and up to these panic periods. Our own index numbers do not run back to the early panics, but Dr. Soetbeer and Mr. Saurbeck clearly demonstrate the high range of commodity prices in 1837, 1857 and 1873. Dr. Soetbeer took one hundred Hamburg articles and fourteen articles of British export. Mr. Saurbeck took forty-five English prices. In America both Dun and Bradstreet show that commodity prices in June, 1907, were the highest ever known in America, ranging, as the index number did, some fifty per cent. higher than in 1906.

The question naturally arises: What caused the commodity prices to rise to such heights before these panic periods? The fundamental cause in every instance was the increase in the circulating medium of exchange, or money. That increase, though more or less gradual, has always been accompanied and

followed by an extension of business in every quarter, apparent national prosperity, speculation in stocks and land, until credit became unduly expanded to a point of inflation. That condition has been accompanied by national and personal extravagance, resulting usually in over-production and over-stocking; until, finally, in a cloudless sky, in the midst of plenty, every one is astonished to hear a crash.

Chaos ensues. One to five years of stern economies and readjustment follow. Then everything becomes normal, and again we pluck up courage and start on our ride for another fall. We learn little by our experience—and in a generation one forgets!

It is all Human Nature. The natural phenomena of this panic of 1907 in no wise vary, in any marked degree, from those which have attended every other great panic.

Political economists all recognize that the political, industrial and social elements which make up our life are very closely related to the circulating medium of exchange recognized among nations. Alter that by greatly increasing or diminishing its volume, particularly the former, either by the operation of natural economic laws, or by legislating a substitute for money, and the political, industrial and social elements must adjust themselves to the new conditions, and, before that adjustment can be completed, almost invariably a panic ensues.

It is interesting and illuminating to read the Presidents' Messages in the years of the great panics. They all attribute the respective panics to our wretched banking system; yet we have done nothing to rectify it, and probably we shall not. The four previous panics occurred, respectively, in the inaugural years of the Presidents, and in two of the panics—namely, those of President Van Buren and President Grant—a special session of Congress was called to act upon Currency Legislation. Another curious coincidence is that the great New York fire occurred in 1835, the Chicago fire in 1871 and the San Francisco fire in 1905, in each instance two years before the panic.

Let us take up the panics in order.

Panic of 1837.—The States in 1832 substituted metallic for paper currency, and in 1835 paid off the national debt, at the same time abandoning the United States Bank, though Congress rechartered the Bank, and President Jackson vetoed it.

The Government deposits were taken from the United States

Bank and were placed in the various banks in different sections of the country. These banks were permitted to issue bank paper, which was done to excess. That was the fundamental cause of the panic of 1837. The banks suspended specie payments in May; in the fall the United States Treasury receipts were insufficient to defray the expenses of the Government.

Following are a few extracts from President Van Buren's special Message to Congress. His Message first states that there was great diversity of opinion as to the real causes. He attributed the panic to:

"Over-action in all departments of business, stimulated to destructive consequences by excessive issue of bank paper, and by other facilities for the establishment and enlargement of credit. The consequences of this redundancy of credit, and the spirit of reckless speculation engendered by it, were a foreign debt contracted by our citizens, estimated in March last at more than $30,000,000; the extension to traders in the interior of our country of credit for supplies greatly beyond the wants of the people; the investment of $39,000,000 in unproductive public lands; . . . the creation of debts for an almost countless amount for real estate in existing and anticipated cities and villages, equally unproductive, and at prices which now seem to have been greatly disproportionate to its real value; the expenditure of immense sums in improvements which in many cases have been found to have been ruinously improvident; deflection of much of the proceeds which should have been applied to other matters, such as the exportation of wheat to Europe [the States imported wheat in 1837]; . . . and, finally, without enumerating other injurious results, the rapid growth among all classes, and especially in our great commercial cities, of luxurious habits of living founded on merely fancied welfare, and detrimental alike to the industry, the resources and the morals of the country."

In 1837 the average of commodity prices reached the highest point touched, up to that time, in the history of the country.

Panic of 1857.—In 1849 gold was discovered in California. The total world's production of gold from 1700 to 1800 was $1,300,000,000; from 1800 to 1850, $820,000,000; and for the seven years, 1850 to 1856, inclusive, $820,000,000.* This enormous increase in the production of gold, half of which occurred in the United States alone, caused an excessive extension of credits with resultant inflation. Everybody was eager to get rich immediately. Hence the fundamental cause of the panic of 1857 was this enormous production of gold.

* Soetbeer's "Materialism."

Listen to President Buchanan's reference to the panic in his Message to Congress, December 8th, 1857:

"In all former revulsions, the blame might be fairly attributed to a variety of co-operating causes, but not so on the present occasion. It is apparent that our existing misfortunes have proceeded from our extravagant and vicious system of paper currency and bank credits, inciting the people to wild speculation and gambling in stocks. These revulsions must continue to recur at successive intervals, so long as the amount of paper currency and bank loans and discounts shall be left at the discretion of 1,400 irresponsible banking institutions, which, from the very law of their nature, will consult the interests of their stockholders rather than the public welfare."

In 1857 the average price of commodities again reached the high point of 1837.

Panic of 1873.—The absorption of $400,000,000 of gold by Germany to place the Empire on a gold basis, and the five billion francs paid Germany as a war indemnity, together with the enormous increase in the production of silver, which all the world except England and Germany recognized as a medium of exchange, was fundamentally the cause of this panic. The silver production amounted to $40,000,000 annually in the fifties, $55,000,000 in the sixties and $91,000,000 in the seventies. In 1872 silver bullion prices commenced to decline, breaking for the first time in twenty years sixty pence an ounce.

After our Civil War, with an unsecured paper currency, we plunged into the excesses of credit inflation and speculation with nothing to back it. The $50,000,000 of gold which we produced per annum we exported. Our imports exceeded our exports by $109,000,000. No wonder this panic lasted five years, from 1873 to 1878.

The silver question aggravated this situation, as it did in the period of 1893 to 1896 to a much greater degree.

President Grant's Message relating to the panic of 1873 sounds somewhat like President Roosevelt's groping financial utterances in his last Message. The following are some extracts from President Grant's Message:

"In the midst of great National prosperity, a financial crisis has occurred which has brought low fortunes of gigantic proportions. . . . We can never have permanent prosperity until a specie basis is reached. . . . Exports must exceed imports. . . . Elasticity of circulating medium is desired. . . . Patent to the most casual observer that much more

currency is required to transact the legitimate trade of the country during the fall and winter months while the various crops are being removed."

The average commodity prices in 1873 reached a new high record in the country's history up to that date.

Panic of 1893.—The fundamental causes of this panic were the enormous production of silver and our silver coinage acts, causing inflation of an unstable currency, intensified by the demonetization of silver which had commenced throughout the world. After fifteen years of prosperity, every one was lulled to sleep. The lesson of 1873 was forgotten. Credits were inflated; imports for the first time in years exceeded exports; land speculation was rampant; commodity prices, for the first time in twenty years, rose close to the high prices of 1873; merchants were overstocked; many railroads had been "skinned" to enrich their executive committees; and our gold reserves were depleted. This panic lasted four years owing to the insistence by one-half of our population upon bi-metallism, or the free coinage of silver at the rate of sixteen to one. Our currency was finally recognized as being on a gold basis by the election of President McKinley in 1896. That was the first bright lining to the clouds we had seen in four years. President Cleveland called a special session of Congress to deal with the currency situation on August 8th, 1893, and in his Message he said:

"The existence of alarm and an extraordinary business situation, involving the welfare of all our people, has constrained me to call together in extra session the people's representatives. With plenteous crops, with abundant promise of remunerative production in manufacture, with unusual invitation to safe investment, and with satisfactory assurance to business enterprise, suddenly financial distress and fear has sprung up on every side. Many institutions have suspended because assets were not immediately available to meet the demands of frightened depositors. Depositors and individuals are content to keep in hand the money they are usually anxious to loan, and those engaged in legitimate business are surprised to find that securities for their loans, though heretofore satisfactory, are no longer accepted. Fortunes supposed to be fixed are now becoming conjectural, and loss and failure have invaded every branch of business.

"I believe these things are principally chargeable to Congressional Legislation touching the purchase and coinage of silver by the general Government."

Panic of 1907.—This panic in no wise varies in any degree, in

its natural phenomena, from the other great panics. The fundamental cause of the present panic is the enormous gold production. During the last ten years, inclusive of 1907, $3,200,000,000 of gold has been produced, one-half as much again as all the gold produced in the 150 years from 1700 to 1850. In 1900 the production was $254,000,000; to-day it is $407,000,000 for 1907.

This augmentation of the circulating medium has had its inevitable natural result in rapidly rising values of commodities to a record level, causing production to be unduly stimulated, with unparalleled expansion of railroad improvements and manufacturing extensions throughout the entire business world — the banks, in consequence, extending their credits to a point of inflation. The above concomitants of all panics were also attended with the usual speculation in real estate and stocks.

The excessive inflation of credit was finally checked by the exhaustion of the currency upon which credit should be based, as was evidenced by the rapid rise of discount rates to a prohibitive level; railroads which in 1902 issued bonds on a three-per-cent. basis were obliged to pay eight to ten per cent. on short-term notes. These rates forced retrenchment, and retrenchment caused the edifice of credit to topple over.

It is probably true that President Roosevelt's attitude toward swollen fortunes, railroads and other corporations has hastened the crisis; but my personal opinion is that those who attribute this panic to his attitude are wrong, and that he in no sense has even been a contributory cause. His attacks drew to the surface, somewhat violently perhaps, some of the most deeply rooted evils which have always lain at the base of every great panic—that is, dishonesty in the administration of great aggregations of capital, the exposure and correction of which, if successful, will work for the lasting benefit of the entire country. My only wish is that our President in his denunciatory policies would absorb in his heart—making the whole country *feel* that it is there—the spirit expressed by his acknowledged ideal, President Lincoln, in those words contained in his last Inaugural Address: "With malice toward none, with charity for all." This would obviate the danger which even the President's best friends fear, namely, that of arraying class against class.

Corporations, whether trusts or not, honestly managed, are a

national bulwark, and equally advantageous to rich and poor alike. The poorer man with his surplus has always the opportunity to invest his earnings in any corporation he desires, and it is now the policy of all enlightened corporations to give special terms for investment to their employees; but in view of the insurance, Alton, Metropolitan and other disclosures, it must be apparent to the densest intellect that the public must be guaranteed against dishonest manipulation of corporation affairs.

The best reason I can give why this panic arrived ahead of time, the twenty-year period, is the distrust and lack of confidence which was disseminated throughout the country by the insurance disclosures, and then the revelations which indicated that the executive committees of our largest and strongest corporations, directed by men whose names the country had been taught to conjure with, were running those corporations largely for their own benefit.

Public confidence was destroyed. President Roosevelt, seeing his opportunity, has rightfully pressed the situation, so that we are reasonably sure of corrective legislation.

It is now popular for the so-called "yellow" writers to attribute this panic to Stock-Exchange speculation. As a matter of fact, there never was a panic in which the Stock Exchanges were so little involved. To start with, the business on the Stock Exchange during the past year has been much less than in 1901, 1905 or 1906. Following are the figures:

	Bonds.	*Stocks.*
1901	$981,781,010	251,786,341 shares.
1905	1,016,034,550	260,220,317 shares.
1906	676,004,330	280,179,477 shares.
1907	540,000,000	196,000,000 shares.

When one considers the large increase in securities listed on the Stock Exchange, there was relatively less speculation in 1906 than in 1901. Furthermore, the loans in 1907 of the New York Stock Exchange members with the banks have been less than any year since 1900.

The United States Comptroller's report of September 4th, 1906, showed that New York banks were loaning $100,000,000 less on stocks, bonds, other personal securities and mortgages, than on August 25th, 1905. The Comptroller's report for 1907 is not yet out, but any one conversant with Stock-Exchange

loans knows that Stock-Exchange houses rarely have been such small borrowers of money.

Naturally, one asks: What does the $1,100,000,000 loans and discounts represent if it does not represent Stock-Exchange borrowings? It represents loans on municipality obligations, largely those of New York City, loans on underwritings of bonds, stocks and short-time notes of railways, also mortgages and advances to large railway and industrial corporations which have found it impossible to sell their paper. Such loans as the above are fixed and practically impossible to liquidate. The central reserve cities hold unusually small amounts of commercial paper. This class of paper has gone to the country banks. It was estimated by a Chicago banker that the country banks held $300,000,000 on November 1st, 1907; this paper is gradually being paid off, and the cash goes to the country and stays there. In three years the country banks have increased their loans $658,000,000 against $70,000,000 in central reserve cities and $213,000,000 in other reserve cities, a total of $941,000,000 increase in loans, while specie and legal tenders increased only $40,000,000. In this enormous increase in loans and small increase in cash lay the weakness of the situation.

The above exposition should clearly demonstrate how little the Stock Exchange has had to do with the panic of 1907.

Stock speculation, like land speculation, and extension of loans by banks, is one of the concomitant factors in every panic. It is an incident. The Stock Exchange is a barometer of business. People usually sell that which they can sell most quickly and most easily, so as to protect their more involved commitments; consequently, the Stock Exchange feels all impending trouble first.

The country at large confuses Wall Street with the Stock Exchange. The Stock Exchange is the servant of the investors all over the country. Twenty-five per cent. of the total wealth of the country is in securities, and the Stock Exchange represents the majority of that wealth in listed bonds and stocks. "Wall Street" represents nothing but individual capitalists whose financial schemes are carried out without the recognition or assistance of the Stock Exchange.

In any event, the Stock Exchange is the only large body of men doing an extensive business that gives absolute publicity to all its doings and spreads it broadcast.

After comparing these various panics, one finds much comfort in the thought that the present panic has been forced on before its legitimate time. It has found us with our farmers rich, our exports in excess of our imports this calendar year to the extent of something over $435,000,000; our industries are not overstocked, and our merchants are not greatly extended. I believe this panic will prove more like that of 1857, and after one year's dull, not prostrate, business, we shall, when the election is over and the reductions to be made in the tariff are thoroughly understood, rapidly regain confidence and give the world a merry war for supremacy in trade, particularly so with honest administration of our trusts and not too much Governmental interference, for they will then be able to give a most excellent account of themselves. The country will realize that combinations of industries assure us against undue invasion of foreign manufacturers and effect a greater export trade, thus bringing about greater stability in wages and employment.

In view of the Currency Legislation which Congress proposes enacting this winter, I think President Buchanan's words have a special significance when he refers to "1,400 irresponsible banking institutions which, from the very law of their nature, will consult the interests of their stockholders rather than the public welfare." The "law of their nature" of our 6,500 national banks and 7,500 other banks is the same as that of the 1,400 banks in 1857, and there can be little doubt that President Buchanan's statement in a measure applies to the banks of to-day. The people believe that there is far too much speculation in the majority of our national banks. It occurs to me that to base the new currency bill upon the assets of the national banks as they stand would not be for the best interests of the people at large, as compared with the establishment of a central institution to be managed by the Government in the interests of the people. Why place the control of an elastic currency in the hands of institutions which have a significant interest in adjusting money rates to the production of dividends for their stockholders?

One reads a great deal about an elastic-currency law to avert panics and secure stability to our industrial enterprises; but I do not think our legislators realize how important it is for the well-being and happiness of the masses that the elastic-cur-

rency laws should not only protect the farmer and general business man in times of extended industrial activity, but should also provide for securing to the laborers and small depositors their savings. Any one who witnessed a run on any of the trust or savings institutions some months ago must be convinced of the correctness of this proposition. I think the British Government, in giving to its people a postal savings-bank, has done as much for the happiness of the British workman as any Government has done for its people in a century.

I doubt if the credit-currency scheme will protect the people. The banks and bankers will get the best of it; and, in the event of a great panic, with the artifices and devices which are sure to grow up under any such system, I believe the people would be apt to become thoroughly frightened and withdraw their savings from circulation, in the future as in the past. Thus hoarding would not be averted, and a panic would ensue.

I do not pretend to be a financial critic, but I have a strong conviction that the dignity and welfare of our Government will best be served by establishing a central bank based upon our national banking institutions, forcing national banks to support the central bank on any basis the authorities deem wisest, regardless of prerogatives now assumed or vested.

Again, as an adjunct to the central bank, I believe a National postal savings-bank should be an integral part of the system. A postal savings-bank would protect the poorer classes and make their rest happier and their days more contented when panics rage and their employment is threatened. Further, it would make the poor man a better citizen, causing him to feel more a part of his country. In England the limit of postal savings is $1,000 for each individual, annuities $500 and life-insurance $500. About ten million people have deposits in the British postal savings-banks, and the average deposit is about $75.

However, any bill which would give greater elasticity to our currency would mitigate our present plight. Given such a bill and a continuance of the gold production, which we have every reason to believe will not diminish in the near future, and values cannot permanently remain at their present level; but soon the economies forced upon us by the panic will regain for us confidence, and we shall once more find ourselves on the waves of prosperity.

CHARLES B. MACDONALD.

BOOKISHNESS AND STATESMANSHIP.*

BY THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ROSEBERY, K.G.

Bookishness and statesmanship are, one would think, scarcely compatible. Nothing, indeed, could seem more discordant and incompatible than the life of the library and the life of politics. The man of books may steal through life like a shadow, happy with his simple pleasures, like a caterpillar on a broad, green leaf, untortured by the travail of authorship or the candor of the critic, and leave it with his name unknown, until his library be sold, should he perchance have books to sell.

The man of politics leads possibly a more useful, certainly a more arduous, career. He lives in the public eye, almost in the public grasp. Out-of-doors, there is the reporter; in the seclusion of his home, there is the interviewer; both, presumably, hungry to receive the ideas as they pass through his capacious brain; though some go so far as to declare that the interviewer and the reporter are less the seekers than the sought, less the pursuers than the pursued.

Alert, bustling, visible, deriving even a certain popularity from the fact of being known by sight; speaking to his engagements whether he has anything to say or not; appearing on his platform whether he be brisk and well, or sick and sorry—like an actor, only that he has to find his own words; bringing together and keeping together, as well as may be, all sorts and conditions of men; with one eye apparently on the political weather, and the other, it is to be hoped, on his political conscience,—which is usually kept for him by a number of other people—a hurricane of a life, the essential quality of which is publicity.

I refer only to obvious externals, and only enough of these to indicate the natural antipathy between the life of politics and

* The substance of an address delivered at Edinburgh some time ago.

the life of books. Yet Mr. Gladstone, who rode the whirlwind and directed the storm of politics, was bookish to an extreme degree. He had not, indeed, reached the superlative and morbid form of bookishness when a man is called a "book-worm." The fresh breezes of a thousand active interests prevented such a development. But, with encouragement and fostering circumstances, had he been nurtured in literary traditions, like his great rival, had his health been feeble, it is not difficult to imagine him a book-worm, immersed in folios.

But as things were, he loved books as much as a man may without a suspicion of bibliomania. As a matter of fact, he had none of what is technically called bibliomania; to first editions, or broad margins, or vellum copies he was indifferent.

Had he been a very wealthy man, even this form of the noble disease might have taken him. As it was, he loved collecting, buying, handling books. It was a joy to him to arrange with his own hands the books in his library. It was a sport to him to hunt down books in sale catalogues. It was a sacred trust to him to preserve the little treasures of his youth—a classic or two that he had at Eton, the book given to him by Hannah More.

No one could have seen him reading in the Temple of Peace, as he significantly called his study, and have deemed it possible for him to be happy in any other capacity. Those who had witnessed that sight must have felt persuaded that, when he retired from public life in 1875, nothing could ever draw him from his beloved retreat. They might well have anticipated that with old books, old friends, old trees, with a hundred avenues of study to complete or explore, with a vast experience of life and affairs to discuss, with trees to cut and plant and worship—for he was a tree-worshipper as well—and, above all, with the vital core and responsibility of a living faith pervading him, he might well rest and be thankful.

It was his extraordinary energy, enthusiasm and faith in great causes that were the salt that prevented his stagnation into mere bookishness. But he had another safeguard still. It was his principle in reading to make his exports balance his imports—he took in a great deal, but he put forth a great deal. His close study of a book was pretty sure to precede an article on it.

I reckon over all this to explain, as far as I can, the paradox of a bookman who was at the same time a man of practical busi-

ness and affairs; one of the rarest of all combinations. Take the case of Prime Ministers as an average representation of men of affairs. Harley was a book-lover, but even he was rather a collector than a reader. Bolingbroke, who was perhaps Prime Minister for a few hours, was a book-lover after his fall, or said he was. Stanhope had a library which still exists at Chevening, preserved in a separate room—a priceless example of the book collection of a Minister in the eighteenth century. Sunderland founded a great library. Then we come to Walpole. The sublime solace of books, which soothed even the gnawing ambition of his fiercest enemy, was denied to him. No one deplored this after his resignation more than himself. Once, on finding a friend reading in his own library at Houghton, he expressed this feeling: "I wish I took as much delight in reading as you do; it would be the means of alleviating many tedious hours in my present retirement; but, to my misfortune, I derive no pleasure from such pursuits." Again, in the same room he said to Henry Fox: "You can read. It is a great happiness. I totally neglected it when I was in business, which has been the whole of my life, and to such a degree that I cannot now read a page—a warning to all Ministers."

From Walpole onwards, we meet with no bookish Prime Minister till we get to Lord Grenville. He was, no doubt, a man of strong literary tastes, but does not come into competition with Mr. Gladstone as an omnivorous reader. But a friend who used to visit him gives a picture of his old age, sitting summer and winter on the same sofa, with his favorite books on the shelves just over his head—Roger Ascham among them, Milton always within reach. He, at any rate, in his sixty-sixth year was clear as to the choice between literature and politics.

The next possibly bookish Prime Minister was Canning; but, with a literary side all his life, he was only Prime Minister for a few months. Melbourne was a great reader, and like Mr. Gladstone a great reader of theology; but he left behind him a library of odd volumes, which puts him out of the category of book-lovers. Sir Robert Peel, like some of the statesmen of the last century, came to the business of politics as a brilliant specimen of Oxford scholarship. Lord John Russell was, perhaps, more of a writer than a reader of books. The only book, I think, mentioned by Lord Palmerston in his correspondence is "Con-

ingsby." Then we come to the author of "Coningsby," "born," as he says, "in a library," more bookish, perhaps, than Mr. Gladstone in early, and less in later, life.

Once, when I was a child, I was taken to see Hatfield. In the library, we saw a tall, thin figure carrying a huge volume. The housekeeper paused, with awe, saying, "That is Lord Robert Cecil." It was a bookish figure, then outside politics, but later Prime Minister.

Shall we find outside the list of Prime Ministers many in the secure latitudes of the past who compete with Mr. Gladstone as being bookish men in high ministerial office? Clarendon is beyond my horizon. There is Addison, who was a Secretary of State, but so indifferent a one as to fail entirely in one point of comparison. There is Burke, a mighty force in politics and in letters, but never in such office as to demonstrate himself a great Minister; any more than Charles James Fox, who held office for too short a time. Charles Fox had a real passion for literature, could talk of it the whole day and over the whole range of it. He, I think, in a real love of books, approaches most nearly to Mr. Gladstone, and both had a common devotion to Homer. Homer was the author Charles Fox most loved to read; but he would also read all the novels he could get hold of. In conversation, he would range over the whole field of literature, with zest and passion, without apparently once straying into politics. A friend has recorded how in a day he would discuss Homer and Virgil, Æschylus and Euripides, Milton and Massinger, Pope and Addison, Gibbon and Blackstone, Sophocles and Shakespeare, Metastasio, Congreve and Vanbrugh, Cowper, Fielding, Burns. He almost convinces himself that Burns is a better poet than Cowper! But he concludes by saying, finely enough, that poetry is the great refreshment of the human mind. No one, surely, can deny that Fox was a man of books. But he is not a parallel for the combination which in Mr. Gladstone was unique, in that he was only a Minister for a few months, once under circumstances dubious, if not sinister, and once when dying. He was not then, as Gladstone was, carrying on simultaneously a great career as a statesman in office and a delightful life in a library.

Moreover, all this except in the case of the History of James II, which slumbers on our shelves in majestic quarto, was without result. Nor was there in him, as I read him, the passionate

concentration and practical application of reading that we saw in Mr. Gladstone. "His Favorite Sultana Queen," as with his royal ancestors, "was sauntering," and sauntering was abhorrent and impossible to Mr. Gladstone. Charles Fox, at any rate, after ruining himself at cards, could sit down and derive an instant solace from Theocritus.

As a rule, the public men of the last century seem to have been fairly well equipped in what Captain Dalgetty called "the humanities"; they would have blushed not to understand, or not to appear to understand, a Latin quotation; they could bandy and hit over them as Pulteney did with Walpole, but they do not seem to have been men of books. There are, perhaps, two signal exceptions, and I do not feel perfectly sure of even one of these two; I mean Carteret and Chesterfield.

The great exemplar in the eighteenth century of the combination of literature and politics was, undoubtedly, Chesterfield. Perhaps the only startling deficiency in his intellectual equipment was his unaccountable ignorance of the mother tongue of that Hanoverian dynasty which he was so anxious to serve. It is difficult to understand on what claim or merit was based Chesterfield's literary throne. That he occupied one is sufficiently evident from the fact that Johnson, who was no courtier, had thought of dedicating his Dictionary to him. A few essays, more or less anonymous, were all the productions known to his contemporaries—essays which appeal but little to us. His letters to his son and to his godson, on which rests his fame, and which to some of us seem dreary enough, were posthumous.

In these letters, however, we find symptoms of his bookishness. From them we may suppose him versed in the literature of his own country, of France and perhaps of Italy. In England, his idol is Bolingbroke. In France, he sees such perfection that one would infer that he worships there a literary polytheism. The only Italian poets that he thinks worth reading are Tasso and Ariosto. He deliberately excludes Dante, a veto which seems an abiding slur on his perception; and which in Mr. Gladstone's judgment would have constituted him a sort of literary outlaw.

In spite of Chesterfield's undoubted love of reading, he places on record an injunction which strikes him altogether out of the category of thorough bookishness. "Lay aside," he solemnly says, "the best book whenever you can go into the best company;

and, depend upon it, you change for the better." Perhaps when we remember that the best society, in the highest sense, is rarely attainable, he is right. But we might not all agree as to what constitutes the best society.

I believe that nowhere in history, so far as I know, is there an instance of so intensely bookish a man as Mr. Gladstone, who was at the same time so consummate a man of affairs. I mean by bookishness the general love of books — reading, buying, handling, hunting them. The combination in his case is unique, and it will probably remain so. Day by day, the calls of public life become more and more exacting, absorbing, imperious. Each fresh development of them makes them more and more unsuitable for the student and the recluse. Literature is constantly becoming less and less necessary for the politician. During the first half of the past century, a classical quotation was considered the indispensable ornament of a parliamentary speech.

Among great men of action, we recall Frederick's love of letters, and Napoleon's travelling library. Among statesmen, we think of Pitt's sofa with its shelf of thumbed classics; and of Fox, a far more ardent lover of books, exchanging them and his garden for the House of Commons almost with tears; and of Gladstone's Temple of Peace. Surely, even if it be not the best, it is the happiest way. There is not, perhaps, too much happiness in the life of any statesman. But no one who knew him could think of Mr. Gladstone otherwise than as being happy, and one of the main sources of his happiness was his bookishness. Where, as in his case, the mind absorbs and uses the books, and the books do not cloud and embarrass the mind, the purpose of the statesman and the eloquence of the orator gather force from books as a river takes the hues and gathers up the springs of the region it traverses.

There is no royal road to success in public life; what suits one will not suit another. But putting politics and success out of the question, if a man wants to develop his faculties to the utmost advantage, and to combine the greatest amount of work with the greatest amount of happiness, he cannot do better than imitate the methods of study, the economy of time and the regularity of life practised by the illustrious Mr. Gladstone.

ROSEBERY.

THE ENCYCLICAL AGAINST MODERNISM.

BY PROFESSOR CHARLES A. BRIGGS, D.D., D.LTT.

POPE PIUS X is in the fifth year of his pontificate. He began

ERRATUM.

The last line of the first paragraph on page 199 should read: "as a mediæval Cæsar possessed of the opposite qualities," instead of "as the deadly foe which must be overthrown at all hazards."

now appears in his attitude towards the French Episcopate and the Italian Catholic Nationalists, in the decisions of the Biblical Commission, and especially in the new Syllabus and Encyclical, as the deadly foe which must be overthrown at all hazards.

How can such a transformation be explained? Some see in him a man to be pitied for his weakness in the hands of an ecclesiastical Camarilla, who make him a real prisoner of the Vatican, because they do not permit him to see the truth and reality of the outer world, but only matters and things as they represent them to him. But the mass of the voters of Italy and France cannot make this discrimination; they regard clericalism as the great enemy of the people and the Roman hierarchy as the deadly foe which must be overthrown at all hazards.

It is difficult for an American to appreciate the situation in the Latin countries, where the people are Catholic, but the masses of the men are anti-clerical. We are accustomed to free churches in a free state. We cannot appreciate this state of war, and the injustices and hardships that result from it. In Italy the people are so bitterly anti-clerical that the highest dignitaries

of the Papal court have been insulted in the streets of Rome, and it is unsafe for them to appear in public without the protection of that very Italian Government which they ordinarily ignore and despise. Under such circumstances, one would naturally suppose that the Curia would pursue a prudent policy. But they have chosen the reverse, and are doing all in their power to stir up strife all over the Christian world with a madness that is the sure precursor of ruin. They have issued a new Syllabus of errors and an Encyclical against Modernism; they propose a new Inquisition; they are hurrying on the canonization of Pius IX; they are even proposing another infallible dogma, the Assumption of the Virgin, and a recalling of the Vatican Council to enhance still further the authority of the Pope, and protect it from the supposed encroachments of modern States. Pius IX, by his arbitrary measures, brought on the destruction of the temporal power of the Papacy; Pius X is on the way to still more serious results.

The Syllabus is a collection of sixty-five statements which are condemned as errors. These statements are not, so far as I have been able to trace them, the verbal statements of any one, save the authors of the Syllabus; but they are based upon statements made by Loisy, Tyrrell and other Catholic scholars whose writings have been put on the Index. I have traced a considerable number of these in their writings; in no single instance are the exact words of these writings given; but their supposed ideas, with some of the principal words, are put into entirely new sentences composed by the authors of the Syllabus. It is easy to see what grave injustice is thereby done to these scholars. They are deprived of the right of stating and explaining their own opinions; but their ideas are first interpreted, or, rather, misinterpreted, by their enemies, then put into statements which mingle their words with the words of their enemies. Their ideas are wrested and distorted; and then they are held up before the world as guilty of serious errors for these very statements composed by their enemies; and, finally, they are charged with temerity and disrespect of authority, if they question the validity of these statements, or disclaim any responsibility for them. I shall give an example. The twenty-second error of the Syllabus reads as follows:

"The dogmas which the Church gives out as revealed are not truths

which have fallen down from heaven, but are an interpretation of religious facts, which the human mind has acquired by laborious effort."

Loisy says ("The Gospel and the Church," p. 210):

"The conceptions that the Church presents as revealed dogmas are not truths fallen from heaven, *and preserved by religious tradition in the precise form in which they first appeared. The historian sees* in them the interpretation of religious facts, acquired by a laborious effort of theological thought. *Though the dogmas may be Divine in origin and substance, they are human in structure and composition.*"

This statement of Loisy is careful, accurate and well guarded. It is difficult to see how any one who knows anything of Biblical Theology and the history of dogma can doubt it. These Roman scholastics who know neither Bible nor history, and make the scholastic theology the universal norm, may deny it; but they had no right to misrepresent Loisy by leaving out the qualifying clauses which were essential to express his meaning. I have italicized the most important of these.

We cannot dwell upon the Syllabus, for we must give our space to a study of the Encyclical. This Encyclical is addressed, like all other documents of the same kind, to the Episcopate throughout the world. It is thus in a sense œcumenical; but it does not on that account belong to the category of infallible documents: for the Pope does not therein "define a doctrine regarding faith and morals to be held by the universal Church." He describes Modernism, defines certain errors and prescribes disciplinary procedure against them. There is no definition of doctrine, except so far as the condemnation of errors may be regarded as an implication of different opinions, which in many cases, at least, may be several and not single, and in no case a precise definition of a doctrine. The Encyclical, therefore, belongs to a class of documents, issued by the Pope, which may contain mistaken judgments liable to correction and change. The Canon Law requires that they should be recognized as authoritative, as regulating external obedience and submission in conduct; but they do not bind the conscience nor require internal consent involving submission of the judgment and change of opinion or conscientious convictions. A Catholic scholar has the right, and in some cases the duty, of questioning their validity, especially when, as is the case with this Encyclical, his opinions are misrepresented, his motives and character blackened,

and he is threatened with ecclesiastical discipline on false or mistaken charges. He may do what has often been done in similar circumstances—appeal from a Pope ill informed to a Pope well informed. It would be difficult to find an instance in modern history in which the elementary principles of justice have been so thoroughly disregarded as in the recent Papal decree of excommunication against the unknown authors, and all who assisted them in the composition of the "*Il Programma dei Modernisti, Risposta All' Enciclica di Pio X: 'Pascendi Dominici Gregis'*"; in which several representative Italian priests show very clearly that their views are misrepresented in the Encyclical. The Encyclical describes the opinions of the Modernists, and then excommunicates those who complain that the description is incorrect, and that without knowing their names, or permitting them to be heard in self-defence. The Encyclical is directed against the doctrines of the Modernists. Who are the Modernists? The name is given by the Encyclical to those known throughout the world as liberal Catholics. I know of no previous use of the term as a party designation, except in the religious struggles in Holland between liberal and conservative Protestants. The terms "modern views," "modern men" and similar expressions are not uncommon; but "Modernist" as applied to a religious party in the Catholic Church is unknown to our dictionaries. Liberal Catholics do not, so far as I know, object to the designation, if it carries with it the natural meaning that they are Modernists in their attitude towards Theology, as distinguishing them from Mediævalists; but they do object to the term if it implies the description given of them in the Encyclical, which they regard as a caricature and utter misrepresentation.

The Encyclical begins with an analysis of Modernist teaching. This analysis cannot be found in the writings of the Modernists; for, according to the Encyclical: "Since the Modernists employ a very clever artifice, namely, to present their doctrines without order or systematic arrangement into one whole, scattered and disjointed, one from another—it will be of advantage to bring their teachings together here into one group, and to point out the connection between them, and thus to pass to an examination of the sources of the errors." The analysis that follows is, therefore, avowedly not an analysis for which any Modernist is responsible, but one for which the Encyclical

alone is responsible. The analysis of Modernism is this: "Agnosticism is its philosophical foundation," "the negative part of the system"; "Vital Immanence is its positive part." This is the illustration:

"In the person of Christ, they say, Science and History encounter nothing that is not human. Therefore, in virtue of the first canon deduced from Agnosticism, whatever there is in His history suggestive of the divine must be rejected. Then, according to the second canon, the historical person of Christ was transfigured by faith; therefore, everything that raises it above historical conditions must be removed. Lastly, the third canon, which lays down that the person of Christ has been disfigured by faith, requires that everything should be excluded: deeds and words and all else that is not in keeping with His character, circumstances and education, and with the place and time in which He lived."

The Encyclical goes on to say: "There are many Catholics, yea, and priests, too, who say these things openly, and they boast that they are going to reform the Church by these ravings."

Now, if this were a fair description of the Modernists, and it were true that there were many such Catholic priests, no one could rightly blame the Pope for issuing the Encyclical against them, for such opinions are certainly destructive of the Catholic Faith. But who are these Catholic agnostics? Loisy and Tyrrell, the chief Roman Catholic liberals of our day, who are under severe discipline of the Roman Curia, are not such agnostics. Their views are clearly stated in numerous published writings. Fogazzaro and the writers of the "*Rinnovamento*" are not agnostics. The authors of the "*Risposta*" say distinctly that this charge is false. If there are such agnostic Catholics, let the Curia proceed against them and no one can justly complain. But, in fact, they are giving a philosophical basis to the opinions of the liberal Catholics which, so far as it appears, is entirely hypothetical, devised in scholastic brains, which have formulated a category for these liberals which they refuse and disclaim; and they have proceeded against the above-mentioned liberal Catholics to the extent of excommunication, as if they were what they really are not. The Curia blacken their doctrines and characters, and then excommunicate them for being blackened. As Tyrrell says (London "Times," September 30th, 1907):

"It is plain that Modernists are, because logically they ought to be,

agnostics and atheists. . . The whole of this vast controversial structure is poised by a most ingenious, logical *tour de force* on the apex of a science-theory and psychology that are as strange as astrology to the modern mind, and are practically unknown outside Seminary walls, save to the historian of philosophy. Touch this science-theory, and the whole argument is in ruins."

Such a procedure against these Modernists has been recently justified by a member of the Curia, who said: "Well, if they are not such agnostics they still are guilty of heresy in other respects, and therefore have no reason to complain of injustice." And this leads us to the consideration of some other descriptions of the Modernists. Modernism is represented as "the Synthesis of all Heresies." It is quite convenient, therefore, for any one so disposed, to charge a Catholic scholar with being a Modernist, if he has written, or spoken, anything that might be regarded as heretical.

The next most serious charge against the Modernists is that they hold to the "intrinsic evolution of dogma." It is quite true that some liberal Catholics, like Loisy, make great use of the principle of evolution in their study of dogma; but many of them do not. As Tyrrell says ("Scylla and Charybdis," p. 335): "Liberal Catholics are not cast in one mould like Seminary students; nor are all admirers of Newman, or Loisy, sworn to a servile imitation of their views. I am in some respects much more old-fashioned than either, in other respects much more new-fashioned." Tyrrell himself questions Newman's theory of development, and takes a much more conservative position. Furthermore, it is certain that the implication of the Encyclical, that modern Criticism, Biblical and Historical, is based on the doctrine of development, is altogether false. It is based upon an induction of truths and facts as strictly as in the case of any other Science. If critics have adopted the principle of development, it is simply because it seems best to explain all the facts as determined by induction. They are just as ready as are the students of Natural Science to accept any theory, provisionally, that seems best to account for the facts.

It seems quite evident that the Encyclical intends to classify all the disciples of Newman among the Modernists. I feel assured that that is not the intention of the Pope, but it is the intention of the scholastic authors of the Encyclical. The way

in which they oppose evolution and development of dogma, and the value of probable evidence and religious certitude, strikes against the most characteristic principles of Newman, which made it possible for him and his followers to be and remain Catholics. One of these scholastics who is credited by rumor, sustained by internal evidence, as one of the chief authors of the Encyclical, is known as a lifelong opponent of Newman. I have it on excellent authority that a Roman Cardinal said that "if Newman were now living he would be classed as a heretic." This is not at all surprising. It is a thankless task in the Roman Church to be defenders of the Faith. The greatest apologists have been discredited in Rome: Bellarmine, Bossuet, Möhler, Schell and now Newman. It is a common opinion among writers on Symbolics that it is impossible for the scholar to know what Rome really teaches. The greatest scholars who build on the œcumenical documents and all official decisions of the Church, and think that they are defenders of Roman orthodoxy, are almost certain to be condemned by the ecclesiastics of Rome, who are determined to keep in their own hands the exclusive interpretation of the Faith.

It is impracticable to go through the document and discuss its details, which would show that the Encyclical is really a trap to catch the unwary—indeed, any person who, in any respect, differs in opinion with the Roman scholastics. It will be sufficient to cite their own summary statement of the errors of the Modernist Reformers:

"From all that has preceded, some idea may be gained of the reforming mania which possesses them: in all Catholicism there is absolutely nothing on which it does not fasten. Reform of philosophy, especially in the seminaries: the scholastic philosophy is to be relegated to the history of philosophy among obsolete systems, and the young men are to be taught modern philosophy, which alone is true and suited to the times in which we live. Reform of theology: rational theology is to have modern philosophy for its foundation, and positive theology is to be founded on the history of dogma. As for history, it must be for the future written and taught only according to their modern methods and principles. Dogmas and their evolution are to be harmonized with science and history. In the catechism no dogmas are to be inserted except those that have been duly reformed and are within the capacity of the people. Regarding worship, the number of external devotions is to be reduced, or at least steps must be taken to prevent their further increase, though, indeed, some of the admirers of symbol-

ism are disposed to be more indulgent on this head. Ecclesiastical government requires to be reformed in all its branches, but especially in its disciplinary and dogmatic parts. Its spirit and its external manifestations must be put in harmony with the public conscience, which is now wholly for democracy; a share in ecclesiastical government should therefore be given to the lower ranks of the clergy, and even to the laity, and authority should be decentralized. The Roman Congregations, and especially the Index and the Holy Office, are to be reformed. The ecclesiastic authority must change its line of conduct in the social and political world; while keeping outside political and social organization, it must adapt itself to those which exist in order to penetrate them with its spirit. With regard to morals, they adopt the principle of the Americanists, that the active virtues are more important than the passive, both in the estimation in which they must be held and in the exercise of them. The clergy are asked to return to their ancient lowliness and poverty, and in their ideas and action to be guided by the principles of Modernism; and there are some who, echoing the teaching of their Protestant masters, would like the suppression of ecclesiastical celibacy. What is there left in the Church which is not to be reformed according to their principles?"

To this we might add the query, What Catholic outside the Roman Curia does not desire one or more of these reforms? Unless I am greatly mistaken, a very large portion of educated Catholic bishops, priests and laymen in France, Switzerland, Germany, Great Britain and America are smitten by one or more of these condemnations. When now to this is added the condemnation of the separation of Church and State and the denial of the right of the Catholic citizen "to work for the common good, in the way he thinks best, without troubling himself about the authority of the Church," and the rejection of the principle that "to trace out and prescribe for the citizen any line of conduct, on any pretext whatsoever, is to be guilty of an abuse of ecclesiastical authority"; it is difficult to see how a Catholic can be obedient to the Encyclical and be a good citizen of any modern State. If an attempt were to be made in Great Britain, Germany or America to carry out these principles, it is certain that clericalism would be regarded as the great enemy there, as it is now in most Catholic countries.

The Encyclical, therefore, is a thoroughgoing attack on Modernism, not simply upon liberal Catholics, but upon all that is characteristic of the modern age of the world, in Philosophy, Science, Biblical Criticism, History, Education, and Political and Social Life. It is an effort to overcome Modernism by Mediæval-

ism, by making the scholastic Philosophy and Theology of the Middle Ages the norm for all things in all time. The Encyclical is *thorough;* but, like many other historic examples of such thoroughness, it is blind to the consequences of such a policy. It brought Charles II and his ministers to the scaffold, and has destroyed many another brilliant career. If the scholastic philosophy and theology of Thomas Aquinas is to be the universal norm for the Roman Catholic Church, the Roman Church thereby divests itself of Catholicity, for it sins against the established principles of Catholicity, "*Semper, ubique et ab omnibus.*" It antagonizes not only the modern world, but no less truly the ancient Church, which knew nothing of scholasticism, and still more Jesus Christ and His Apostles, who knew nothing of the principles and methods of the Greek philosophers. Apostolicity is the historic test of a genuine Christianity—not Scholasticism. The Roman scholars are fond of giving the logical consequences of Modernist theories; let them consider the logical consequences of their own position, which would change the creed from "One holy, catholic and apostolic Church" to "one Roman and scholastic Church."

It is well known that Thomas Aquinas was regarded in his day as a heretic and a reformer. The Aristotelian philosophy was condemned at first as sharply as Modern philosophy is in this Encyclical. The authors of the "*Risposta*" claim that they are the true successors of the scholastic theologians, in that they adhere to their spirit of investigation rather than to their stereotyped modes of thought and statement. So Tyrrell says ("Scylla and Charybdis," p. 350):

> "I have the sincerest veneration for the truly theological spirit of my earliest guide, St. Thomas Aquinas; but I have very little for the drilled school of theologists who invoke his name, and swear by the letter of his work to the destruction of its spirit."

The scholastic theology is built upon the Aristotelian philosophy as expounded especially by the mediæval scholastics, of whom Thomas Aquinas was the greatest. All Roman Catholic doctrines since have been stated on the basis of that philosophy and the scholastic methods of Aquinas. But the ancient Creeds were constructed with reference to the principles of the Platonic philosophy. There is a basis of union between the two, but there

are also irreconcilable differences. The teachings of Jesus and His Apostles were on the basis of the Old Testament, and had no manner of relation to either Plato or Aristotle. Which is to be the master of theology, Aristotle or Plato or Christ? The Encyclical virtually dethrones Christ and enthrones St. Thomas as the vicar of Aristotle.

I said in this REVIEW, in my article on "Reform in the Catholic Church," that Leo XIII had taken an important step in reform when he called Catholic theologians away from the newer scholasticism to the study of the greatest of the scholastics, Thomas Aquinas. I have not changed my opinion. But in fact this reform has been more nominal than real, for the reason that it has been obeyed only in form and not in spirit. Any one can see, who will study the system of the chief Roman scholastics at the present time, such as Billot and Janssen, that, while they use the forms of St. Thomas and base themselves on his system, they really introduce into the system scholastic materials, new and old, which are not homogeneous with St. Thomas, but which make a heterogeneous system that St. Thomas himself would be the first to repudiate. How, for instance, can they adapt the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin to the system of St. Thomas when he expressly denies it. The movement in their hands is a sham and a fraud.

The Faith of the Church, according to Catholic doctrine, is a sacred deposit derived from Jesus Christ and His Apostles, whose substance remains unchangeably the same. The Church can only interpret it, and apply it to new circumstances and conditions. As I understand them, the so-called Modernists agree to that. Loisy distinctly says in the extract given above (which is carefully omitted in the statement of error), that "though dogmas may be divine in origin and substance they are human in structure and composition." Tyrrell has returned to what he regards as the "earlier and stricter view." "Understanding by 'dogma' a religious truth imposed authoritatively as the Word of God, not as a conclusion of theological reflection, it rejects the very notion of the development, and still more of the multiplication, of dogmas, and acquiesces cordially in the patristic identification of novelty and heresy ("Scylla and Charybdis," pp. 4-5). According to Loisy, the substance of dogma is divine and unchangeable, the structure and composition are human and

changeable. According to Tyrrell, the dogmas are unchangeable because they are imposed authoritatively as the Word of God, not as a conclusion of theological reflection; in other words, he does not recognize the theological form as dogma. It is just this distinction that the scholastic authors of the Encyclical refuse to make. They dare not say that the scholastic form of the dogmas and the Aristotelian philosophy that shapes their statements were original, apostolic and divine; but, by failing to discriminate between the form and the substance of doctrine, and by maintaining that the dogmas in their scholastic form are normative, and that the scholastic dogma is unchangeable and irreformable, they really imply the divine origin of the scholastic form as well as the apostolic substance; and this, at bottom, is the whole quarrel between the Curia and the Modernists. As Tyrrell says (London "Times," October 1st):

"For the Middle Ages with their statical modes of thought, their crude conceptions of government and authority, derived from Pagan Imperialism, their view of physical law as analogous to civil law, imposed or abrogated at the will of the lawgivers, there was perhaps no other way of apprehending Christianity, which, however, is older than, and therefore separable from, these categories. The Encyclical holds to such categories still, but, rightly or wrongly, the world has swept them aside; nor will any argument, however ingenious, which assumes their validity, receive the slightest attention. No such *instauratio omnium* need be hoped or feared."

The general description of the Modernists given by the Encyclical is so apart from reality that the first impression naturally is that the best way to deal with it is to ignore it, or to recognize it by agreeing in the reprobation of such Modernists, and affirming that they do not exist in "our diocese." This seems to be the present attitude of the American Episcopate. But the second part of the document prescribes a new Inquisition and the organization of a vigilance committee in every diocese, with the purpose of banishing from theological seminaries and the Catholic press and every position of influence, every one who has the least trace, or suspicion, of Modernism, or favors it or condones it in any measure. If the plan of the new Inquisition can be carried out, it is difficult to see how any but a genuine Mediævalist can escape. But it is evident that the plan is too detailed and too drastic, and not sufficiently flexible to make it practicable in many parts of the world, and it is

certain that there will be an immense reluctance and every kind of passive resistance to the enforcement of these rules. It is true that it is ordained:

"That the Bishops of all dioceses, a year after the publication of these letters, and every three years thenceforward, furnish the Holy See with a diligent and sworn report on all the prescriptions contained in them, and on the doctrines that find currency among the clergy, and especially in the seminaries and other Catholic institutions, and we impose the like obligation on the Generals of religious orders with regard to those under them."

We shall wait to see whether the Bishops and Generals of orders will altogether comply with these commands. This great responsibility is thrown upon them without their advice, knowledge or consent. The Bishops have their rights in the divine constitution of the Church as well as the Pope, and these rights are protected by the same Canon Law that protects the Pope's; and, unless I am greatly mistaken, these rights are infringed upon in an unprecedented manner by this arbitrary ordinance of the present Pope. All the Bishops are successors of the Apostles; the Pope is the primate of the Bishops as St. Peter was of the Apostles. The Pope no more absorbs unto himself the whole authority in the government of the Church than did St. Peter.

The Vatican Council, when it defined the jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff, at the same time asserted, as it could not fail to do without heresy, that this was "without prejudice to the ordinary and immediate power of episcopal jurisdiction, by which Bishops, who have been set of the Holy Ghost to succeed and hold the place of the Apostles, feed and govern each his own flock as true pastors." And yet in this Encyclical, the Pope, without consultation with the episcopate, but solely under the advice of certain unnamed cardinals and other members of the Roman Curia, issues an ordinance requiring a "sworn report" from the Bishops as to their fidelity in enforcing his new Inquisition. If that is not an usurpation of authority and an enslavement of the episcopate, it is difficult to imagine what could be regarded as such. If Jesus Christ and His Apostles committed all ecclesiastical authority to the episcopate as the successors of the Apostles, it is no longer exercised by them in the Roman Church; but their place has been taken by a Curial body in Rome appointed by the Popes and responsible only to the Popes, but without any divine rights whatsoever. There

are the Cardinals, who are really bishops, priests and deacons of the province of Rome, exalted to be princes of the Church, even the deacons being high above Metropolitans and Patriarchs. They may have the divine right to govern the Roman province, but they have no divine right to govern the universal Church. There are also the Generals of the religious orders of every name, monks, mendicants and brethren, massing all the influence of these Associations in Rome with a local influence and practical authority transcending, and sometimes overreaching and overcoming, the influence of the episcopate scattered and divided throughout the world. The General of the Jesuits is called the Black Pope; more powerful than any one in Rome but the real Pope. None of these orders, none of these Generals of orders, has any part in the divine constitution of the Church, and any part they take in it is in defiance of the divine rights of the episcopate. There are the hosts of *monsignori,* appointed by the Popes as their court officials, who have as their chief functions to transact as officials the business of the Church. These have no part in the divine constitution of the Church, and yet they take a very important part in its government. These three groups of officials are really the governing body of the Roman Church, not only the power behind the throne, but the power that so surrounds the throne that nothing can be done except by them and through them. Even the Bishops only secure a hearing through them. Time and again an agreement between the Pope and a visiting Bishop has been overruled, and even denied after the departure of the Bishop from Rome. The treatment of the French episcopate, during the recent troubles, has been most shameful. Again and again have their decisions been overruled by the Curia; and, finally, as I have it on excellent authority, their very names were signed to an official document without their knowledge or consent. Truly, there is no hope for the Catholic Church until this Camarilla can be overthrown.

The "Saint" of Fogazzaro tells the Pope of this essential fault in the government of the Church when he says:

"Perhaps your Holiness has not yet made proof of it; but the spirit of domination would exercise itself also upon you. Yield not to it, Holy Father! To you belongs the government of the Church; permit not that others govern you, suffer not that your power be as a glove for the invisible hands of others. Have public counsellors, and let these be the Bishops, united often in national councils."

Alas! Pope Pius X has yielded, as so many others before him, to this irresponsible, invisible and secret domination, and the Bishops throughout the world are summoned to obey as slaves of their master. The "Saint" of Fogazzaro indicates clearly to the Pope the four evil spirits which threaten the ruin of the Catholic Church: The Spirit of Falsehood, The Spirit of Domination, The Spirit of Avarice, The Spirit of Immobility.

The Encyclical is evidently pervaded by these spirits, and shows clearly and unmistakably that the Roman Curia is determined, in the temper of these evil spirits, to resist and overcome any and every effort for reform. It would banish from the Church all the reformers that are named Modernists; it would give them over to Satan, or to Protestants, or to another Old Catholic sect. It does not wish the Reunion of Christendom, the peace and unity of the Christian Church; but simply and alone a body that will be submissive without question to its domination in doctrine and life, not only by external obedience of conformity, but by the internal obedience of a submissive conscience and an enslaved intellect.

I have a great respect for the person of the present Pope and reverence for his high office; and I regard the Catholic episcopate and priesthood as a devout and noble body of Christian men, and the Catholic Church on the whole as in a sound and healthful condition, ripe for reform and ready to reach forth for the highest ideals of Christianity. The Roman Curia is the canker, the running-sore, of the Papacy which is responsible for all the mischief. The worse it is the better, for that makes all the more evident the necessity of removing it at all hazards. I have said nothing but what hosts of Catholics of all ranks are saying at the present time, who are deeply grieved over the present situation. Once more the gates of hell are open in Rome, and evil spirits of all kinds are broken loose to corrupt and destroy the Church of God. They will do incalculable injury to-day as they have in the past, but our Lord Himself gave the reassuring word: "The gates of Hell shall not prevail against it."

CHARLES A. BRIGGS.

THE LEGITIMACY OF THE CLOSET-DRAMA.

BY BRANDER MATTHEWS.

A PROFESSOR of English literature at Yale, to whom we are indebted for a valuable study of the rise of Romanticism in England in the eighteenth century, recently published a paper entitled "Retrospects of the Drama." To a small group of his readers the most striking of his assertions is his declaration that "the closet drama is a quite legitimate product of literary art," and that "the playhouse has no monopoly of the dramatic form." And one of this small group cannot resist the temptation to take this declaration as a text, and to ask whether it is well founded or not. Is the so-called closet-drama really legitimate?

To a large majority of the students of English literature, this inquiry will probably seem impertinent. To them the assertion of the legitimacy of the closet-drama is merely the statement of an indisputable fact; and they did not need the arguments and the illustrations by means of which Professor Beers has sought to establish his contention. But there is a growing minority of students of the drama, who will feel themselves moved to sharp dissent, and who will totally reject the assertion that "the playhouse has no monopoly of the dramatic form."

They are prepared to maintain that this statement reveals a misunderstanding of the essential principles of the drama, a misunderstanding which seems to them little short of monstrous. They believe that the playhouse has now, has had in the past and must always have a monopoly of the dramatic form. They cannot recognize the legitimacy of a play which is not intended to be played. They know that the great dramatist of every period when the drama has flourished has always planned his plays for performance in the theatre of his own time, by the actors of his

own time and before the spectators of his own time. And they feel a strong desire to analyze closely the arguments which Professor Beers adduces to sustain the legitimacy of that closet-drama which they abhor as a bastard pretender to the dramatic crown, and which they reject as the offspring of the unwillingness, or the inability, of certain poets to acquire the craft of the theatre,—the special craft which makes the dramatist what he is.

It was the acute Pascal who said that half of the art of writing consisted in the precision of the definitions; and, therefore, it is best to begin by asking ourselves what a closet-drama is. Probably no one of its admirers would dispute a definition to the effect that it is a play not intended to be played. It is a poem in dialogue,—conceived with no thought of the actual theatre. It is a poem in dialogue,—a piece of literature, pure and simple, not contaminated by any subservience to the playhouse, the players or the playgoers. It is wrought solely for the reader in the library, without any regard for the demands of possible spectators in the auditorium. Its essence is to be sought in the obvious fact that the poet who essays it is firm in the conviction that "the playhouse has no monopoly of the dramatic form." Sometimes, indeed, the poet has gone so far as to declare his deliberate desire so to shape his work that its performance in the theatre would be absolutely impossible. Byron, for one, not only disregarded any playhouse, he violently rejected it in advance. Swinburne, it is true, seems to have thrust aside the theatre of his own time and yet to have believed that his dramatic poems might have been performed in the semi-mediæval playhouse of three centuries ago. But, when all is said, we can rest on the definition that the closet-drama is specifically intended for the closet itself, for the library and not for the stage. It is something which has assumed the outer form of a play, but which is emphatically not to be performed in a theatre.

With the acceptance of this definition we are in a position to consider Professor Beers's assertion that "the English closet-drama of the nineteenth century is an important body of literature, of higher intellectual value than all the stage-plays produced in England during the same period." This assertion might be justified without proving the legitimacy of the closet-drama. Many poets have wasted their time and ours on the so-called "pastoral"; and most of them have left us only empty arti-

ficialities. Perhaps a later criticism will hold the closet-drama to be as unsatisfactory as the pastoral is now seen to be. Professor Beers likes the closet-drama, and thinks that there is no need of enumerating its "triumphs"; and then he cites Byron's "Manfred," Landor's "Gebir," George Eliot's "Spanish Gypsy," Horne's "Orion," Beddoes's "Death's Jest-Book," Arnold's "Empedocles on Etna," Tennyson's "Becket," Browning's "Pippa Passes" and Swinburne's "Atalanta in Calydon." Of course, it is only by a slip of Professor Beers's memory that we find in this list "Orion," Horne's famous "farthing epic."

As we read this catalogue we can see the advantage of a preliminary definition. Several of these dramatic poems cannot fairly be included in any enumeration of the "triumphs" of the closet-drama, because they stand outside the definition. These subtractions from the catalogue of closet-dramas, when this is strictly defined, fall into two classes. First, we may consider the group represented by Tennyson's "Becket." If a closet-drama is a dramatic poem not intended to be played, then "Becket" is not a closet-drama, for Tennyson did intend it to be played. And Tennyson was not the author of a single closet-drama, since he meant all his plays to be acted and was even intensely anxious that they should be seen in the theatre, revealing his readiness to make whatsoever modifications, suppression or additions the managers might suggest to him. That they met with little success on the stage itself is beside the point; this can be accounted for either by asserting that the laureate was without the dramaturgic faculty or by admitting that he did not take the trouble to master the necessary technic of the theatre. What is true of Tennyson is true of Browning, at least so far as "Strafford" and "A Blot in the 'Scutcheon" are concerned; these dramas were written not only to be acted, but to be acted by one particular actor. And as Browning had Macready in view, so Shelley had Miss O'Neill in view when he wrote the "Cenci." Coleridge composed "Remorse" to be performed, and it was performed, just as Johnson wrote "Irene" to be performed as it was performed. All of Tennyson's plays, most of Browning's, as well as Shelley's and Coleridge's, are therefore not fairly to be enumerated as triumphs of the closet-drama. They are the failures of the playhouse or the rejected of the theatre. Their authors were not originally thinking only of the solitary reader in the library; they had in

mind the massed spectators of the auditorium. All of them longed for the actual theatre. They were all eager for the ordeal by fire before the footlights.

There can be no question that plays of this first class, intended for the playhouse, even if they never reached actual performance, and still more when they failed to achieve success on the stage, are to be excluded from any consideration of the closet-drama. In fact, they are properly to be rated among the stage-plays of whose intellectual value Professor Beers has expressed a low opinion. And when they are deducted, any catalogue of the triumphs of the closet-drama must seem sadly shrunken. How many of the poems which are lumped together in Professor Beers's list were actually composed without some vague, faint hope that perhaps some day a fit stage might present itself for their performance? George Eliot, for example, wrote the "Spanish Gypsy" after she had formed her infelicitous connection with Lewes, a dramatist himself and a critic of the acted drama. Did she write for the reader only, without any remotest expectation that some day her poem in dialogue might also move an audience in the theatre? Did Longfellow know that the "Spanish Student" was unactable? He was glad enough to have the "Masque of Pandora" set to music and performed in the theatre before an actual audience.

While there can be no doubt as to the propriety of striking out from the category of the closet-drama a host of dramatic poems which belong to this first group, there may be a question as to the fairness of deducting those which belong to a second group. And yet the dramatic poems of this other class can be considered as closet-dramas only by stretching the definition. This second group includes Arnold's "Empedocles on Etna" and Swinburne's "Atalanta in Calydon," and all the other imitations of Greek tragedy. The most obvious characteristics of these attempts to resuscitate a departed form is to be found in the fact that they are deliberate imitations. They are exercises in poetry to be ranked with the anatomies of the old painters. They are *pastiches,* as the French call them; and the poet has found his chief interest in recalling the flavor of a day that has gone forever. Although they contain not a little dialogue, they have scarcely more than the husk of the drama, since the Greek poets upon whom these English poets have chosen to model themselves, were

not always and of necessity dramatic. We need to remember that in Greece the drama belonged to a very early type, when the purely dramatic had been only imperfectly differentiated from the lyric and the epic. Greek tragedy had been slowly evolved out of the chorus, and it retained to the end abundant survivals from its earlier state. In Æschylus, and even in Sophocles, lyric and epic elements are often almost as important as the dramatic element.

It needs to be said also that these English imitations of Greek tragedy, delightful as they are to the expert, are of interest only to the chosen few. They are totally devoid of that broad appeal to the public as a whole which is ever the essential quality of all real drama. They are poetic exercises, no more and no less; and they may reveal the range of the metrical artist's accomplishment and his ingenuity in grappling with the endless difficulties of a resuscitation which can never be really successful, since it is frankly impossible for a modern poet to put himself back into the skin of a Greek of old, and to strip himself of all the accretions of thought and feeling that he has inherited from the long centuries separating him from the Athenians. "Atalanta in Calydon" may be the most Greek of all English imitations of Attic tragedy; but none the less is it intensely modern and intensely English. It is not by imitations, however adroit and however skilful, that a poet can establish his fame, even though an imitation or two may serve to broaden our appreciation of his craftsmanship.

Lowell was considering Swinburne's "Atalanta in Calydon" when he declared that "every attempt at reproducing a bygone excellence by external imitation of it, or even by applying the rules which analytic criticism has formulated from the study of it, has resulted in producing the artificial, not the artistic." And in the same essay there is another passage which also demands quotation here: "The higher kinds of literature, the only kinds that live on, because they had life at the start, are not the fabric of scholarship, of criticism, diligently studying and as diligently copying the best models, but are much rather born of some genetic principle in the character of the people and the age that produces them."

When we strike out of the enumeration of the triumphs of the closet-drama the imitations of Greek drama and also the plays

intended to be acted, even if they failed of performance or failed on performance, the catalogue is seen to be curtailed; but we cannot deny that it still contains examples of weight, Byron's and Landor's and Swinburne's. If, however, we examine these remaining examples, and if we ask ourselves whether they are remembered for their own sake or chiefly because they were written by poets who have won fame by other works, we discover that these closet-dramas have really contributed very little to the reputation of their authors. We recall "Gebir" solely because it was written by Landor, and we do not remember Landor primarily as the author of "Gebir." George Eliot does not hold her position in the history of English literature because she composed the "Spanish Gypsy." Of all the millions who have taken Longfellow's lyrics to heart, there are very few who are even aware that he wrote "Christus, a Mystery."

Perhaps it is hardly too much to say that we might blot out of existence the closet-drama which Professor Beers admires as "an important body of literature" of high intellectual value, without greatly impairing the renown of the English poets who have condescended to the poem in dialogue. No doubt Byron would suffer, more or less, from the loss of "Manfred," and Swinburne would be the poorer for the disappearance of the Mary Stuart trilogy; but the rest of them would lose very little. Their reputation would be as solidly buttressed, without these closet-dramas, as it is with them. And to say this, to suggest that these dramatic poems are negligible, that they have not called forth their authors' fullest powers, that they are only the surplusage of the poets' fame, that they shine mainly by the glory reflected from the other works of their makers,—to say this is to pose the vital question whether the closet-drama is really worth while.

One reason why the closet-drama fails to justify itself is because it is too easy. Nothing is more stimulating to the artist than the necessity of grappling with difficulty. Then and then only is he forced to put forth his whole strength. To make his work easier in any way, to relax the bonds, to let down the bars,—this is not to help the artist; it is to hinder him from lofty achievement. As Huxley once said, it is when a man can do as he pleases that his troubles begin. A strong nature is ever anxious for a wrestle with an opposing force; and he knows very well

how the strain braces his muscles. An acute French critic, M. Paul Stapfer, once explained that "the instinct which leads us to measure a part of our esteem for a work of art by the effort it has cost, and by the difficulty vanquished, is not unsound, since it is founded on the fact that true beauty is a pearl of great price, hidden at the bottom of the sea, and out of the reach of those who lack courage to struggle for it."

There is a significant passage in Professor Beers's essay in which he sets forth what he conceives to be the advantages of the writers of closet-dramas when they are contrasted with the playwrights who plan their work for the actual theatre:

> "As the closet-dramatist is not bound to consider the practical exigencies of the theatre, to consult the prejudices of the manager or the spectators, fill the pockets of the company, or provide a rôle for a star performer, he has, in many ways, a freer hand than the professional playwright. He need not sacrifice truth of character and probability of plot to the need of highly accentuated situations. He does not have to consider whether a speech is too long, too ornate in diction, too deeply thoughtful for recitation by an actor. If the action lags at certain points let it lag. In short, as the aim of the closet-dramatist is other than the playwright's, so his methods may be independent."

Almost every advantage which Professor Beers here claims for the writer of the closet-drama is in reality a disadvantage. The more willingly a poet avails himself of these licenses, the more remote must the result be from the true drama, as Shakespeare and Molière conceived it, with their careful adjustment of their characters to the actors of their own companies and with their keen interest in the takings at the door. The poet stands revealed as a shrinking weakling when he wants to cast off the shackles that all the supreme dramatists have worn lightly. There seems to be a suggestion of wilful perversity in Byron and in Swinburne when they claim the stakes, although they have disdained to play the game according to the rules accepted unhesitatingly by Sophocles and Calderon, by Racine and Hugo. Professor Beers asserts that the aim of the closet-dramatist is other than that of the playwright and that his methods are independent; and in all fairness the conclusion ought to follow that his achievement is not drama, whatever else it may be. If the writers of the closet-drama choose to profit by all the privileges Professor Beers has granted to them,—as most of them have done in advance of his permission,—then they display themselves

as anarchists in art; and the result of their easy self-amusement presents itself as the product of unskilled labor, unwilling to learn the trade.

In the dedicatory epistle to his collected poems Swinburne tells us that, when he writes plays, "it is with a view to their being acted at the Globe, the Red Bull or the Blackfriars,"—the semi-mediæval playhouses with which the Elizabethan playwrights had to be content, since they knew no other, and to the conditions of which they carefully conformed their plays. And in discussing his own "Marino Faliero" Swinburne asserts that his dramatic poem, "hopelessly impossible as it is from the point of view of modern stagecraft, could hardly have been found too untheatrical, too utterly given over to thought without action, by the audience which endured and applauded Chapman's eloquence—the fervid and inexhaustible declamation which was offered and accepted as a substitute for study of character and interest of action, when his two finest plays, if plays they can be called, found favor with an incredibly intelligent and an inconceivably tolerant audience."

The first comment to be made upon this characteristic declaration is that we do not now know whether Chapman's plays did or did not find favor with Elizabethan playgoers; and the second is that these playgoers may have tolerated the eloquence and the declamation for the sake of the violently melodramatic plots which held the plays together. A third comment would be to deny incredible intelligence to the audiences of Chapman's time and place; M. Jusserand has made this plain; and no one is in a better position to know it than Mr. Swinburne himself after his devoted study of the Elizabethan dramatists. And a fourth would point out that eloquence belongs to the oration and not to the drama, and that the proper place for declamation is the platform and not the stage, which expects—and has a right to expect—the "interest of action" and the "study of character."

But there is really little need of comment, since Mr. Swinburne's sentence reveals a total inability to understand the drama as that has been understood by all the really dramatic poets from Sophocles to Ibsen, and by all the real dramatic critics from Aristotle to Lessing. It is true that Sidney, who had been infected by the sterile theoretic criticism of the Italian renascence, believed that the English dramatists ought to model themselves on the great Greeks; and yet Mr. Swinburne himself has never

found fault with Shakespeare for rejecting this advice and for adjusting his plays to the actual theatre of his own time, just as Æschylus and Sophocles had done in theirs and just as Hugo and Ibsen were to do. It is curious that Mr. Swinburne, whose adoration for Hugo is almost as perfervid as his admiration for Shakespeare, did not follow their example. Shakespeare was satisfied with the stage as he found it, semi-mediæval and unworthy of his genius as it may seem to us. Hugo, who had perhaps little more of the native dramaturgic gift than Mr. Swinburne himself, went to school to the professional playwrights whose melodramas were popular in his youth and absorbed their processes. The poet of "Hernani" was no closet-dramatist; his aim was that of the professional playwrights, and his methods were not independent of theirs. He took over the skeleton of melodramatic action which they had devised to please the multitude, and he flung over it the splendor of his lyric verse, with the result of evoking from Mr. Swinburne the assertion that he was a dramatist of "the race and lineage of Shakespeare."

It is curious also that Mr. Swinburne, in his study of French literature, has not observed that the foremost critics of France have never a good word for the closet-drama, perhaps because the closet-drama has never tempted the French poets, who have always contented themselves with the theatre as it happened to exist when they took up the art of the dramatist. Rostand has found his profit in writing for the stage as it is; and even Musset, who turned his back on it for a season, composed his poetic fantasies so closely in accord with its conditions that they needed very little modification when they were transferred from the library to the theatre.

In Great Britain and in the United States in the nineteenth century, while these closet-dramas were being published, there was no scarcity of actors capable of performing characters loftily conceived; and these actors were, many of them, eager for new parts worthy of their histrionic ability. And the continued popularity of Shakespeare's plays in the theatre proves also that there was no lack of audiences ready to welcome new poetic dramas, if only these novelties resembled the plays of Shakespeare in being dramatic as well as poetic. There is no reason to suppose that the poets of the English language would have failed in the playhouse any more than the poets of the French language failed,

if these English poets had followed the example of Hugo and of Rostand and had taken the time and the trouble needful to master the methods of the contemporary theatre. But this is what they were not willing to do; they shrank from the toil; and therefore they cannot now claim the guerdon due only to that successful conquest of difficulty which sustains the masterpieces of every art. They chose the easier path, and they wrote poems in dialogue, devoid of the essential qualities of the drama, even if rich in the essential qualities of poetry. What right have they now to the same laurel we bestow on Hugo and on Rostand? They deliberately refused the test of performance by actors in a theatre and before an audience,—the final test which every true dramatic poet has accepted joyfully. It is almost as though they had composed music with no understanding of the several instruments which make up the modern orchestra, and with no intention that the composition should ever be heard. This may be legitimate, although we may suspect a blot in the 'scutcheon. There are no laws to forbid men from wasting their energies; but acts not illegal do not thereby deserve commendation.

It is a significant fact in the history of literature that the closet-drama has appeared only when there is a divorce between literature and the theatre. It is first seen in Rome under Nero, when the stage was given over to vulgar and violent spectacle; and so Seneca seems to have polished his plays solely for recitation by an elocutionist. It is visible again in Italy, when men of letters, enamored of the noble severity of Greek tragedy and of the artistic propriety of Latin comedy, despised the ruder sacred-representations and the lively but acrobatic comedy-of-masks, which were the only types of drama then popular on the stage; and they therefore attempted empty imitations of the classic dramatists with no regard to the conditions of the contemporary theatre. It emerges again in England early in the nineteenth century, when adaptations of Kotzebue, and later of Scribe and his cloud of collaborators, were the chief staple of the stage, and when the overwhelming vogue of the Waverley novels drew the attention of authors away from the drama to the novel, which was easier to write, easier to bring before the public and more likely to bring in an adequate reward. Behind every appearance of the closet-drama we can discover a latent contempt for the actual theatre, and a desire to claim its rewards

without the trouble of mastering its methods or the risk of facing its perils.

This is why the closet-drama never appears in any period of affluent dramatic productivity, for then the poets who happen also to be dramatists are glad to study out the secrets of theatrical technic and to affront the dangers of actual performance. The closet-drama seems to be possible only when men of letters look down on the theatre of their own time. This was not the case in Athens when Æschylus and Sophocles and Euripides were producing plays in competition. It was not the case in Madrid when Lope de Vega and Calderon were vying in the effort to please the Spaniards. Nor was it the case in London when Marlowe and Shakespeare and Massinger were keeping the players supplied with plays which delighted the burly Elizabethans and which still delight us to-day. No more was it the case in Paris when Molière followed Corneille and preceded Racine, each of them giving the best he had to sustain and amuse his contemporaries.

Even if there was some slight excuse for the appearance of the closet-drama in Rome under Nero and in Italy during the Renascence, there was none for its revival in England in the nineteenth century, when actors and audiences were alike waiting to recognize and to reward a new dramatic poet. For its continued existence in the twentieth century there is still less excuse, since Ibsen has shown us how the austerest themes may be treated in the modern theatre. The poet of our time has no right now to despise the stage, where Shakespeare and Ibsen are gladly accepted; he has no right lazily to refuse to comply with its conditions, if he wishes to win its rewards. And it is the duty of criticism to withhold its complaisant approval. The drama is not for the library, but for the theatre; and it is not for the joy of the little group of dilettantes, but for the stimulation of the public as a whole. It was the wise Boileau who once said that, "Even when a work is approved by a small number of connoisseurs, if it is not filled with a certain pleasure for the general taste of men, it will never pass for good, and at the end the connoisseurs themselves will admit that they were at fault in giving it their approbation."

BRANDER MATTHEWS.

GRIEG: AN ESTIMATE.

BY LAWRENCE GILMAN.

It is a singular fact, for which one need not pretend to account, that in musical criticism (the youngest, most unreasoned and most unguided of the arts) one is seldom made aware that a distinction has been drawn between what Matthew Arnold liked to call the "real" and the "historic" estimates. Yet it is difficult to see how we can arrive at any just appraisal of music or of creative musicians unless this vital difference is held steadily before the mind. For example, it has been perfectly possible for modern critics, recognizing only the historic estimate, blithely to rank the admirable Haydn as a major symphonist; yet imagine—one need not say Arnold, but any sensitive and responsible critic of letters—ranking, for example, Pope as a major poet! Arnold, it will be recalled, in defining what he means by the "historic estimate" of poetry, observes: "the course of development of a nation's language, thought and poetry, is profoundly interesting; and by regarding a poet's work as a stage in this course of development we may easily bring ourselves to make it of more importance as poetry than in itself it really is": that is, we may fall easily into the error of mistaking the historic significance of the "*Chanson de Roland,*" or of the verse of Pope, or Dryden, for an essential significance which, as poetry, it does not possess. We may fall, through carelessness or indifference, into such an error; but we do not expect a deliberate and reasoned criticism of letters to exhibit carelessness or indifference: we do not expect it to fail of distinguishing between the artistic stature of Pope and Shelley, of Dryden and Keats. Yet how often does our musical criticism distinguish in its judgments between a purely historic estimate and a real estimate of Haydn, of much of Mozart, of the lesser Beethoven? The

reason, it may be said again, is not germane to this discussion: the fact alone is pertinent.

Of Edvard Grieg, the most widely and sincerely popular music-maker since Mendelssohn, it would be easy to say that it is not now possible, since he has been dead less than a half-year, to form any historic estimate which should be in the least conclusive. The objection would not be a valid one: Grieg's relation to the past of musical art, to its development, to its present condition—even to its auguries of the future—is not in the least difficult to perceive. But it is, I conceive, far more interesting and rewarding to view his art in itself; to attempt to arrive at an estimate of its absolute, rather than its historic, significance.

Let us consider first, as a convenient point of approach, the claims which have been made for him, and the faults which have been charged against his art. The most persistent, and the most absurd, claim that has been advanced for him is that he was pre-eminent as an exponent of nationalism in music. It is a claim which is as negligible as it is unsubstantiated. We could still afford to ignore this aspect of his art even if it were not true, as Mr. Henry T. Finck, in his inimitable survey of Grieg's career and works, affirms, that instead of exclaiming over his music: "How delightfully Norwegian!" we should say: "How delightfully Griegian!" That Grieg, an ardent and uncompromising patriot, made much of his artistic allegiance to Norwegian soil is of little significance. As the French critic, Ernest Closson, wrote, "Grieg has so thoroughly identified himself with the musical spirit of his country that the *rôles* have become, as it were, reversed. His personality—a personality which in itself has nothing in common with the music of the people—seems to have become the prototype of this same music of the people; and the composers, his compatriots, imitate and copy him quite innocently in the belief that they are simply making use of local color." It is not intended to dispose too summarily or cavalierly of a principle which to a very large number of intelligences is of deep import; but it remains an indisputable fact that "nationalism" in music has never constituted a valid claim to creative eminence. Who are those in musical art who have been conspicuous as exponents of nationalism? Not Bach, not Beethoven, not Schubert, not Schumann, not Wagner, not Brahms, not Tschaikowsky; rather they have been minor prophets like Dvorák

and certain of the Russians—those Liszt-sprung "barbarians" whose music is far more eloquent of the salon and the academy than of the forests and steppes. Therefore, one may be permitted, with all possible deference, to leave the question of Grieg's Scandinavianism to specialists in the discovery and exploitation of æsthetic patriotism, where it will be sure of adequate discussion.

Claims have been made for Grieg, upon the purely artistic side, which have done his fame a very positive harm. He was called "the greatest of living composers, with the possible exception of Saint-Saëns"—an amazing exception! It has been said that he "has created the latest harmonic atmosphere in music"; that he "is one of the most original geniuses in the musical world of the present or past"; that his songs, in melodic wealth, are surpassed only by Schubert's; that in "originality of harmony and modulation" he is surpassed only by Bach, Schubert, Chopin, Schumann, Wagner and Liszt; that in his orchestration he "ranks among the most fascinating." These claims have been deliberately and responsibly made, and they have been passionately defended; yet that they can have been seriously urged seems well-nigh incredible. It will be judicious to avoid, for the present, so parlous a question as that which is raised by the brave phrase, "the greatest living composer"; but as to "the latest harmonic atmosphere in music," Grieg's harmony, in comparison with that of Claude Debussy, sounds as comfortably unventuresome as do the naïve metres of Herrick beside the strange rhythms and subtle assonances of Mr. Yeats. As to the melodic wealth of his songs, do they surpass in this respect the songs of Schumann or of Franz? In "originality of harmony" does Grieg compare for a moment with Vincent d'Indy, with Richard Strauss, with Charles Martin Loeffler? As for his "fascinating orchestration," where does it stand in comparison with the gorgeously imaginative scoring of Rimsky-Korsakoff, the superb instrumentation of Strauss, the exquisite orchestral mastery of Debussy and Loeffler?—magicians beside whom Grieg, for all the delicacy and charm of his scoring, seems like a tentative amateur. Does the music of the Norwegian tone-poet deserve, is it helped by, such ruthless, wholesale, and inconsiderate praise?

On the other hand, let us see what certain of his detractors have found to urge against his art. The disapproval of

his critics has been most pithily summed up, perhaps, by Mr. Daniel Gregory Mason, who reproaches Grieg because, he holds, he "is never large or heroic"; because "he never wears the buskin." "He has neither the depth of passion nor the intellectual grasp needed to make music in the grand style." Probably of all his peculiarities, complains Mr. Mason, "the most significant is the shortness of his phrases and his manner of repeating them almost literally, displaced a little in pitch, but not otherwise altered. . . . His thoughts complete themselves quickly; they have little span, and they are combined, not by interfusion, but by juxtaposition. He never weaves a tapestry; he assembles a mosaic." Intricacy of design, largeness of span, synthetic power, are qualities to be recognized and applauded; but are they essential to a masterpiece? Have they, finally, anything to do with the matter? What innate superiority, *per se*, has "a broad-spanned arch of melody," a phrase of large sweep and wide scope, over a "short-breathed" phrase? Consider, for instance, that extremely familiar masterpiece-in-little, the dirge, "*Aase's Tod*," from the first "Peer Gynt" suite. "Short-breathed" in structure it undeniably is, wholly naïve in its contrivance; yet is it any less deeply and largely tragic, less fine and memorable, less admirable a masterpiece, for being so? What, in the end, have bulk and magnitude, intricacy and elaborateness of plan, to do with the case? Is it true, as a somewhat impatient appreciator of Grieg has lately affirmed, that artists who have carried their inspiration "through a long and arduous process of eloquent exposition" are necessarily to be more greatly honored than those who have completed their inspiration within a briefer flight? The contention has, beyond doubt, a deceptive force: a great epic seems, at first glance, obviously superior to a great lyric. There is Schubert's "*Erlkönig*," a superb song, of long flight, of broad scope; there is his "*Der Tod und das Mädchen*," also a superb song; but it is very short: it is only forty-three measures long, while the "*Erlkönig*" is one hundred and forty-eight measures long. Moreover, "*Der Tod und das Mädchen*," despite its sombre exaltation, is utterly simple in structure, while the "*Erlkönig*" is elaborate in form and rich in contrast. Or, take another instance: The E-major Intermezzo, opus 116 (No. 2), and the Third Symphony of Brahms are both authentic masterpieces; the first is among the most perfect of modern piano works in

the smaller forms, the second is one of the noblest of modern symphonies; in quality of inspiration there is nothing to choose between them. Is the symphony, then, by reason of superior bulk, a more eminent masterpiece? "There is no perfect lyric," Mr. Arthur Symons has finely and truly said—and the sentence is an answer to the question which has just been asked: "there is no perfect lyric which is made less great by the greatness of even a perfect drama."

The truth of the matter, as we must apply it in Grieg's case, is that it is not duration of inspiration, but quality of inspiration, which counts, and which somehow must be determined and appraised. Is Grieg's accent the accent of great music, of music of the first class; has it the accent, not necessarily of the few supreme masters, but of authentic inspiration? Has it any of the essential characteristics of the best music? One may, not too dogmatically, say that these essential characteristics are: ideas, individuality, imagination—I say nothing of "beauty," for that way lie inescapable pitfalls. By "ideas" one means definite and specific musical conceptions which persuade at once by their saliency, their eloquence, their distinction; and these concepts may be melodic, harmonic or rhythmic. "Individuality" and "imagination" are, of course, self-explanatory terms. To attempt to test all music by an application of these three touchstones would probably lead one, before long, into a critical quagmire; but they are of excellent service for purposes of classification. Let us say, for example, that in the music of Tschaikowsky we find extreme richness and fervor of imagination, vivid individuality, but not an abundance of distinguished or noble ideas; that in the music of his brilliant countryman, Rimsky-Korsakoff, we find extraordinary and audacious imagination, but little individuality and few ideas; that in the music of Saint-Saëns we find neither imagination, important and memorable ideas, nor vital and persuasive individuality (his technical expertness, his admirable craftsmanship, is a virtue which one takes for granted in a modern musician); that, to pass to the other extreme, we find, in the music of such men as Wagner and Beethoven, superlative ideas, puissant individuality, and boundless imagination. Now where, in this category, does Grieg belong? With the men whose supreme distinction lies in the transcendent quality of their ideas? or with the men of restless and flaming, or exquisite,

imagination? or with the men whose individuality is indubitable, but who lack salient and original ideas and richness of imagination—men of the stamp of Mendelssohn, Massenet, Puccini, Goldmark?

Let us say that Grieg possesses, in a measure, all of these excellences; but he possesses them in an unequal degree. He is sometimes truly imaginative, as in passages in the "Peer Gynt" suite, in the last two sonatas for violin and piano (opus 13 and opus 45), in certain of the piano pieces. He has, too, achieved ideas: ideas of exquisite distinction, of noble breadth. But they lack the stamp of supreme excellence; to resort to a literary analogy, his inspiration never attains to the kind of utter and perfect felicity which is represented, in poetic art, by such lines as these:

> "The sunrise blooms and withers on the hill
> Like any hillflower; and the noblest troth
> Dies here to dust!"

There is music—music by Wagner, by Brahms, by Debussy—which is as beautiful, as supremely felicitous, as these lines; but Grieg does not command it. He is often captivating and delicious, eloquent and impassioned—as in many of his lovely songs; there is free and vigorous spontaneity, an infectious vitality, in the violin sonatas; in the slow movement of the belovèd piano concerto there is an infinite sweetness, there is ravishing tenderness; in the dirge from the "Peer Gynt" music there is a quality of sadness and beauty which rebukes description. To praise such things as these is as necessary as it is delightful. Yet, as it has been said, they do not belong among the class of the very best, delectable and striking as they are.

But, in a surpassing degree, Grieg has individuality—individuality that is pervasive, indubitable. That, one feels, is his distinguishing possession. His accent is unmistakable. His speech may sway one, or it may not; but always the voice is the voice of Grieg. You recognize it at once; there is no mistaking it. He has, beyond denial, his own distinguishing way of saying things, his own idioms, his own mannerisms, if you will. You hear a phrase, say, from one of the lesser known sonatas for piano and violin, and you exclaim at once: "Grieg!" For the music is as redolent of him, and of none other, as, say,

"O cloud-pale eyelids, dream-dimmed eyes. . ."

is redolent of Mr. Yeats, or as the recorded vision:

"Fair as in the flesh she swims to me on tears"

is redolent of Mr. Meredith. The music of Grieg, when he is at his best, is drenched in personality, in individual color. It is curiously his own, curiously free from the reflection of other minds and other temperaments. In its earlier condition it reminds one at times of Chopin, of Schumann, of Mendelssohn, occasionally of Wagner; in its later stages it suggests no one but Grieg himself. Then, at such times, it is a rare voice that speaks, a voice of penetrating sweetness, a tender and vibrant voice, a voice of incomparable freshness and limpidity—no music-maker since Schubert has uttered tones so liquid and free, so spontaneous, unwearied and unworn. There have been others who spoke more entrancingly, more profoundly, more nobly, more subtly, with more importunate and commanding beauty; there are to-day, among those who but a short while ago were Grieg's contemporaries, music-makers who surpass this delectable lyrist in scope and vigor of imagination and fineness of thought. Yet Grieg is admirable in this: he wears no one's mantle; he borrows no man's speech. In his most characteristic outgivings—and he has produced little that is not charged to the brim with his own peculiar quality—there are no alien flavors. His wine is not the nectar of the gods of music, but it is from his own vineyard; there is none other like it.

LAWRENCE GILMAN.

WHAT IS RELIGION?

BY FRANK SARGENT HOFFMAN, PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN UNION COLLEGE.

No one at all acquainted with the tendencies of thought at present can fail to be impressed with the greatly increased interest now being taken in the study of religion. Thinkers of every shade of opinion upon other subjects are fast coming to recognize the fact that religion has always held a vitally important place in the development of every race and individual, and, whether we like it or not, is certain to remain a most potent factor in the civilization of the future.

For a number of years the most persistent efforts have been put forth by a small army of able investigators to find out the actual facts of man's religious life in all times and countries. Not only have the sacred books and rites of the nations of the earth been subjected to the most rigid scrutiny, but the folk-lore of all lands and even the crudest superstitions and most repulsive practices of savages have been carefully studied. Every possible means has been taken to discover what ideas man has had in all conditions of his existence concerning the powers that rule over this universe, and also to determine to what extent these ideas have affected his thought and life.

But nothing is more apparent in this awakened interest in the subject of religion than that the old view of what constitutes religion has undergone, in some respects at least, an actual revolution. The narrow sectarian position of a generation ago has been shown to be wholly untenable; and religion, instead of being the possible acquisition of a few, we now see reaches its roots deep down into the very subsoil of humanity, and cannot help giving itself some sort of expression, for good or for ill, in the experiences of every individual. Hence the chief inquiry

of our time on this subject is not any longer whether a man has any religion, but whether the religion that he does have is of any real value; whether it is a help or a hindrance to his own progress and the ultimate triumph of truth and right.

But before this question can properly be taken into consideration, we must make a careful scrutiny of another, namely, what exactly is to be meant by religion? On this point there is still great confusion, and in the present state of the study of religion no need is more imperative than to have this confusion cleared away, or at least reduced to a minimum.

We may be greatly helped to the attainment of this end by observing in the first place that religion is not to be confounded with religions. Religion is that out of which different forms of religion grow or develop. It stands related to religions about as the first man stands related to the whole human race. It is the germ or principle which lies at the foundation of all religions and out of which they all proceed.

No error can be greater than to begin our present investigation with such a definition of religion as excludes by its very terms all other religions than the one that we ourselves most approve. This error is not an uncommon one among writers on the subject even in our own day. A distinguished Oxford professor, Sir Monier Monier-Williams, recently maintained that "a religion, in the proper sense of the word, must postulate the existence of one living and true God of infinite power, wisdom and love, the Creator and Designer and Preserver of all things visible and invisible," besides other doctrines which he specified. Then he proceeded to exclude at once Buddhism from the list of religions as "no religion at all." Manifestly, a definition of religion should have in it what is applicable to all forms of religion from the lowest to the highest, and not merely what is true only of one.

In the second place, religion should not be identified with a belief in the existence of superhuman spirits. We are not here concerned with the question as to whether the first known variety of religion actually took on this form. It may be admitted at once, however, that most of the religions now current in the world do make a great deal of this belief. But what we maintain is that if the belief should turn out to be unfounded, religion would not be destroyed thereby.

It was formerly held that the wind is an immaterial spirit; that the sun, moon and stars are gods and goddesses, with their own separate ambitions and whims; that the tides ebb and flow, and that plants grow and decay in direct obedience to spiritual powers. But everybody at all acquainted with the physical science of to-day is, of course, well aware of the fact that no such supernatural beings exist, and that these objects and their activities are satisfactorily accounted for on quite other grounds.

The untutored savage, when he awakes from a dream, believes that he has been away on a journey, or that other people have visited him. But as he takes it for granted that his body does not make these excursions, he naturally concludes that his phantom or image makes them; and when he beholds his shadow on the ground or sees it reflected on still water, he naturally infers that his double self is following him about. But no psychologist of to-day would, of course, admit the validity of such an explanation for these or any similar mental states that might come within the range of human experience.

The realm of alleged superhuman spirits is constantly being lessened by modern research, and we have no way of telling at present where exactly this lessening process is going to end. Our point is that it is immaterial to our inquiry after the essential thing in religion as to where it does end. Many existing varieties of religion may have to go as many have gone already, but religion will remain. The doctrine of the existence or non-existence of superhuman spirits is not fundamental to its continuance.

One of the ablest advocates of this view of religion is Professor E. B. Tylor. In his "Primitive Culture" (Vol. I, pp. 424-5), after very properly insisting that the first requisite in a systematic study of the religions of primitive men is to lay down a rudimentary definition, he proceeds to criticise those generally in vogue. He finds the chief error of them all to consist in identifying religion with particular developments, rather than with the deeper motive which underlies them, and concludes by saying, "It seems best to fall back at once on this essential source, and simply to claim as a minimum definition of religion the belief in Spiritual Beings."

Now it is admitted that this belief may be a characteristic of all primitive religions; and, if we were merely treating of the

history of religion, we might find this definition of much use. But we are looking for the germ or common principle of all religions, and that is something for which this conception of religion does not adequately suffice.

Again, we should not regard religion as primarily resting upon a belief in human immortality. Even so great a philosopher as Kant maintains that, "Without a belief in a future life no religion can be conceived to exist"; and John Fiske in his very helpful book, "Through Nature to God," asserts that the "belief in the unseen world in which human beings continue to exist after death" is essential to religion. Both these thinkers forget that the early Jewish religion was without such belief, and that in many religions where it does exist it forms no important part of either belief or practice. Among the ancient Greeks immortality meant the immortality of the family or state rather than that of the individual.

In many religions whole classes are formally excluded from it, and the doctrine is by no means universally held to-day. As Howerth well says in a recent article ("Interna. Jour. of Ethics," January, 1903, p. 190): "What has the conception of immortality to do with the religious philosophy of those who hold, with the late Professor Huxley, that religion is reverence and love for the ethical ideal, and the desire to realize that ideal in life? or with that of the philosopher Herbart, who considered sympathy with the universal dependence of men as the essential natural principle of religion?"

Important as this doctrine may be to some conceptions of the ultimate nature of the universe, religion would not perish if it should turn out to be erroneous. For what may happen in eternity cannot be the determining cause of the existence of a thing here and now. If the doctrine of conditional immortality, advocated by so many in our day, should become a general view, the universal acceptance of the doctrine would not annihilate religion. The idea of immortality cannot, therefore, be regarded as its final basis or ground.

Nor can we clear up this subject of religion by making it primarily dependent upon the belief in one personal God. This belief is, to be sure, the dominant form of thought on the subject of religion in all civilized lands, and that much must be admitted in its favor. But by holding to this as a satisfactory

definition of religion we would exclude the vast majority of the human race from the category of religious beings. For many maintain that no primitive races have this idea, and the Buddhistic religion with its almost untold number of adherents teaches just the opposite doctrine. Of course we are not concerning ourselves with the truthfulness or the value of this belief. Our only contention now is that those who deny this doctrine do not destroy religion.

What man in history was ever more sincerely religious to the very core of his being than the philosopher Spinoza? His whole life was devoted to the advocacy of the doctrine that the only thing in this world worth striving for was to love and know God. "Our salvation," he says, "or blessedness, or liberty, consists in a constant, or eternal, love towards God." Yet he distinctly and deliberately rejected the personality of God as wholly out of harmony with a sound philosophy. Nature, or the World-Force, was the object of his reverence and love.

As a matter of fact, belief in the existence of many gods has been far more prevalent in the history of mankind than the belief in one. Suppose polytheism should ultimately prevail over all lands, or pantheism should become the universal doctrine. That would not do away with the existence of religion. It would only be changing its form of manifestation.

If the positions already taken are sound, we have gone far enough to see that religion in the truest and most profound sense of the term is not primarily dependent upon any specific set of beliefs. It does not rise and fall with these beliefs, or go out of existence if they cease to be. The greatest variety of beliefs have been held by the religious leaders of the world from Confucius and Zoroaster and Socrates down to our time and country, but few, if any, specific articles of belief are taught by them in common. No one of the creeds, even among Christians, is established beyond critical investigation, and many of them may yet be set aside or at least greatly modified by advancing thought.

E. Ritchie, after a very satisfactory discussion of the relation of creeds to religion in a late number of the "Philosophical Review" (January, 1901), clearly states the true position in these words: "We must conclude, then, that there is no particular belief as to what the ultimate reality of things is, or as

to man's relation to that reality, which is either essential to, or incompatible with, the possession of religion." This position does not imply, however, that religion has nothing at all to do with belief; for the opposite is true, as we shall see a little later.

Nor are we to find the ultimate ground of religion in some particular feeling or set of feelings. In the system of the famous theologian, Schleiermacher, religion was regarded as neither a knowing nor a doing, but a feeling; and it was made to rest fundamentally on "a feeling of absolute dependence." Several able, modern writers seem to hold this view, of whom Professor Lester H. Ward may be taken as an example. In an able article (in the "Interna. Jour. of Ethics," January, 1898), he says: "It is this sense of helplessness before the majesty of the environment which, if it is not religion itself, is the foundation upon which all religion is based." The error here is not in holding that religion has to do with feeling, but in maintaining that it is grounded primarily on feeling alone. For it is psychologically untrue to fact that any human feeling springs up of itself. It is always preceded by some act of knowing of at least some degree of clearness and force.

Finally, for the negative side of our inquiry, religion is not primarily a doing. It is not based alone upon the will. There are no acts the performing of which makes a man religious. Even "being good and doing good," though a good thing in itself, will not account for religion. Nor is it adequately defined as obedience to the commandments of God or as the subjection of our fallible wills to a higher will. All these positions contain an element of truth; but they do not lead us to the essence of religion as in the light of modern knowledge it ought to be considered. The apostle James was evidently not speaking of the ultimate foundations of religion, but of a local and temporal condition, when he made pure and undefiled religion to consist of this: "to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world."

We must look for a satisfactory definition of religion, therefore, not to any specific belief, or kind of feeling, or set of voluntary acts, but to the whole of man as a knowing, feeling and willing being. We should not identify religion with any one of these three kinds of mental phenomena, but with them all. The

psychology of to-day teaches that these phenomena in all probability never occur separately; that the unit of consciousness includes in some measure the activity of all three. Every act of perception is accompanied by a feeling, and every feeling by an act of will. Nor can the order of their occurrence be changed. Every volition is preceded by a feeling, and every feeling by some sensation or intellectual act. Pfleiderer is right when he insists that in every religious act the whole personality participates.

Hence a correct definition of religion must be determined by the way we put these three elements together. Our problem is a problem in psychology. It is not in the study of theology or ethnology, but of this science that we shall find the data for the proper solution of it. Religion exists because man exists. It grows up out of the normal development of his powers, and in trying to define it no basal element in his nature should be left out of account.

Religion shows itself just as soon as man has developed beyond the mere satisfaction of his animal appetites and begins to exercise his higher powers. There is a partial truth at least in Professor Ward's position that "religion is the substitute in the rational world for instinct in the subrational." No new-born babe or full-grown idiot has any religion, but every normally developed human being has. Whenever a man knows enough to distinguish the outside world from himself, and tries to act in accordance with this knowledge, he begins to be religious.

The first element, therefore, in religion is the recognition of the existence of a power not ourselves pervading the universe. And another is the endeavor to put ourselves in harmonious relation with this power. Of course the feeling or affective element is presupposed as coming in between the other two. For without it the endeavor would lack a motive, and could therefore have no existence whatsoever. Every sane man believes, at least, that he is only a fraction of the sum-total of things. He also feels some dependence upon this sum-total, and he is obliged to put himself in some sort of accord with it. This is what Caird has condensed into the statement, "A man's religion is the expression of his ultimate attitude to the universe" ("Evolution of Religion," Vol. I, p. 30).

Every growing man is continually changing in some degree

his conception of the universe and the mysterious power that it manifests, but at no time in his career does he arrive at a final and completed conception of it. This is due, of course, to the fact that his experience is limited and can never be anything else. One of the greatest reflections upon a man's character in this age, when so much is being added to our knowledge of the universe, is that his views about religion never change.

Still, we must not forget that religion is a great permanent reality. It is not something that comes to-day and goes to-morrow. So long as man endures, it will endure; and as man advances it will grow in importance and power.

Here we need to note the fact that the permanence and reality of religion can never be affected in the least by the teachings of any science. For science is only one of man's imperfect ways of looking at his knowledge. It can never make or break any reality. Religion was in the world long before any of the sciences came into being, and it will stay here whatever may be their future development.

For science is a means to an end, and when the end is attained, when a perfect comprehension of the truth, such as we might suppose a god to possess, is arrived at, there will be no need of science. But so long as man remains finite, science will have a great deal to do with the various forms of religion that from time to time make their appearance in history. For it is the business of science to investigate and criticise all kinds of beliefs, and particularly all beliefs that are proposed for the acceptance of mankind concerning the nature and attributes of the supreme power that pervades the universe. Not infrequently science has had to combat with vigor such beliefs, for they have often been out of all accord with carefully ascertained truth.

At certain periods in the past the greatest enemy of religion has been theology, and in certain localities this is the case at present. For theology is almost always the last science to yield to the incoming of new truths. But whatever may be the teachings of theology or any other science, the essential thing in religion is not destroyed thereby. The germ is always present, and is growing with some degree of vigor and bearing some kind of fruit.

If the view of religion taken above be correct, we are led to the observation that every man is by nature religious, and unless

he twists his growth out of its normal course of development he will always remain so. Irreligion is not the state or condition of having no religion at all. It is rebellion against what one really believes to be the best religion, and the setting up of some inferior religion in its stead. Every sane man must have a god of some sort. He is so made that he must worship something. He must put something over and above himself and pay that something homage. Modern students of the subject of religion are now everywhere admitting the great truth contained in the statement of the ancient Psalmist that only a fool can say in his heart, "There is no God." They are willing to go much farther and accept without hesitation the recent assertion of President Eliot of Harvard, that the true test of any man's progress in civilization is his idea of God.

FRANK SARGENT HOFFMAN.

THE DOGMA OF JOURNALISTIC INERRANCY.

BY MUNROE SMITH.

A YEAR or two ago a letter was printed on the first page of the New York "Sun" with the startling editorial head-line: "Right You Are; Wrong Were We." Those who read the letter discovered with a shade of disappointment that the mistake which the editor admitted was a trifling one: he had described a football as an "oblate spheroid." Still, his response made a grateful impression and lingered pleasantly in the memory; for admissions of editorial fallibility are most unusual, and the promptness, completeness and cheerfulness of this admission made it unique.

That newspapers rarely admit mistake is notorious. They are far from willing to correct statements of fact, and they are very unwilling to withdraw or modify expressions of editorial opinion. Many persons find this attitude unreasonable; some pronounce it absurd. Fundamentally, however, the policy of the newspapers is sound. It may even be shown to be necessary. It was not originally adopted because of any conviction that news was accurate and editorial opinion conclusive; on the contrary, it was forced upon the daily press by the inevitable inaccuracy of its news and the necessary inconclusiveness of its judgments.

News, of course, presents itself as matter of fact, but it is in reality only matter of impression. News of an occurrence reflects, at best, a one-sided superficial first view of a part of the facts which make up the occurrence. The difference between facts and news becomes most evident when we compare the methods by which facts are ascertained and those by which news is gathered. The most efficient agencies which the wit of man has devised for ascertaining facts are scientific investigation and judicial inquiry. Both agencies have found it necessary to develop special and highly technical processes and to take plenty of time—processes

which journalism could not employ if it would, and time which the journalist has not at his disposal.

A comparison between judicial inquiry and news-gathering is the more legitimate because the work of courts is in some respects akin to that of newspapers. Many matters which figure first as news become in time objects of judicial investigation. Courts disentangle their facts, as journals get their news, from testimony. Like news-gathering (and unlike scientific investigation) judicial inquiry is conducted under some limitation as regards time: except in police courts the work is not hurried, but controversies must be terminated and the calendar must be cleared. The methods of the news-gatherer, however, are very different from those employed by courts. The reporter, as a rule, hears but one side, and very little of the evidence on that side. He hears testimony which a court would exclude as irrelevant or misleading. He often relies wholly on hearsay. He does little if anything in the way of cross-questioning witnesses or determining their freedom from bias, and he seldom investigates their reputation for veracity. The crudity of his processes is attributable mainly to haste. Where courts have days or weeks, he has minutes or, at best, hours. The pace at which he must work is quickened by competition; for news is spoiled if a rival journal publishes it in an earlier edition. The correspondent labors under much the same difficulties as the local reporter, and has little more opportunity to test the statements which he transmits.

The difference between facts and news is increased, in many instances, by political or economic bias. A reporter hesitates to bring in matter which makes against the policy of his newspaper, and he is inclined so to color the matter which he does turn in as to render it acceptable.

The most important factor of variation, however, is the news-gatherer's duty to make a "story." This duty is not imposed upon him by arbitrary editorial policy; it is imposed upon the newspaper by the news-readers; and all that the editor decides is how far he shall go in meeting the public demand. Nor is the public desire for "true stories" a new desire created by the newspapers; it is as old as human society. Rumors about great people and great events, gossip and scandal about people of all sorts—these have always been demanded. And from the outset the gatherers and distributors of such news—village gossips, town

barbers, travelling peddlers and strolling bards—have been constrained to put their news into artistic form; they have gained a hearing not because their stories were true, but because their news was always a story.

The news-story must, of course, maintain a close connection with the world of fact. News, no matter how fictitious, deals with real persons in real places, and is usually based on actual occurrences. Pure fiction is the younger rival of news; it tries to tell a better story by freeing itself wholly from the trammels of fact. In so doing it gains in artistic quality, but it loses something of verisimilitude. Even in pure fiction an illusion of reality is essential to enjoyment; and news, because it preserves a nominal connection with fact, retains the advantage of readier and stronger illusion.

It seems a far cry from village gossips and wandering story-tellers to the modern daily press, with its costly plants, its myriads of workers, its national and international organization; but, at bottom, modern journalism satisfies the same social demand with the same supply—rumor, scandal and gossip. Some of the more respectable newspapers limit their output of scandal; some of them refrain, except in the case of prominent people, from publishing gossip; a few endeavor to exclude unauthenticated rumors of the "interesting if true" type; but others cover the whole field and achieve thereby the largest sales. The modern daily press has unquestionably whetted the appetite for fiction that masquerades as fact, because it has made the supply as regular as that of our daily bread; and the demand that news shall be interesting has grown more urgent as the interest of news has been enhanced by increasing skill in its presentation. More strictly than ever before the news-gatherer is held to-day to the duty of making a story. If the occurrence which he has to describe is not interesting, he must supply interest. If the details do not group themselves dramatically, they must be regrouped. Omission or addition of incidents is governed, not by a desire to make the picture correct, but by the obligation to make it striking. To the journalism that gives freest play to the artistic impulse of imaginative reconstruction, we apply the term "sensational"; but it is not commonly realized that sensationalism is only an exaggeration of what we are accustomed to regard as legitimate journalistic practice, and that even in the most respectable news-

papers there is a great and inevitable difference between facts and news.

Editorial comments are based on current news. If, as is commonly the case, the news is inaccurate, the comments are necessarily inconclusive. And the editor, like the reporter, works under the lash of timeliness. It is expected of him that he shall emit opinions promptly. The function of the leading article is to relieve readers who are mentally indolent and readers who are busy and therefore preoccupied—and nearly all readers fall into one or the other of these classes—from the task of forming their own opinions or finding fit expression for their own emotions. This function must obviously be discharged before the readers have either made up their minds or forgotten the news. Once in a while, a very conscientious editor, confronted with a very difficult or a very important question, announces that the newspaper prefers to reserve its judgment until fuller reports are obtained; but even such an editor is rarely able to wait until all the relevant facts are approximately established. To reserve judgment is, on the whole, injudicious. It not only disappoints the reader of the editorial page, but it tends to discredit the snap judgments presented in adjacent columns. Bismarck's aphorism seems here in point: that it is often less dangerous to do the wrong thing than to do nothing.

Under such conditions, editorial utterances, if not dictated by partisanship or other prepossessions, are more often reflections suggested by the current news than anything approaching judgments, and more often expressions of emotion than exhibitions of thought. The editor's safest course is to voice what seems likely to be the general feeling of his readers. The most dangerous course that he can follow is to try to formulate a judgment.

The legal view of news and of newspaper comment—a view that is entitled to consideration—is clearly reflected in the care with which, in criminal cases, all such matter is withheld from the jurors.

If the preceding analysis of the functions of daily journalism is substantially correct, the general policy of newspapers is evident. With facts as such, they have nothing to do. Statements of fact concern them only when the matter is timely and the form interesting. The great metropolitan newspaper should steadily roll off from its cylindrical presses its endless picture of daily life,

having less regard for truth of line and of color than for general effect; never looking backward except to point out that on such a date it published "exclusively" some interesting piece of news. On its editorial page it should record the thoughts suggested and the feelings excited by the news of the day; never reverting to its past utterances except to remind its readers that on such a date it expressed an opinion which fuller information has confirmed.

The course of conduct here outlined is that which the ablest newspapers regularly follow; and they would doubtless follow it without exception, were it not for a factor of disturbance which is practically constant—the letter to the editor.

By tradition, and in consonance with certain established (although disputable) theories regarding the relation of newspapers to the public, every individual who alleges misrepresentation or misjudgment of his acts or utterances has a right to a modest amount of space in which to present his grievance and to ask for redress. This right is akin to the commoner's right of petition in a monarchic or aristocratic state, and it is correspondingly sacred. Such letters, if they be not too long, must be printed; they must be printed with scrupulous exactness; and, as a rule, they must be answered.

These petitions the newspaper is bound to resent and to resist. They intrude belated facts. They call upon the journalist to turn aside from his business of publishing the news and making comments on the news, and to go into the inconsistent business of publishing facts and rendering judgments based upon facts. To cater to such demands would be bad journalism. To make the situation perfectly clear, let us imagine that the newspapers received every such petition in a friendly spirit; that they investigated every alleged grievance in a judicial temper and with an open mind; that if, on full consideration, it did not appear that any misrepresentation had been made or any misjudgment recorded, they announced this finding in such a manner as to inflict upon the unsuccessful petitioner the least possible pain; that if, on the contrary, the grievance were found to be real, they granted prompt and full redress, corrected the erroneous statement, modified or withdrew the misjudgment, and made the correction, modification or withdrawal as prominent as the original item or comment. What would be the result? Every newspaper would be deluged with petitions. To deal with them, the working force

would have to be increased and the paper itself enlarged. To discharge its new duties fully and conscientiously, every important newspaper would probably be forced to organize a second staff, composed of men not primarily interested in news but in facts—men of judicial temper and scientific training; and it would probably be found desirable to issue with the daily newspaper a supplementary fact-paper. In the fact columns of this supplement the reader would find corrections, first, of yesterday's news; second, of day-before-yesterday's news; and so on back for weeks, for months, and possibly for years, for in some instances no satisfactory approximation to the truth could be attained until years had elapsed. On the editorial page of this fact-paper would appear the sober second thoughts of the fact editors, touching the opinions expressed weeks, months or years before by their colleagues in the news department.

This fantastic picture of a journalistic house divided against itself is of value as a further illustration of the difference between news and facts. It shows that a serious and persistent pursuit of facts would carry the journalist into the field of the historian. The picture is of chief value, however, as a demonstration that the demands of individuals for the correction of misstatements or for the withdrawal of misjudgments are unreasonable demands, which the newspapers are compelled to resist. Any considerable concessions to these demands would be distinctly injurious to the essential interests of journalism. In theory, such concessions would be admired by all who praise truth and justice; in practice, they would gratify only the comparatively small number of persons whose wrongs were righted, and they would displease almost all other newspaper readers. Frequent corrections of yesterday's news would annoy the news-reader by compelling him to doubt the news of to-day. The illusion of reality might in the end be so weakened as to rob news of the only advantage which it possesses over other forms of imaginative literature. Nor would the reader of newspaper comment be pleased by frequent modifications or reversals of the editorial attitude. The average man does not care to appropriate tentative conclusions; he wishes, for the sake of mental tranquillity, to be provided with judgments that seem final. To lose confidence in his newspaper would drive him to formulate his own prejudices and to find reasons for defending them; and this would be irksome.

The illusion of reality as regards its news and the illusion of finality as regards its opinions constitute what is commonly called the "prestige" of a newspaper. The word is apt, for its original meaning is "illusion." In eighteenth-century English it was used in no other sense; Johnson defined "prestiges" as "illusions, impostures, juggling tricks." To-day the word has come to suggest something like reputation, but it does not mean reputation: it implies nothing more than successful appeal to the imagination. Reputation for accuracy of statements no newspaper possesses; for every one knows that news is not accurate, and that the only difference between reckless and cautious journalism is in the degree of inaccuracy. Reputation for soundness of judgment no newspaper possesses; for every moderately intelligent person knows that snap judgments cannot be uniformly wise. Popular illusion on this point is more persistent only because the readers of each newspaper share its views; they read it because it voices their prejudices; but for this very reason no general illusion obtains as to the wisdom of any particular paper. "Prestige" in these matters newspapers do possess in varying degrees; and the statement that "a newspaper must preserve its prestige" is axiomatic. The maintenance of illusions which are dear to the public and useful to the newspapers is a necessary aim of journalism; and the newspaper is bound to save what an Oriental would call its "face."

If it be admitted—and it is hard to see how it can be denied—that the petition for justice is a disturbing factor in the life of a newspaper, it must be conceded that sound journalistic policy demands that such disturbances be reduced to a minimum. It follows that the petition must be so answered that the petitioner shall not be likely to repeat his offence. No satisfaction is to be given him, for that would encourage him to write again as soon as any of his acts or utterances should again become an item of news or a subject of comment. Moreover, any satisfaction given him would encourage other aggrieved persons to write to the editor. It is clear, therefore, that, even if the petitioner happens to be in the right, he must be so answered as to be put in the wrong. This is not difficult to any practised disputant, and to an editor it is particularly easy. Both for the special purpose of putting the petitioner in the wrong and for the general and really essential purpose of withholding satisfaction, the editor has

means at his disposal which the ordinary disputant does not command. Not only has he the defensive position and the last word, but the attack is necessarily made on ground which he selects and with weapons which he furnishes. He decides in what part of his paper and in what type the letter shall be printed. If it contain arguments which seem convincing, or if it be so written as to appeal strongly to the sympathy of the public, he can print it in a part of the paper where few readers will notice it. He always puts it into the smallest type. He selects the heading for the letter, and is thus enabled to give a false impression of its contents to those who do not read it, and to bias the minds of those who do. The heading and the answer—if any other answer than the heading be deemed necessary—are printed in larger type, the heading usually in heavy-face type. This difference in type fitly symbolizes the fundamental advantage of the editorial position. The attack upon the paper is made by the weak individual "I"; the defence is conducted by the strong institutional "We." Were not vital interests of journalism at stake, the inequality of the contest might well move editors themselves to compassion.

To most American editors the denial of petitions for justice seems insufficient. They are clearly of the opinion that petitioners not only must receive no satisfaction, but should be punished for the attempt to interfere with the regular business of the newspaper. This attitude is intelligible, but it is not prudent. If the newspapers are adequately protected by making petitions fruitless —and this seems to be the case—it is unnecessary, and therefore impolitic, to give petitioners an additional grievance. Passive hopelessness should not be converted into active hatred. In any case, there is a choice among punishments; and it may be asserted with confidence that no form of punishment should be selected which tends to arouse sympathy for the petitioner. If it be deemed necessary to punish him at all, the safer course is to make him ridiculous.

The refusal of satisfaction is of course necessary; and this involves refusal to admit mistakes. This, in its turn, involves an assumption that mistakes are not made; and this assumption is the Doctrine of Journalistic Inerrancy. It is obviously a fiction; but, like many fictions of the law, it furnishes a convenient statement of a working rule. It formulates a policy based on expediency, and it admits such exceptions as expediency may require.

It is well known that doctrines expressing policies tend to harden into dogmas presented as truths. With this tendency every student of government or of law or of religion is familiar. To this peril journalism also has succumbed. The Dogma of Journalistic Inerrancy converts a maxim of policy into a tenet of faith. It asserts that the newspaper is always right; and from this premise it deduces invariable rules of journalistic conduct. To show how this result has been reached, it is necessary to consider the manner in which the peculiar nature of journalistic activity, especially its preoccupation with first impressions to the exclusion of facts and with sentiment to the exclusion of judgment, reacts upon the minds of the journalists themselves.

Journalists of the highest mental type develop a philosophy which is by no means unknown outside of their profession. They hold that truth is not ascertainable, and that, if it could be ascertained, it would probably be valueless. Applied to journalistic problems this theory produces very convenient inferences. Since the facts which constitute an occurrence can never be fully ascertained, one view of the occurrence is presumably as good as another. The first impression may indeed be modified by a second, but the second in turn may be modified by a third; and in many cases, after long investigation, the first impression is re-established. As for editorial opinions, they are probably sounder and assuredly not less sound than other opinions. The only value of opinions, in any case, is the influence which they exercise upon conduct; and if an editorial opinion makes for desirable conduct, it is better than a more deliberate judgment which may have undesirable results. It follows that there is really no reason why any plausible statement should be corrected or any laudable opinion modified.

Among journalists of another and inferior mental type, a conviction develops that the news which they publish is fairly accurate, and that the views which they take are the only correct ones. The fact that their statements are seldom denied and their opinions seldom disputed, the ease with which the few who attempt to correct them are discomfited, the apologies and flatteries with which the experienced letter-writer approaches them—these things tend to create and to strengthen self-esteem. They forget that their comparative immunity from criticism is due to hopelessness, and that the deference shown them is evoked by fear.

The conviction of their own truthfulness and wisdom is of course most rapidly and most strongly developed among the most respectable journalists. The newspaper that is able to give thanks in public that it is not as other journals are—forgers of rumors, scandalmongers, "yellow"—develops a spiritual pride which darkens its judgment; and its relative accuracy and wisdom seem to it almost or altogether absolute.

Among all newspaper men the transformation of the doctrine of inerrancy into a dogma is furthered by constant association with one another, and by the resulting formation of a general journalistic opinion which is incomparably stronger and more uncompromising than is the opinion of any individual journalist. The same influences produce like results in all compact, like-minded social groups—in cliques and in parties, in faculties and in churches. Loyalty to the group makes the interests of the group paramount and converts the rules of conduct which subserve these interests into articles of faith. If one may invert Schiller's famous distich, the good cow which provides its attendants with butter becomes to them a goddess, gracious and holy.

Between the acceptance of the doctrine of inerrancy as a statement of policy, with clear consciousness that it is a fiction, and assent to the dogma, with conviction that it embodies a truth, many mental attitudes are conceivable; and it is probable that most newspaper men occupy intermediate positions; but the general conduct of the American daily press shows that the average editor stands much nearer to the dogmatic than to the rational point of view.

The dogmatic attitude reveals itself primarily in unbroken adherence to the rule that mistake is not to be conceded. It is only by journalists of the rational type that admission of error is ever made. Even from them such admissions come seldom, and the mistakes which they acknowledge are hardly ever of any importance.

The degree to which the dogmatic attitude has been substituted for the rational is reflected in the treatment of letter-writers who ask for an editorial correction or retraction. To journalists of the agnostic and indifferentist type, the aggrieved individual who forces his way into their columns is a fussy little man whose grievance is of no real consequence. Of course, no satisfaction is to be given him, but it is unnecessary to take him seriously

or to treat him very badly. Such journalists defend themselves with the weapons of wit and of humor, in the use of which they naturally excel. To the thoroughgoing dogmatist, on the other hand, the outsider who denies journalistic inerrancy is a miscreant, who is to be punished, not merely for the general purpose of repressing infidelity, but also because of his personal sin against the light. The journalist of the self-righteous type is peculiarly vindictive in his treatment of such offenders. What does it profit him that he is scrupulous beyond others, if he is to be reproved as are the publicans of the press? These journalists are not happy in the use of humor or of wit; for the humor of an earnest man is heavy and the wit of an angry man is blunt. Outsiders who question the opinions of an editor of this type in matters of any consequence are often treated with unwise brutality. They are trampled and gored by the Sacred Cow.

Dogmas are dangerous, not only to those who deny them, but also to those who accept them. Policy admits variations; dogma excludes them. Sound journalistic policy demands that the disturbance of newspaper business by petitions be reduced to a minimum; but the interests of journalism also require that petitions be occasionally submitted. Newspapers, like governments, are bound to do things that arouse resentment; resentment must have an outlet; and for newspapers, as for monarchic and oligarchic governments, the safest outlet is by petition. If petitions should cease, the public would clearly perceive that its right of petition had been nullified. It is for this reason that it seems unwise to inflict punishment on petitioners. The aim of punishment goes beyond the discouragement of offenders; it goes to the total repression of offences. It may, indeed, be said that the repressive aim of punishment is never fully realized; it may be urged that, for the sake of bringing to public attention the facts as they view them, some aggrieved persons will always brave certain ridicule and probable insult; but it must be recognized that the tendency of punishment is to reduce petitions below the minimum of safety to journalism itself.

The dogmatic attitude and the course of conduct which it dictates are directly dangerous to journalism by reason of the resentment which they arouse. In primitive social conditions those who insult and defame others incur bodily danger; and in some parts of our country the journalist is still exposed to private ven-

geance. As civilization advances, the person who injures another by spoken, written or printed words is protected against violent reprisals; but this is not done for his sake, nor does the law which protects him represent any social solicitude for his life or limbs. The law is concerned solely with the maintenance of the peace. The persistent social attitude was clearly expressed by Franklin—himself a journalist—when he intimated that complete liberty of the press should logically be accompanied by complete liberty of the cudgel. The law has deprived the public of its cudgels, but in exchange it has given actions for defamation and prosecutions for libel. The check upon journalistic activity persists; it has simply assumed a new form. Journalists gain something by the change. The legal remedy is more costly in money and in time than the private vengeance which it replaces, and it is less certain in its operation. Moreover, the law is conservative; and new forms of insult, which in primitive society would have found redress by the cudgel, are only slowly met by an extension of the established legal remedies. But the advantages which journalism enjoys in the present stage of legal development are not necessarily permanent. More effective enforcement of the remedies which the law provides may be secured by associated effort. Societies might well be formed which for a moderate annual premium would insure their members against defamation. Able counsel would be retained; every grievance alleged by a member would be promptly investigated; and, whenever sufficient ground for action should be discovered, legal proceedings would be instituted and carried through at the cost of the society. Once formed, such organizations would probably extend their field of operations; they would become associations for the reform of the law. Doubtful cases would be brought before the courts in the hope of securing a judicial construction of the law more favorable to the protection of the individual reputation. Efforts would be made to obtain statutory changes of similar tendency. The laws of other countries would be examined, and it would be ascertained that in many respects these give more efficient protection against misrepresentation than is afforded by the laws now in force in our States. It would be found in particular that most foreign legislations do not require allegation and proof of pecuniary damage, but only of such misrepresentation as affects the reputation. In some legislations it is provided that, whenever a newspaper has been

guilty of misrepresentation, it must publish the full text of the judgment in the same part of the paper and in the same size of type in which the original misrepresentation appeared. Statutes of this character would be demanded, and in the present state of public feeling such statutes might be passed. Encouraged by success, the protective associations might press for legislative recognition of the right of privacy; and they might secure the adoption of laws penalizing the publication of statements regarding private and family life, except in cases in which written authorization could be shown or a legitimate public interest demonstrated. In our States it is notoriously easy for an organized minority to secure almost any sort of legislation; and it is evident that the libel-insurance societies would take care that the new laws should not sleep in the statute-books.

It need hardly be pointed out that such laws, effectively enforced, would seriously interfere with the existing liberty of the press. Journals would still appear, but they would bear little resemblance to the American newspapers of the present day. They would rather resemble those staid journals of Continental Europe, which the American newspaper man has always derided for lack of enterprise and dearth of interesting news. Journalists there would be, but of a new and humdrum type. They would lack the glad freedom in the exercise of irresponsible power which now makes the career of the American newspaper man attractive.

To most American journalists the dangers here indicated will probably seem unreal. Accustomed to arousing resentment and skilled in making its outbursts appear ridiculous, they naturally underrate the forces which they are arraying against themselves. They forget that the misrepresented, weak as individuals, may become strong through organization. They do not appreciate that the irritation of the misrepresented is rapidly increasing, partly because grievances are never redressed, but chiefly because petitions for redress are so frequently dismissed with frivolity or with brutality. Least of all do they appreciate that the perilous course which they are following is due to a gradual change in their own mental attitude—to the elevation of the doctrine of journalistic inerrancy to the position of a dogma.

Gossips and scandalmongers have always been feared; bards were formerly feasted in the halls of heroes whose deeds they were

expected to celebrate, and welcomed in the courts of princes whose acts they might condemn; but the power of the modern daily press is, in its magnitude, a new thing. Like all new power, it is overconfident; it does not realize its limitations, foresee its perils, nor discern the policy which it should pursue to minimize or neutralize hostility. It might well learn something from the history of political power; and it might consider with especial profit some of the many wise things which Machiavelli says about the absolute prince.

The prince, Machiavelli argues, cannot safely be virtuous, for of the recognized virtues many would impede his career and some would destroy it. But, inasmuch as men praise virtue and censure vice, the prince should always seem virtuous. To this end, he should always claim for himself the moral qualities which as a rule he cannot display in his conduct. This, however, is not enough; he must occasionally do conspicuously virtuous acts. The occasions should be carefully selected, so that his good deeds shall involve the least possible sacrifice of political interest and make the greatest possible impression upon the public imagination.

Up to a certain point, newspapers instinctively follow the course which Machiavelli mapped out for the prince. They cannot be accurate, but they claim accuracy; they cannot render unbiased, deliberate and conclusive judgments, but they assert that their comments possess these qualities; they cannot deal justly with petitions for the redress of grievances, but they say that they are just. Obviously they should go further. In rejecting petitions, they should assume an appearance of fairness; and once in a while they should grant redress of a grievance, and grant it in such a manner as to make the act of justice especially striking. Once in a while a letter protesting against misrepresentation should be followed by the curt editorial statement: "The reporter who misled us has been discharged." More rarely, but still once in a while, a newspaper should relieve an individual from an aspersion cast upon him in its editorial comment; and, since he who gives quickly gives twice and he who gives cheerfully gives twentyfold, the aspersion should be retracted at the earliest possible moment and with the ungrudging alacrity of the "Sun's" confession: "Right You Are; Wrong Were We."

The dismissal of a reporter for misrepresentation is not wholly

without precedent; but the cases in which such action has been publicly announced are very rare. In such dismissals, undue consideration has possibly been given by some editors to the question of the reporter's culpability. Private dismissals, except for offences against the newspaper itself, and consideration of the reporter's culpability as regards outsiders are equally inconsistent with sound newspaper policy. A reporter who has turned in a good story should never be dismissed because his story is not true, but only because the interests of the newspaper require a vicarious sacrifice on the altar of justice; and, since such sacrifices are designed to allay resentment and to create a general illusion of journalistic truthfulness and justice, they should be made with the utmost publicity.

The prompt, undisguised and cheerful withdrawal of an editorial aspersion is probably without precedent. The editor who should first take such a step would doubtless be censured by almost all other journalists, but their opinions would not appear in print. In the public mind, the truthfulness and justice of his paper would be so securely established that subsequent rigorous adherence to normal journalistic policy would not seriously impair this new prestige for many years. Upon the advertising value of action so unusual it is unnecessary to insist.

A second editorial retraction could not produce the same sensation as the first, and repeated dismissals of reporters would also yield diminishing returns of illusion; but since such departures from established custom could never become common, they would never fail to produce the desired effect. An annual dismissal or a triennial retraction, if properly staged, would cause the murmurs of discontented thousands to pass unheeded.

These suggestions will doubtless be regarded as revolutionary, but they are in reality conservative. Occasional departures from the traditional policy not only will be of advantage to journalism, but are necessary for its safety. The Doctrine of Journalistic Inerrancy must of course be maintained, but the Dogma should be abandoned.

MUNROE SMITH.

THE CRISIS IN IRELAND.

A Word to the Irish-American.

BY T. W. ROLLESTON.

The national movement in Ireland has unquestionably received a severe setback since the present Government took office. I venture to think, however, that the untoward situation created by Mr. Birrell's abortive Bill may ultimately have a very beneficial effect if it awakens something of the critical spirit among Irishmen, and sets them, and sympathizers with Ireland, considering whether the means that have been adopted to gain the end of national self-government are really the best that can be devised, or are good for that object at all. It would be well if some of this spirit of wholesome self-criticism could be instilled into friends of the cause on both sides of the Atlantic; for, in the opinion of some very prominent Irish politicians, it seems more important what America thinks than what Ireland thinks. Without in the least adopting this position I may express my conviction that the key to the existing situation, or, rather, to the way out of it, does really lie very largely in the attitude which the Irish in America, and other American sympathizers with the cause, intend to adopt henceforward. I hope to justify this view later on. Meantime, let me ask any one who doubts whether the crisis that has arisen calls for any special searchings of heart to consider these simple facts. The main course of development followed by the British Empire has been towards the recognition of local liberties and local sentiment—in other words, towards the principle of Home Rule. We have at present in office the strongest Liberal Government that has ever existed; and most of its members, including the Premier and the Irish Secretary, are avowedly in favor of extending

Parliamentary Home Rule to Ireland. Yet that Government is absolutely unable to do so; and its position in this matter is recognized as so fundamentally justified and inevitable that the Irish Parliamentary Party go on voting its supplies, and associating themselves with it in the government of Ireland. The agitation which has led to this extraordinary situation has been carried on for a full generation and more, at an expenditure of some $100,000 a year, far the greater part of which is contributed from the United States. Can any one doubt that this situation calls imperatively for a reconsideration of the whole position? If the present movement, conducted by the present methods, has not put Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and Mr. Birrell in a position to bring in a Home-Rule Bill with some prospect of success, what reasonable grounds are there for supposing that it will ever put any British Ministers in such a position? No one, I think, can deny that the experiment has been amply and fully tried. No one can deny the unqualified futility of the results. We are certainly under no illusions about this in Ireland. The "no far distant date" at which we have been so often told that our aspirations are to be crowned with success, has now become with us a kind of cynical jest. The political machine still runs along by its own impetus on the old lines, but it no longer attracts the young, the men of ideals, the men of intellectual enthusiasm. Nothing but the contributions from America keep it from following the natural fate of things that have had their day, and falling into dissolution in order to make room for something better.

Is there a something better before us, ready to take the place of this decaying movement? The adherents of the new Sinn Fein or "self-help" policy have a strong affirmative answer to give to this question, and their alternative programme to Parliamentarianism is now being debated wherever Irishmen are taking counsel over their country's needs. An article on Sinn-Feinism by one of its best-known adherents has lately appeared in this REVIEW. It is, no doubt, authoritative as an exposition of the principles of the movement, but I fear it is likely, not unnaturally, perhaps, to give a decidedly exaggerated impression of the actual achievements of the party to which its author belongs. The co-operative movement under Sir Horace Plunkett and the Gaelic movement under Dr. Douglas Hyde had been putting

Sinn-Feinism into practice for years before what is now known as the Sinn Fein party was heard of. This party has done a good work in setting, as it were, the seal of advanced Nationalism on the self-help movement in industry and social reform. It has thus helped, or is helping, to break down the vicious tradition of the orthodox Parliamentarian Nationalists, who look with bitter hostility on every attempt to demonstrate that Ireland can do anything for her own progress and prosperity without the leave of the Legislature at Westminster. In this very marked feature of their policy, the Parliamentarians have, I think, taken a singularly bad measure of the needs and duties of the hour, and in fighting them on this ground the Sinn-Feiners are proving themselves a wholesome and progressive force in Ireland. But when we come to consider the elements which, as a distinct organization, the Sinn-Feiners have contributed or propose to contribute to the social and industrial advancement of the country, the display is meagre enough. A visionary scheme for establishing Irish Consuls in foreign cities, for creating an Irish mercantile marine (not by any means a work for politicians and journalists), and a comprehensive system of boycotting English goods, which, if it took real effect, would probably, by exciting a counter-movement, deprive Ireland of the best customer she has for her own output—these are all Sinn Fein has to suggest; and the suggestions, except perhaps the last, are not taken very seriously. Practically, it may be said, Sinn Fein must stand or fall by the one really salient and original feature of its programme—and that is a political feature—the withdrawal of the Irish representatives from the Imperial Parliament. Much will undoubtedly be heard of this proposal in the near future, and it is worth while considering it in its various bearings.

The proposal is put forward as having a kind of constitutional basis. It is argued that Ireland acquired a Charter of legislative independence when Grattan's Parliament was constituted in 1782; that this Charter was abrogated by illegitimate means when, eighteen years afterwards, it gave place to the Union; and that Ireland, in recognizing the Union, as she undoubtedly does by sending representatives to the Imperial Parliament, is acknowledging the validity of the Act of Union and renouncing her claims to be a sovereign State. The strong and dignified course is, then, to withdraw from Parliament and have no compromise

with English treachery. And this, it is urged, would also be the wise and practical course; for, instead of fixing Ireland's gaze on Westminster, and bidding her look for measures of redress from a hostile or ignorant body enormously outnumbering the Irish representatives, it would force the country to concentrate its mind on itself, and to bring original thought and enterprise to the solution of its own problems. No one can deny that there is an immense and as yet almost virgin field open to the organization of voluntary effort in Ireland under the British system of government—a system which, whatever its faults, certainly affords more freedom of private and voluntary action for public objects than any other in Europe, if not in the world. Then, when Ireland had practically taken Home Rule for herself, by the simple process of ignoring England, the time might come when, at some crisis such as that which arose in Austria-Hungary in the time of Deak, England might find it advisable to ratify the *fait accompli,* and acknowledge the constitution of 1782, which is represented as the minimum demand of Irish Nationalism.

Such is the programme of action which is running like a prairie fire among the young men who will shortly be shaping the policy of Ireland. Unless the Parliamentary movement can offer on its side a programme equally clear, honest and self-consistent, it seems to me that it must inevitably go down before its antagonist. Young Ireland is now educated as it never was before, and is learning to think. It will not be content with a flabby opportunism which talks separatism in America, Imperialism in Australia, agrarianism in Connaught and a self-reliant Nationalism nowhere. Parliamentarianism will be forced back on its first principles. It cannot afford to be nakedly opportunist and to scoff at principles any longer, as it did in the days when it had indeed enemies in Ireland, but no rivals.

We have set forth the fundamental principles of Sinn-Feinism. What principles, let us now ask, has Parliamentarianism to set over against them? In the first place, let me emphasize the fact that Sinn-Feinism is distinctly a policy of Separatism. Whatever merits or demerits may attach to Separatism must attach to Sinn-Feinism too, as the latter policy is at present understood. It is true that Separation is not formally included as an object of the movement in what may be called its articles of asso-

ciation, but the status of 1782 distinctly is, and the leading representatives of the movement make no secret of the fact that their intentions do not stop there. Indeed, they cannot if they would; for the status of Grattan's Parliament is an inherently absurd and impossible one, as the English statesmen, who in 1782 so readily gave the Irish nation rope enough to hang itself, very clearly perceived. "Ireland a Sovereign State" is a very taking phrase for the kind of mind which is taken by phrases; but the moment one begins to think about it one is compelled to ask the question: What, then, is England to be? It cannot seriously be proposed to make England a subordinate State to Ireland. If not, then England must be another Sovereign State, and the question at once arises: How are we going to provide for the continued existence of two Sovereign States in one realm? In the United States this problem has been dealt with by the adoption of a written constitution, assigning its proper authority and jurisdiction to each local and to the Federal legislature, with, as a necessary corollary, a Supreme Court, independent of any legislature, to interpret and enforce this constitution. This Court is the only really sovereign body in the States. Even so, no one will claim that the system has worked quite satisfactorily; and the more America enters into relations of peace or of hostility with other World Powers, the more evident will be its defects. But in Britain there is no written constitution, there is no Supreme Court except Parliament; and, however the latter may delegate its power to this portion of the Empire or to that, it still retains absolute sovereignty over the whole. It may safely be affirmed that nothing except a cataclysm upsetting all plans and policies will ever cause that position of sovereignty to be relinquished, or set a written document between the will of the English people and their goal. The status known as Grattan's Parliament, then, which means two Sovereign States with no third power, save the sword, to define their respective spheres of action, would speedily be found to involve, as it did in Grattan's time, either separation or reconquest. It is quite clear that those who adopt this goal as Ireland's political ideal ought to have nothing to do with the Parliament at Westminster. They cannot, if they are honest men; and the other class of men are most unlikely to win the confidence of the country and to be the instruments of a nation's liberation.

I call the Sinn Fein policy, then, a policy of Separatism, and I agree that the programme of the Sinn-Feiners is coherent and consistent with that end, though not with any other. Over against this we may set the policy of what is called Home Rule. Home Rule, I submit, does not differ from Separation in the fact that it goes a shorter distance on the same road. It goes on a wholly different road to a wholly different goal. Home Rule for Ireland—and let me add for England and Scotland—lies right on the main track of Imperial development, as it has gone forward since Edmund Burke first outlined the great conception of a confederation of free States owning the supremacy of a central Power, and a central Power regarding itself as the guardian of the liberties of these States, and basing its claim to their allegiance on the protection it guaranteed them in the development of their individual life. Home Rule, therefore, is strictly an Imperialistic policy—conceiving the Empire as statesmen like Burke and John Morley have conceived it. It makes for the consolidation of the Empire, for the fuller fulfilment of its yet unattained ideals; and it should be asked for distinctly on that ground. It is the very antithesis to Separation, and not, as I think it is sometimes taken to be, a sort of half-way house to it. And just as Separatism ought consistently to have no truck with Parliament or Imperial rule in any shape or form, so Home Rule ought to have no truck with Separatism. If, for any secondary object, it departs from this position, it so far becomes weak, inconsistent and, as a Home-Rule movement, ineffective.

It is not inconsistent for a Home-Ruler to go to the Imperial Parliament and to swear allegiance to the King, for if he is a genuine Home-Ruler he has no thought of ever casting off that allegiance. But it is absolutely inconsistent in him to come back to Ireland and to vituperate other people there because they, in their own way, have chosen to testify allegiance to the same King. This conduct has been systematically pursued by the Parliamentary party, and is beginning to excite disgust. One can respect a loyalist and one can respect a rebel. But a man or a party that puts on and off loyalty as a matter of party tactics, or to please an audience from whom contributions are solicited, is contemptible wherever honor and uprightness in public life are valued. Contributions! There is the real trouble, and there is the real hope. I wish earnestly to appeal to Irish

Americans, whose splendid generosity and fidelity have been so conspicuous in the history of the cause, to consider whether their very eagerness to help is not in part responsible for the situation of to-day. They have shifted the centre of gravity of the Irish movement from Ireland itself to another country. It cannot be good for any people to have their political work done for them at the expense of others. People who live in the United States cannot possibly, however great their sympathy, be in touch with the realities of Irish life. Yet they control the Irish situation, as the power of the purse always must. They can have no knowledge of most of the party whom they maintain; they have no personal responsibility, whether we win or lose on the lines they dictate. Why not leave the movement to those who have that knowledge and that responsibility, and whose lives and fortunes are bound up with the future of their native land? We have no need of American money—not a dollar of it. There was none forthcoming for O'Connell, but O'Connell maintained his long struggle, first for Emancipation, afterwards for Repeal, out of the resources of an Ireland much poorer than Ireland is at present. Ireland spends $70,000,000 a year on alcohol and $17,000,000 on tobacco. An infinitesimal sacrifice of these luxuries—not to say poisons!—would yield the $100,000 a year supposed to be necessary to carry on the struggle for our national existence. What justification, then, is there for laying the ends of the earth under periodic contributions for the furtherance of our cause? The only effect is to foster a class of politicians independent of the people whose aspirations they are supposed to represent, and to relieve that people of the wholesome necessity of thinking and acting for themselves. Only let Ireland's friends in America cease these contributions, and they will immediately force these politicians to turn to their own people, and to frame a policy which that people approve and which that people will follow. By so doing Ireland's American friends will brace and tone up the whole movement. They will make the situation as full of health and hope as it now is of discouragement and demoralization. They will put it at once on its proper basis: the centre of gravity will be restored to Ireland.

If there is any one who doubts where the centre of gravity now is, let him listen to a much more authoritative voice than mine. Two years ago, Mr. John Dillon went down to speak at Black-

rock, County Dublin, on the occasion of an impending municipal election. The election was to turn on the question whether an address of welcome should or should not be presented to the King on a visit which he was to make to Ireland that year. The Parliamentary Party, as every one knows, has denounced these addresses, and has adopted a resolution refusing to accept subscriptions from those who vote for them.* Mr. Dillon, in the course of his arguments against the proposed address, said:

"The National cause in Ireland could not live for one six months if it was deprived of the support of the Irish nation across the Atlantic; and if it were to go forth that we, who for the moment were trusted with the representation and the guardianship of the National cause and the honor of that cause, were tolerating the presentation of addresses to the English King coming to this country as King of this country, I say that the American Irish would turn from us in disgust and never again could we appeal to them to support a cause with which we were identified. Therefore, I say such proceedings tend to kill the National cause in America, and if the National cause is killed in America it will soon die in Ireland."†

I doubt if the most convinced and ardent supporter of the Parliamentary Party in all America can read that utterance without being startled. There, painted in bold colors, is the outcome of a generation of American control of the Irish movement. To such a pass has that movement come that the strongest man in it solemnly declares that it could not last six months if an aid on which it has not the slightest right to reckon were withdrawn. He actually elicited cheers by painting the National movement as a sickly imposture, and telling his hearers that it must not venture to have a mind of its own for fear of offending its paymasters. Is it any wonder that young men of intellect and character are, to use Mr. Dillon's phrase, turning in disgust from this kind of thing? They think that Mr. Dillon's views about the King do not come well from men with the oath of allegiance upon their lips, and they think that, if it were true that the National cause would collapse in six months without aid from oversea, it would have no right to exist for a week. What Blackrock thought of the matter is extremely significant.

* It is said, however, that the resolution in question is worked rather to promote subscription in America than to check them at home. The resolution is disregarded in Ireland, except when municipalities are under Sinn Fein influence.

† "Freeman's Journal," January 12th, 1905.

Blackrock seems to have said to itself: If this is Nationalism, give us Unionism! When Mr. Dillon delivered his speech, there were fifteen Nationalists on the Municipal Council and nine Unionists. Four days afterwards, when the election had taken place, there were sixteen Unionists and eight Nationalists. And the Council has remained Unionist ever since.

What shape, it may be asked, is the Irish movement likely to take if, as I venture to urge, it were left to work itself out on Irish lines and on Irish soil?

Frankly, I do not know. There would be a period of wholesome strife, of the clash of opinion, of thought and criticism. All this would mean the stir of life where there is now torpor. In the end, we might get a genuine Separatist movement, or we might get a genuine Home-Rule movement. Either would be better for the country, materially and morally, than the unprincipled opportunism which (with increasing difficulty) holds the field to-day. Of one thing I feel sure, and I know in this I echo the opinion of very experienced and competent observers—that Home Rule, if we want it, is to be had for the asking, and could have been had almost any time during the past ten years. But we have never asked for it. We are not asking for Home Rule when we couple the request with a loud aside to our friends across the Atlantic: "Never mind! It is only to bamboozle John Bull; what we really want is the cause of Tone and Emmet. Only go on subscribing, and you shall see what you shall see!" John Bull is not deaf, and he hears these asides perfectly well; there are plenty of people who take care that he shall. It is really childish to suppose that he will grant his avowed enemies the power to stab him in the back. We had better take a leaf out of the book of that very valiant and very sensible people, the Boers. If we want Home Rule, we must ask for Home Rule and take all the honorable and logical implications of that position. We shall get it when we do that; we ought not to get it before.

Personally, I am a Home-Ruler, and I no more want to see my country cut loose from the British Empire than a citizen of New York wants to cut loose from the United States. Yet there is one feature of the Sinn Fein policy which, I consider, might, in a modified form, be adopted with great advantage by a Home-

Rule party. It seems to me, indeed, one of the implications of the Home-Rule position that, while we ought to go to Parliament to demand Home Rule, we ought to ask for nothing else whatever but that. We ought to oppose, steadfastly and constantly, every Government that will not grant Home Rule. For no consideration whatever ought we to co-operate with it in the governing of Ireland. It is giving away our whole case to do so. Nor should we lose anything by this policy. There is not a great measure of our day—the Disestablishment of the Church, the Land Acts, the Local Government Act, the foundation of an Irish Department of Agriculture—which would not have been passed just as soon, if not sooner, although the Parliamentary Party had never existed. Agitation in Ireland, of one kind or another, produced them all, except the Local Government Act, which nobody demanded, in or out of Parliament. The record of useful measures which can fairly be attributed to a Parliamentary Party operating at Westminster is barren enough; but, if it were as fruitful as it is barren, it is still the wrong policy for the grand end in view—the winning of Home Rule.

I would plead, therefore, for a fair trial of a genuine Home-Rule movement. But, before any genuine Irish movement of any kind can establish itself, the subsidization of Irish parties from extra Irish sources must come to an end. The whole position hinges on that. Let Ireland's American friends send us no more money; it is only used to stifle original thought and to bolster up a policy which, on the confession of its own most prominent supporters, does not command the confidence of the country. Let them help with their generosity to fertilize the industrial field, to build schools, to endow colleges, to support the Gaelic League, to promote any non-controversial, non-political enterprise that pleases them; but let them contribute not another cent for politics, if they would see Ireland take herself seriously in hand, and address herself resolutely and effectively to the realization of her national destiny.

T. W. Rolleston.

HUMOR UNDER SUNDRY SKIES.

BY CHAUNCEY B. BREWSTER.

THE reader may agree with the opinion expressed by a recent writer: "While we Americans can never have too much humor, we can hear too much about it." It is true the subject is old. Yet age cannot wither its fruitfulness: and we find it ever new, because of its infinite variety as we consider humor under sundry skies. The subtle, complex thing we are considering may be regarded as made up of that mental alertness and that sensitiveness of heart to incongruity which, thus compounded together, come to mean thinking in jest while feeling in earnest. If its composition be on this wise, there will inevitably be variation, not only according to degrees of earnestness, but also according to taste in jests and according to fertility of suggestiveness. In these respects, persons and races and ages seem somewhat to differ. Just how and why, are questions easier to ask than to answer.

In the first place, as to past ages we are a good deal in the dark. We cannot know all the causes that made the literary flavor of Titus Flavius Clemens, in the second century, to differ from that of Samuel L. Clemens in the twentieth. Nor can we now tell how much less witty, had he chosen so to indulge himself, might have been Bernard of Clairvaux than Bernard Shaw. Then, too, there must not be forgotten the distinction between the creative humor, on the one hand, which implies insight and originality, and, on the other, the appreciation thereof which implies, rather, quickness of sympathy. It is a pretty safe truism to say, in a general way, that the appreciative sense and the quality and characteristics of humor will vary in men by reason of race-temperament, history, and environment.

Nevertheless, beneath all differences is the essentially human quality, and therefore well-nigh universal prevalence, of the thing

itself. We may assert that the Orientals must be without humor, because they are so solemn and so slow; and, lo! there are the "Arabian Nights"! We read the story of the Barmecide feast with its make-believe meats and drinks leading up to the feigned intoxication and the very real blows, or the story of the irrepressible Wag who took turns with his wife in being laid out as dead, or the story of the supposed corpse of the Humpback whom one after another thinks he must have killed: and these and other characteristic tales of the East show, we have to confess, their full share of drollest mirth and merriment.

The Greek mind and temper could not in this respect be lacking. It were enough to instance the political comedy of Aristophanes, or the subtle and paradoxical, but kindly, irony of Socrates, the mild glow of whose humor Xanthippe's shower could not quench nor the hour of death suffice to chill. In this regard, by comparison with the Greeks, there was a deficiency among the Romans, who were by nature legal and literal. The conquerors of the world, moreover, contracted a malady well-nigh fatal to humor, megalomania, a craze for bigness, which blinded their sense of proportion. Yet we have not only the polished wit of Horace, but also the broad, popular humor of Plautus and the tolerant and sympathetic humanity of Terence, who struck the key-note of genuine humor in his great line:

"Homo sum: humani nil a me alienum puto,"

"I am a man, and nothing human do I deem foreign to me."

The sense of humanity was, later on, shut up within narrow confines. But, in the Middle Ages, some sense of humor found expression, and was kept alive, in the Mysteries or Miracle-plays, with their pantomimic and oral representations of Scripture stories and legends of the saints, and in the farcical pieces, Carnival plays, and the like forerunners of the modern drama.

The Renaissance, with its revival of the humanities and its humanism, was a re-birth of humor. After a long night, humanity awoke newly conscious of itself and open-eyed to the incongruities, contradictions, absurdities, and all the comedy of human existence. We have Rabelais, with his uproarious, riotous, roystering, rollicking tone throughout life, and at death leaving sealed his last will and testament in three articles: "I owe much. I possess nothing. All the rest I leave to the poor." The in-

decency which defiled much of the humor of the Renaissance may be traced to the new sense of the conflict between man's spirit and his flesh. To that age belongs the kindly-earnest humor of Sir Thomas More; and in his house Erasmus penned the "Praise of Folly," which was dedicated to More and embodied his name in the Latin title, "*Moriæ Encomium*," a satire directed against the monks, but also against many abuses in that day.

As to modern nations, again we fall to generalizing. We say that the Northern peoples, with their feeling for the sombre and the grotesque, possess humor as a distinctive characteristic, and that the Southern nations of Latin descent are, of course, without it; when there confront us, in Italy, Boccaccio, and Pulci, and Goldoni, and Manzoni, and I know not what successors. Then we remember that Spain gave the world Don Quixote. The fantastic knight, gallantly tilting against windmills, is a figure at once ludicrous and also forever pathetic, as embodying the contrast between chivalrous dreams and sordid facts, romantic ideals and sober actualities, aspirations and achievements, the poetry and the prose of life.

Turning to France, there is Molière, there is the creator of "Gil Blas," there is, in our own time, "Tartarin of Tarascon." Yet to the Anglo-Saxon mind it is an axiom that the French lack humor. It were nearer truth to say that it is there, but we are not always in touch with it. The secret of a happy marriage, it has been said, is to have the same taste in jokes. When we deny humor to a people, it is more likely that they only have a different taste in jokes from ours. We may think, for example, that the present-day French jest is excessively exercised in the vulgar fractions of the Seventh Commandment. At all events, the French mind and the French tongue are uniquely fitted for the keen, neat thrusts of wit. In the general view of national characteristics from our standpoint, the typical Frenchman of to-day would seem to have more wit than humor, after the fashion of Voltaire, prince of wits.

On the other hand, for humor without any excessive alloy of wit, observe the German. Recently an American party were taking the train at Aachen. Paterfamilias was occupied with luggage. Madame, holding forth the tickets, approached the gate with anxious inquiries in labored German. The ticket-taker

counted the tickets, as he received them, thus: "*Ein, zwei, drei, vier*—God save the King!" It was humor, sympathetic, but lacking the sharp sight to hit the bull's-eye—that is, to know John Bull and Brother Jonathan apart. Whether in books or comic papers, the humor of the Germans is rather ponderous, floundering about in their depths of thought, as it were that leviathan taking his pastime therein. This, of course, is true only of the North Germans. "Fliegende Blätter" is published in Munich. The Bavarians, and also the Austrians, have no lack of sprightliness. Nor must we forget Heine, who was Prussian by birth and education; but in race Heine was a Jew.

There is, perhaps, a like contrast between the Scottish humor, quiet, but rich with a strong and tender feeling of humanity, and that of the Irish, brilliant and scintillating, flashes of wit with a dash of pathos. The contrast here is accounted for by difference of stock. Let us turn now to variations due rather to change of environment, the change from English to American skies.

The long debate between the two sides of the Atlantic, as to humor, has exhibited a good deal of mere generalizing on the one side and on the other. Take a recent example. The grandson of a New York Jew wandered, fifty years ago, to California, and made himself famous by his graphic sketches of life on the Pacific coast in the period of the forty-niners. Now comes Mr. Chesterton, in one of his brilliant essays, declaring that Bret Harte was a genuine humorist, but that he was not an American humorist, and, as his reason for asserting that Bret Harte and American humor had nothing in particular to do with each other, declaring that "American humor is purely exaggerative." He must grant that Bret Harte was an American. Certainly his humor was American, at least as truly as Disraeli's statesmanship was English. But my questioning is of the generalization which makes a single adjective at once the description and the test of all American humor. "Purely exaggerative" is language not applicable to our earliest humorist, Washington Irving, nor to Oliver Wendell Holmes, nor to Lowell, nor to Charles Dudley Warner, nor to Mr. Dooley.

Some American humor, it must be granted, is characterized by exaggeration. It is largely a matter of environment. America is a new land, with a certain freedom in the atmosphere. Here

humor might be expected to be exuberant and overflowing, with a tendency, sometimes, to extravagance. In a new country things go forward with a rapidity of movement unknown in more conservative societies, and not without its stimulating effect. Mr. Clemens, speaking once at a Hartford public school, said: "Boys, Methuselah lived nine hundred and sixty-nine years. But there was *nothing doing*. You in two years can do more than he ever did." The pace of living and the strangeness of conditions will vary with the newness of the community. New England humor and Western humor will be likely to differ accordingly.

It will be remembered that when that wit, William M. Travers, had removed to the Metropolis, and a friend said to him: "Travers, you stutter here in New York worse than you ever did in Baltimore," he replied: "B-b-b-igger C-c-city!" It may seem a reminiscence of this for me to suggest that American humor is often the humor of exaggeration on a bigger scale, so to speak, than elsewhere, because it's a bigger country. But the suggestion has, I believe, its truth. Bigness inspires exaggeration. For an example of American Geography, take this which I vaguely recall: "America is bounded on the North by the Aurora Borealis, on the East by the Precession of the Equinoxes, on the South by the Antipodes, and on the West by the Day of Judgment."

The eagle's wings are not always spread so wide. The humor, however, of so vast a country, whereof many parts are without the restraints of old associations and traditions, must often inevitably be large and elemental. The sense of humanity has free range. It finds nothing to shut it in:

> "Broad prairie rather, genial, level-lined,
> Fruitful and friendly for all human kind."

Those lines of Lowell, describing Lincoln, are suggestive of American humor at its best. Take away that sense of humanity, and the humor is not at its best. Here lies the possibility of deterioration. There is a flavor of its own in Artemus Ward's whim, when in Salt Lake City, to print his tickets: "Admit bearer with one wife." We enjoy the gentle thrust at polygamy. Enjoyable also is a degree of the grotesquely grim, as in the showman's admission that, in the famous "Happy Family," there was necessary an occasional renewal of the lamb. It is, however, easy

to see that, under conditions of newness, a humor utterly unconventional and unrestrained might be often crude and rude, and sometimes degenerate into a buffoonery which, lacking that deeper quality of humanity to be felt in the greatest humor, were fitly to be described as horse-play. When humor has become flippant, that is to say, is quite without a background, however hidden in shadow, of earnest reverence for and sympathy with what is human, and consists in a cheap sort of would-be wit which aims only at raising a laugh, a shallow-hearted and cynical laugh, by merely turning things upside down and comically caricaturing humanity; then you have the counterfeit humor of the circus clown. Am I wrong in fearing that, when multitudes have been making their Sunday meditation on The Yellow Kid and his kind, there is danger that in the popular mind humor may be lowered, cheapened and degraded?

Turning to England, we have really two questions. First, have the English a sense of humor? Second, is there a distinctively English humor? It is often said that the English are without a sense of humor. I am far from being an Anglomaniac, but I beg to question so wide a generalization. In the words of Burke, "I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people."

The English, less analytical than the French, caring less for clean cleavages of thought, would be likely to be less witty. The English temper of mind is more literal, with less imagination and self-questioning, than the American. There are, I fancy, more English than Americans without a keen sense of humor. But the lack of humor anywhere is sure to cause a supply to meet the vacuity. One thinks with envy of the unfailing joy the English parson has who occupies that pulpit, a memorial pulpit, whereon has been carved: "For so He giveth His beloved sleep." The English are more practical, perhaps less accessible to a strange idea. They do sometimes show a tardiness in meeting our jokes half-way. As has been said, "Procrastination is the thief of wit, as well as of time." A certain kind of imaginative humor the English do not seem quick to appreciate. Nor are they very quick to enter into its meaning. Undoubtedly that humor of exaggeration is by no means always to their taste. It is too crude and too strong. They cannot swallow it. But one who may not be equal to an undiluted draught of our Western

liquor may yet have a fondness for old English ale. The popularity, too, among the English of Irving, Lowell, Bret Harte, Mr. Dooley, shows they can appreciate some American humor. Their appreciation of their own we may infer when we read of certain of the most distinguished men of the nation rolling on the floor at the Rev. Mr. Brookfield's jests.

The generalization above referred to is disposed of, if there be among the English a genuine humor. Take, for instance, that clergyman who was a lecturer at Oxford and author of treatises on the higher mathematics. It was, nevertheless, he who gave us Alice and the Hatter and the grin without the cat, and all those droll surprises and illusive mockeries of Dreamland. But last year's Westminster Play, with its epilogue, may constitute a sufficient defence of England on this score.

The case between England and America in this regard is, I fancy, somewhat as it is in other respects. In America there is, perhaps, a better general average of education; but in England there are more scholars of ripest culture. So humor may be, as Mr. Bryce declares, a general characteristic of the American people, and perhaps for the reason that, amid new and unprecedented conditions, there is more to strike upon and to develop the sense of strangeness and incongruity. In England, humor may be less general. What there is, however, would be likely to be less crude, to depend for its make-up less upon the droll or merely queer, and more upon the element of the humane. Thus we might expect to have, speaking generally, a truer, or let us say, in the literary aspect, a higher, humor, of choicer quality, so far forth as it is a product of the ancient vintage and rich fruitage of an immemorial society and historic scenes.

It is largely a matter of soil and atmosphere, of sources and surroundings. Imagine Charles Lamb in Roaring Camp! He pre-eminently belongs to his environment,—"the Temple, its church, its halls, its gardens, its fountain," the Thames, the "motley Strand," the quaint associations of old London. The result we know. That stammering tongue giving utterance to a nimble wit instinct with and inspired by humor. Said Coleridge: "Charles, did you ever hear me preach?" "I never heard you do anything else!" Or, again, "Wordsworth says he could have written 'Hamlet' if he'd had the *mind*." And the humor of Elia, its charm and spell! That exquisite prose, pervaded

by a subtle fragrance and flavor, how delicate, how mellow, as of some old wine that makes glad the heart!

English humor, we may not forget, is largely in books. Whiskey, I have been told, gets a desirable quality from being stored in wood. American humor may have gained a certain mellowing when it shall have been longer in literature. Those English books, however, represent the survival of the fittest. Of some of our American humor I question, Will it live? How rich is English literature in humor that is immortal! Think of the story-teller of Samoa; of Thomas Hardy; of George Eliot; of Thackeray, maligned as cynical; of Dickens, intellectually inferior to Thackeray, but still gifted with the genuine humor which comes of feeling for and with humanity; or of his literary forebears, Smollet and Fielding! It is a joy even to tell over the names — Sydney Smith, Scott, Jane Austen and Goldsmith, Addison and Steele, old racy Bunyan. Besides Chaucer, other ancient wells and springs of "English undefyled" show traces of salt. Then we have Falstaff, Touchstone, Sir Toby, Malvolio, the Clown, Dogberry, Launce with his dog, Bottom, and Puck confessing:

> "... those things do best please me
> That befall preposterously";

and King Lear's faithful Fool,

> "... who labors to outjest
> His heart-strook injuries";

And, behind that broad stage, like his Prospero, the master magician himself, his personality, wrapt in impenetrable reticence, a perpetual puzzle,

> "We ask and ask—Thou smilest and art still."

When all is said, we are not sure whether humor is to be defined as a quality of mind and heart, or as an attitude taken toward life's mishaps and surprises. However elusive of definition and howsoever variable in its manifestations, it is felt as gladly as sunshine in winter, and it is appreciated the more as it is missed. To miss it in a person is to discover a well-nigh fatal lack. To charge one with the lack is something to be resented nor soon forgiven. There is hardly any one who would not be willing to say: Though I speak with the tongue of orators and of poets and have not humor, I am nothing.

It is, I am persuaded, a right instinct which regards humor as something to treasure and be thankful for. It will often save a man from making an ass of himself or a mule. With its sense of relation and proportion, it serves as a kind of balance-wheel. It is a safeguard against excess and a secret of poise. It will often furnish the test as to whether a man masters his work or his work him. In this workaday world it is a lubricant to save from friction, and a protection against much of the wear and tear. Nay, more, it is a flavor that adds a zest to life's appetite and enjoyment. It is not without its virtues as a preventive of premature age, furthering, as it does, a joyous adjustment to environment that keeps one young. Lowell, one day passing an institution with the sign "For Incurable Children," exclaimed: "There is where I belong!" At least, humor lets one hear the plashing of the fountain of youth, and carry the music in his heart for many a day.

It is conservative of friendship, for what might become unpleasant or tragic it postpones till some other day. Indeed, again and again its bright beams have transmuted a rain of tears into the bow of hope and promise. Humor serves as an antiseptic to preserve not only one's interest in living, but, moreover, one's patience and good temper and fellow-feeling with others. It is an illumination helping one to move among men with kindlier eyes and warmer heart; and to go through life with a larger vision that, even in fog and in the dark, keeps brave lookout for the better, not the worse, trusting somehow to come at "good in everything."

CHAUNCEY B. BREWSTER.

THE YOSEMITE WATERS.

BY HARRIET MONROE.

THE beauty of falling waters is like the beauty of birds—delicate, musical, swift of flight and brilliant with many colors. It is like the fragile, laboriously wrought beauty of lace, weaving fantastic patterns out of invisible threads. Like the soft white beauty of snow it is, flaking, drifting, draping the rocks, turning to blue and green and lilac in the sparkle of the sun. It is like the beauty of armies—yes, like the beauty of armies is the beauty of falling waters, of armies that march to victory, shouting and waving banners, and booming their haughty guns. It is like the beauty of the will of God—joyous, not to be questioned, working for its own.

And falling waters have many souls, and none shall gainsay the least of them. Souls of laughing and of weeping have they, of motion and of rest; souls that cry out and others that are still.

Like a flower is the soul of Bridal Veil, like a white lily nodding in the wind. Now the north wind finds her, and tenderly, appealingly, she leans as for succor unto the granite wall; now the south wind seeks her, and she spreads out her filmy robes like a dancer and strews the air with her whiteness. Lovely she is, and her voice is soft, and her breath is sweet and fine like the faint scent of azaleas. With light touches she strokes the mountain and he gives her of himself; yet, though he woo her for a million years, for him she will never change.

And Illilouette flutters like a ribbon in the wind as she picks her difficult way over the steep black rocks. Glad she is with the gladness of a child, careless of danger, waving her hand in the sun. I see the gleam of her teeth as she laughs; I see her slim white limbs and the ripple of her long bright hair. She runs

with swift feet; she pauses not; she wins her way to her playfellow, the river, who lifts her daintily over the rocks and carries her far, far, through the resisting mountains.

And Yosemite is a poet in a dream, a poet questioning the sky. Tall as a moonbeam, slim as a reed, swayed to and fro by the drift of his dream, he poises light white feet on the heavy earth and crowns his brow with the blue. His dream is of all beautiful things; of moony nights and flowers a-film with dew, of rainbows that sparkle with many colors, of the blue-veined arms of happy maids; even of the beauty of sadness dreams he, of lovers separated forever, of death hushing the voices of little children. Always in his house of light and mist he listens and sings and sighs, and holds the secret in his heart; that none may dream his dream, nor tell his tale of the beauty of it.

And Nevada, haughty Nevada, is a warrior queen whose soul love takes unaware. She goes forth armed for battle; of silver is her breastplate, of silver and jewels her helmet, and her right hand carries a spear. But suddenly she hears a voice and turns; she gazes, and the heart of her is changed. She catches up filmy draperies and robes herself like a bride; she shouts with new joy, she leaps to her cataract lover on the path of the winds. And down in his green gorge he clasps her close and bears her singing onward. Stern and tall and straight is Vernal, her shining round-armed lover; robed in whitest sparkle of white, beautiful and strong. In him the soul of falling waters is a hero, proud of his triumph. He heaps up Happy Isles for his beloved, and films their flowers with his breath. He hews out the earth to build them; he hurls the rocks from his path and commands the mountain to make way. And all the immovable things hearken and obey, for the will of falling waters none shall gainsay.

They have carved the mountains, these soft caressing fingers of falling waters, these delicate foamy touches on the stubborn rock.

They have carved the mountains and cut them through with gorges, and adorned them with rich embroideries of green. For them El Capitan rears his snow-white head to the sun; for them Dome and Half-dome pillar the sky. For them the great sequoias gather the years together on the valley floor and shake their lofty heads at time. For them the pink azaleas pattern the woods

in June and all the little mountain flowers dip their brows in dew.

Beautiful as love in its hope is the beauty of falling waters; strong as love in its triumph is their strength. They wait and sparkle and are still—as light as thistle-down, as soft as air. They gather the plumes of an hundred battles, they sweep on with the passion of peopled worlds. And life is a bubble in the foam of them; it shall burst in the sun and vanish, and the beauty of falling waters shall reck not that it is gone.

HARRIET MONROE.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED.

BY JAMES HUNEKER, HENRY T. FINCK, EDWARD PORRITT, A NAVAL OBSERVER AND JOSEPH S. AUERBACH.

GEORGE SAND.*

THE newest book about George Sand is by an English writer, Francis Gribble, and is baldly entitled "George Sand and Her Lovers." A few years ago such a head-line could hardly have been possible in England, nor can we altogether admire its taste. George was a maternal nymphomaniac, yet the most interesting part of her was not her lovers. We hold no brief for or against her conduct. She was the victim of circumstances at the beginning. She craved notoriety later on. At times she acted as if she were the self-elected avenger of man's inhumanity to woman. That she was the impassioned creature the world believed her to be, or that she believed herself to be, we beg to doubt. Dumas even denies to her much temperament. Cerebral she always was, too often morbid and curious—and avid as to the matter of *copy!* It must not be forgotten that she was a sphinx of the inkwell. She worked like a master builder for four decades, worked when she was happy and unhappy. She was the first female journalist—using the word in a broad sense. Everything she suffered or enjoyed she later turned into printed matter, and it is not difficult to realize that once the habit had crystallized, once the sixth sense, the news sense, had become vitalized, she went along the broad and primrose path setting off the pyrotechnics of passion. She speared many victims with her Bengal lights and silken phrases, and whenever a new novel of hers appeared the Boulevard asked: "Who's the man now?" She changed her lovers almost annually.

* "George Sand and Her Lovers." By Francis Gribble. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Mr. Gribble's book contains little that is new. It is a string of readable, very readable, gossipy anecdotes and not the portrait of an extraordinary woman. You may find that portrait, with literary criticism added, in Caro's monograph, and in Samuel Rocheblave's "George Sand et La Fille" (Calmann-Levy, Publisher). Nearly all the new things about the quarrel of Solange Sand with her mother M. Rocheblave has already told us, and he was the first to print the recently discovered correspondence, slight as it is, between Chopin and Solange—who had incurred her mother's wrath by marrying the sculptor Clésinger, a man of Bohemian habits. Chopin sided with Solange in the row, and this was one of the reasons, the chief one, possibly, that caused George's rupture with the Polish composer. And all this I have told in my biography of Chopin, years ago; told of George Sand boxing her son-in-law's ears, and of the literary partnership later formed between "Soli" and the Marquis Alfieri, the nephew of the great Italian poet. Solange held a Salon in Paris, where came Gambetta, Jules Ferry, Floquet, Taine, Herve, Henri Fouquier, Weiss the critic—who described her, and he of all men could describe her, as having the "curved Hebraic nose of her mother and hair coal black." She died in 1899 at Nahant, her mother's house. Maurice Sand, the son, died in 1883. But these things Mr. Gribble does not tell, and despite the title of his book he by no means furnishes a complete account—who could!—of the lovers of George Sand. He speaks of Sandeau, de Musset, Dr. Pagello, the disappointed Venetian lover, Michel de Bourges, Felicien Malléfille, Pierre Leroux, Chopin, Prosper Mérimée—this is not the chronological order—Manceau, and the platonic friendship with Flaubert. But where is that sly old voluptuary Sainte-Beuve, Franz Liszt—who was her lover notwithstanding denials; George confessed herself that "le petit *Litz* was fonder of praying to the Virgin than of her"—and Delacroix, Dumas, and Calmatta the mezzotinter, and the pianist Hermann? "Puzzi" was his nickname; later he became a discalced Carmelite friar. Are these all? Who dare say? That she killed de Musset we doubt; absinthe helped matters along, and his illness in Venice turns out to have been delirium tremens. Chopin was a consumptive, and here the case looks ominous. Yet he survived by several years the separation. That she threw him overboard as she threw de Musset there can be no doubt.

Liszt she could not enslave, and after a week she parted with Mérimée by mutual consent. Each loathed the other. Stendhal made merry of the affair in his usual brutal, subtle style. The sanest friendship she ever had was with Flaubert—their correspondence proves it — and her influence on the old grumbling giant of Croisset was healthy. In her mature years Madame Sand—who was born in 1804 and called Lucile-Aurore Dupin, descending from a choice chain of illegitimate rowdy and demi-royal ancestors—became optimistic, matronly and proper. She was the cheerful milch cow for her children. It is assisting at a delicious comedy to read her warnings to her son Maurice about actresses. She tells in her memoirs of Sarah Bernhardt trying to poison herself. "I spoke to her," says George, in her most maternal manner, "of her son and of the love and care she owed him. . . . Sarah burst into tears and sobbed aloud. She assured me that she was horrified at the life she had led . . . etc. A few days afterwards, coming late to the theatre, I passed on the staircase Sarah Bernhardt and her sister Jeannie on their way to the Bal Bullier in male costume. . . . Beware of women of the theatre." Precisely. It is the warning of the *Cabotine* who had reformed to the *Cabotine* who had not. And was Manceau dead at this time? But Madame Sarah says nothing of all this in her newly published memoirs. The old guard surrenders but never dies!

Sand was not beautiful. Edouard Grenier says that she was short and stout. "Her eyes were wonderful, but a little too close together." Do you remember Heine's description: "Femme avec l'œil sombre"? Black they were, these eyes, and they reminded Grenier at once of unpolished marble and of velvet. "Her nose was thick and not overshapely. Her mouth was rather coarse and her chin small. She spoke with great simplicity, and her manners were very quiet." With this rather negative physical apparatus she conquered men like a Napoleon in petticoats. Even prim old Thiers tried to kiss her, and her indignation was epical. He giggled in a silly way when reproved. It seems incredible. Do you recall the Bonnat portrait of the statesman? Chopin at first disliked George Sand—by the way, it should be said that Gribble's account of the Chopin *liaison* is imperfect. Liszt was never wholly won. Mérimée despised her in his frigid fashion. Michel de Bourges treated her roughly. Poor Alfred de

Musset, alone, seemed to have loved her romantically and to the last. What was the attraction? She had brains and magnetism. That she loved all her lovers is impossible, though she is a fine object-lesson for those who maintain that women are polyandrous. The truth is that she suffered at first severely, and being an artist shrewdly made of her suffering a literary asset. That she had an operative conscience we do not know beyond the inescapable fact that she preached—oh! how she preached!—morality in her later stories. Compared with the feminine fiction of to-day Sand's is almost idyllic. But she is its ancestor. She acted in life what so many latter-day ladies urge others to do—and never attempt themselves. Brave George!

The Sandeau episode was only an episode. She emerged from it carrying away half of his name, but not his heart. Mr. Gribble does not relate the anecdote in its entirety, the one told by Jules Clarétie. Here is the true version of this particular affair. In 1870, when Madame Sand was an old woman, full of honors, she went one day to visit the Minister of Instruction. There, being detained in the antechamber, she fell into a pleasant conversation with a well-groomed old gentleman who wore the rosette of the Legion of Honor. After ten minutes' chat the unknown consulted his watch, arose, and then bowed to Madame Sand.

"If I could always find such a charming companion I would visit the Ministry often," he gallantly said, and went away. The novelist called an attendant. "Who is that amiable old gentleman?" she asked. "Ah, that is M. Jules Sandeau of the French Academy!" And he, on going out, inquired the lady's name. George Sand! What a lot of head-shaking must have ensued! Maxime Ducamp spitefully suggested the following as an epitaph for Louise Colet (who imitated Sand in fiction and worried both de Musset and Flaubert): "Here lies the woman who compromised Victor Cousin, made Alfred de Musset ridiculous, calumniated Gustave Flaubert and tried to assassinate Alphonse Karr: *Requiescat in Pace.*" If this formidable roll-call could be evoked by such an insignificant creature as Colet, what a Homeric catalogue might be sonorously chanted down the corridor of Time in the name of George Sand! Doubtless, we should forgive all if we knew all. Charity covers a multitude of missteps. But we don't know all. We only know too much.

JAMES HUNEKER.

MUSIC WHICH TELLS STORIES.*

THE best known of Beethoven's works is the "Moonlight Sonata." Why? He himself did not regard it as one of his most inspired works, and it is safe to say that among his thirty-two sonatas for pianoforte there are more than a dozen which deserve the same popularity, but have never had it. The title alone gave the "Moonlight" its advantage over the other sonatas; and this title was not Beethoven's own, but was suggested by a German critic; nor is it appropriate to the whole sonata, but only to the first movement.

It took the musical world centuries to fully grasp the significance of the fact so graphically illustrated by that word "Moonlight." Until about a century ago it seldom occurred to the composer of a piece of music to attempt anything more than to simply weave tones into beautiful fabrics of diverse patterns. The idea of suggesting pictures or of telling stories was as foreign to his mind as to that of a lace-maker. The sporadic cases in which such things were attempted were regarded as more or less puerile and opposed to the true nature of the art. But gradually one composer after another succumbed to the temptation of overstepping what used to be considered the "legitimate boundaries of music." Concerning Haydn, one of his biographers tells us that he sometimes "imagined a little romance which might furnish him with musical sentiments and color." While Beethoven did not write his most popular sonata with the idea of a moonlit night in his mind, it is known that he did for some years entertain a plan of bringing out a new edition of his works in which the poetic ideas underlying the sonatas and symphonies would be indicated. That he was, however, still intimidated by the old prejudice against pictorial music is proved by the fact that, after writing the Pastoral Symphony, which depicts, according to his own words, a scene by a brook, the merry-making of peasants, a thunder-storm, and the joyful feelings after the storm, he became alarmed, and wrote that this work was intended to be "more an expression of feeling than painting"—an attitude as cowardly as it was inconsistent.

This "hedging," however, did not destroy the effect of Beethoven's example in writing a piece of genuine programme

* "Stories of Symphonic Music." By Lawrence Gilman. New York and London: Harper & Brothers.

music. By this example the shy and conservative Mendelssohn was encouraged to follow in his footsteps. Nay, it seems the very irony of fate that he, who was so long the leader of the conservatives, should ultimately have achieved his greatest triumphs in this kind of music. The most poetic and original of all his works are the "Scotch" and "Italian" symphonies, the "Hebrides" and "Calm Sea and Prosperous Voyage" overtures, and the "Midsummer Night's Dream," all of which are programme music. Schumann had a way of attaching poetic titles to his pieces after they were written. Then Berlioz and Liszt gradually came to the front with new methods, and finally there remained hardly a composer who did not pay his tribute. As Mr. Ernest Newman has said: "One has only to take up a catalogue of the Russian, French, German, Belgian, American or even English music published during the last twenty years to see how enormously this form of art has grown, and how *the really big men all display a marked liking for it.*"

This triumph of programme music is emphasized by the appearance of Mr. Gilman's "Stories of Symphonic Music." It is devoted entirely to symphonies, overtures and tone-poems which have a story, as distinguished from the so-called "absolute" music which has no alliance with any poetic or pictorial subject; and a glance at its table of contents tells more eloquently than Mr. Newman's catalogue of the important place descriptive music now holds in our concert-halls. Here we find classic and romantic masters like Beethoven, Spohr, Mendelssohn, Schumann, side by side with the more audacious Berlioz and Liszt, not to speak of the unspeakable Richard Strauss and the much-maligned Debussy. France is particularly well represented in the list; for besides Berlioz and Debussy we find in it Bizet, Charpentier, Chausson, Dukas, Franck, d'Indy and Saint-Saëns. Germany contributes, besides Strauss and the four classic and romantic composers just named, Goldmark, Raff, Wagner and Hugo Wolf. Here are also the Bohemians, Dvorák and Smetana; the Norwegian, Grieg; the Russians, Glazounoff, Rimsky-Korsakoff. Tchaikoffsky; the Swiss, Huber; the Hungarian, Liszt; the Finnish, Sibelius. England contributes Bantock and Elgar, while America is represented by Chadwick, Converse, Hadley, Loeffler and MacDowell.

One may accuse Mr. Gilman of sins of omission. It would

have been well, not only for patriotic reasons, to include John K. Paine, with his "Spring" symphony, his "Tempest," his "Island Fantasy." To be sure, these are now seldom played, but the same is true of some of the Converse pieces included, or of Hadley's "Salome"; and we are convinced that Paine will live. Nor was it fair to exclude Rubinstein's glorious "Ocean" symphony, which contains enough musical ozone to preserve it another century. Mr. Gilman might retort that Rubinstein did not suggest a definite story, and this is true, so far as the score is concerned; but he told an American admirer (Mr. Upton) that the headings for the different movements, if he had wanted to make use of them, would have been as follows: "First Movement, wind and water; Adagio, an evening on the ocean; Scherzo, dance of Tritons and Naiads; while the idea of a triumphal procession of Neptune and his attendants underlies the finale." Concerning the supplementary movements the composer added, facetiously: "I am trying to get on dry land again."

Rubinstein was, like Mendelssohn, a conservative; and the fact that he, too, did his best work when he left the "absolute" style, so dear to conservatives, to write programme music is another feather in the cap of this species of the tonal art. Professor Niecks, of Edinburgh, goes so far as to claim even Johannes Brahms, the king of the conservatives, as a composer of programme music. He does not make out a strong case; but programme music comes out on top even if Brahms be looked on as an exception. The rule is proved by the fact that no other prominent composer of his time, or of the present day, has written absolute music only.

The change in the attitude of the masters toward programme music is a matter of much greater importance than appears at first sight. It concerns not only the subject matter of instrumental works, but their form also. Before Liszt, composers wrote symphonies in four detached movements which were evolved from march and dance rhythms—"idealized dance forms" they are called by the theorists. Liszt created the symphonic poem, the form of which is conditioned by the development of a poetic idea or story, instead of by the contrast of slow or lively dance measures. And in the words of Wagner: "Is the march or dance, with all the thoughts accompanying this act, a more worthy source of form than, *e. g.*, the idea of the principal and most

characteristic features in the actions and sufferings of an Orpheus, a Prometheus, etc?" The modern composers have answered this question with a decided "No," by writing their melodies and harmonies with growing predilection in the form created by Liszt, and happily named by him symphonic poem. Of the composers represented in Mr. Gilman's book, sixteen contribute symphonic poems; and he might have added to the list indefinitely by including the names of minor writers. The advantages of the symphonic poem over the symphony were too great to be overlooked. Liszt showed his colleagues not only how to give organic unity to a whole symphonic work, but he emancipated orchestral music from its monotonous pattern of allegro, adagio, scherzo, allegro, and gave it the charm of endless variety by making the form in each case adapt itself to the poetic idea, or story, which forms the subject.

Mr. Gilman fortunately has not indulged in speculative interpretations of his own regarding the poetic content of the works included in his volume. He has taken his information from the scores and prefaces of the composers and other reliable sources. He has also entirely avoided that technical analysis which is always foolish because it is intelligible only to those who do not need it. The information contained in his volume really ought to be printed in the programmes distributed in the concert-halls; for if the picture or the poem imagined by the composer was an aid and advantage to him, it must be so to the hearer. But, in the first place, few concert-givers can go to the expense of printing a long story about each piece played; and, in the second place, it is not wise to attempt to read a programme while the concert is going on; it is too suggestive of the proverbial Englishman on the Rhine who is so intent on reading his Baedeker that he misses the scenery. One should prepare for a concert, as one does for an opera, by reading the libretto beforehand. Many are too indolent to do this, and are punished by getting only half the pleasure they might have enjoyed. Heretofore, concert-goers have been dependent on uncertain programmes for the necessary information concerning the stories of symphonic music; now they can find all this brought together in a well-indexed volume of 359 pages, which is one of Mr. Gilman's most useful and readable contributions to musical literature.

HENRY T. FINCK.

A GREAT ENGLISH STATESMAN.*

Sir Charles Stuart Parker's Life and Letters of Sir James Graham is a companion book to his Life of Sir Robert Peel and to Mr. Morley's Life of Gladstone; and it is no exaggeration to say that not since the Life of Gladstone appeared has there been a more valuable addition to English political biography. In the intervening four years there have been several noteworthy additions to this class of English political literature—including the lives of Earl Granville and of the first Earl of Durham, and more recently still the Life of Lord Herbert of Lea, all of whom were at one time or another colleagues of Sir James Graham. But in comprehensiveness, in general importance, and in so far as the rounding out of English political biography of the nineteenth century is concerned, none of these can be ranked so high as this biography of the great statesman who, next to Sir Robert Peel, was most responsible for the epoch-making fiscal and economic reforms which were effected by Parliament between 1842 and 1846—for the rearrangement of Great Britain's fiscal system, which went unchallenged and unthreatened until Mr. Chamberlain came out as a Protectionist in 1903.

As is so frequently the case in English political biography it is the letters and papers that give these new volumes their first-class importance. They are admirably marshalled by Sir Charles Parker, who, as editor of the Peel Papers, is unusually well versed in party conditions, and in the political questions which were at issue during the forty-three years—1818-1861—in which Sir James Graham was an influential personality in Parliamentary and official life. But as with the Peel Papers, Sir Charles Parker takes a circumscribed view of his duties as editor. He furnishes a good sketch of Sir James Graham's early years, of his home environment as a man of large landed possessions in Cumberland, and of his early Radical tendencies. But after 1818, when Sir James entered the House of Commons as Member for Hull, and was well launched in political life, Sir Charles Parker does little more than link the letters and diaries together. In what he writes he evinces no great enthusiasm for his work as editor; nor does any great thoroughness characterize this phase

* "Life and Letters of Sir James Graham, Second Baronet of Netherby, P. C., G. C. B. 1792–1861." By Charles Stuart Parker. Two Vols. Pp. xvi., 447; ix. 483. London, John Murray.

of his work. In grouping the voluminous correspondence, he undoubtedly shows much editorial skill; but it cannot be said that care and skill, even as to this important matter, suffice to make the volumes as self-contained as they might have been made without inconvenient increase in their size.

Only to a small degree, however, does Sir Charles Parker's method of editing the Graham Letters detract from their real and permanent value. They throw so much new light on English politics from Peterloo to the eve of the second Reform Act, the adoption of the ballot in Parliamentary elections, and the incoming of the Radicals of the Bright School as a power in the House of Commons, that they will repay close study.

Apart from the intrinsic interest of the letters Sir James Graham's career is quite worth close study; for he was to a great extent a self-made man who, as regards influence on the course of English politics, reached the highest eminence, though he did not at any time in his forty years in Parliament hold any office more responsible than First Lord of the Admiralty or Secretary of State for the Home Department. He was self-made, not in the ordinary acceptance of the term. His father was a territorial proprietor; and Sir James, after he succeeded to the baronetcy, was in possession of an income from twenty-four thousand acres of land, which made him independent of the emoluments of office, and free to act according to his own convictions and judgment, even if so acting meant, as it did on two occasions, the sacrifice of Cabinet rank and of the pay of a Cabinet Minister.

Graham was of the House of Commons in its unreformed days; and many pocket or nomination boroughs, such as those Russell and Gladstone represented in their early years in Parliament, survived as long as Graham was in political life. But Graham never controlled a seat in the House of Commons. He was never able to nominate himself for a safe family borough; and although, when well on in his House of Commons career, he sat at times for two nomination boroughs—St. Ives and Ripon—he held these seats without any ties or political obligations to their patrons; and for the greater part of his career he represented large constituencies, such as the Eastern Division of the County of Cumberland and the City of Carlisle; and again and again he had to fight hard for his seat.

It was no accident of birth that gave Sir James Graham his

political opportunities. He made his opportunities; and from the time he was of the House of Commons his reputation as a debater and as a political speaker in the constituencies, as an administrator, and statesman, continued to grow, and underwent no diminution so long as he was actively in public life. He had a genius for public affairs scarcely less well marked than that of Gladstone. His life and ambitions all centred in the public service; and while, like most Englishmen of the landed class, he was at times careful of his order, and afraid of sweeping changes which might endanger too much the political position of the territorial aristocracy, he was much less mindful of his order than the Whig magnates with whom he was associated in Grey's Reform Bill Administration, and he showed no solicitude for the economic position of the landowners when he was working with Peel for the abolition of the Corn Laws. He was more Liberal than Russell and the Whigs; more Liberal than Gladstone was up to 1861, when Graham's career came to an end. But all through his life he dreaded the least interference with the Established Church in Ireland—which Gladstone disestablished in 1869—and to the end he was convinced that the ballot—which was adopted within a decade after his death, and which has since proved to be one of the most beneficent of English political reforms—would mean little less than revolution.

In spite of Graham's innate conservatism as regards the Church and the ballot, he was essentially a reformer—administrative, financial, and constitutional; and there is no statesman of the first half of the nineteenth century to whom England of to-day owes more than it does to Graham. He was associated with the movement for peace, retrenchment, and reform, long before the Whigs committed themselves to this policy; and he was one of the first members of the House of Commons to assail the civil and the pension lists as they stood in the closing years of the reign of George IV. While an unofficial member of the House of Commons he worked zealously for the removal of civil disabilities from Free Churchmen and Roman Catholics; and after he attained Cabinet rank in 1830, and had become the First Lord of the Admiralty, he was of the committee of the Cabinet that drafted the Reform Bill. Russell, Durham and Duncannon were his colleagues; and he was as insistent as Durham in impressing on the cautious Grey the absolute necessity of receiving from

William IV sanction to the creation of peers to ensure the passage of the bill through the House of Lords.

In 1830 when Graham went to the Admiralty he found its methods of doing business those of the days of Queen Elizabeth. These he modernized; and it was largely owing to his efforts that similar much-needed reforms were made in the business methods of the other state departments; and that the House of Commons secured its present complete control over the spending of the appropriations which it makes each session. He was Peel's right hand in making the sweeping fiscal changes of 1842-46; in re-establishing the income tax; and in remodelling and liberalizing the navigation laws. He opposed the movement of the landed aristocracy to throw local rating charges on land on the Imperial revenue as an equivalent for the abolition of the Corn Laws; and it was Graham who drafted the resolution, proposed by Palmerston in 1852, which, when adopted by the House of Commons—468 votes to 63—ended the movement in and out of Parliament for a re-enactment of protective duties on grain.

Graham also had a foremost part in putting the English civil service on the basis on which it has stood for half a century. He was instrumental in the years that immediately followed the Mutiny in bringing India completely under the control of the British Government, and in throwing open several departments of the Indian service to public competition. For a while after these changes had been made, reform halted; but the extension of the Parliamentary franchise in 1867—the measure by which many nomination boroughs which had survived in 1832 were swept away, and votes were conferred on householders in the boroughs—followed the general lines that Graham had laid down in the debate on Disraeli's abortive bill of 1859. In the first sixty years of the nineteenth century no man who did not reach the Premiership had a greater influence on English legislation than Graham; and it has been unfortunate for his fame that it was deemed expedient to withhold so long from publication the letters and papers which show the great part he had in political life. As a statesman responsible for forward policies—for the making of modern England—he ranks with Peel, Russell and Gladstone; and it is alongside the memoirs of these three statesmen that the Life of Sir James Graham must be placed.

EDWARD PORRITT.

"FORTIFICATION."*

THIS book should be in the possession of every United States Senator and Representative, as well as of all persons interested in our national legislation. It is written by the greatest living authority on the subject, the Secretary of the Imperial Defence Committee, from whose views one may dissent only on grounds which will bear the most rigorous investigation.

The work presents the broad principles of fortification, touching but lightly on any of the engineering details. It asks what places should be fortified, why, and to what extent; it takes into account the military value of a fleet; it endeavors to secure adequate protection at the minimum cost; it displays no blind confidence in bricks and mortar, concrete and armor, but appraises them as valuable only when the men behind them are skilful and intelligent; and it reprobates the extravagance of providing at every point a maximum of defence and the uttermost complexity of devices. Some risks must be incurred, unless a nation is financially strong enough to make every harbor impregnable. Had the axioms laid down by this author been observed by our legislators during the past twenty years, we should have been spared the needless expenditure of vast sums of money, and the adoption of complicated machinery, involving the employment of skilled mechanics for their care and operation, in many places where simple mounts would have abundantly answered the purpose. In view of the noble fleet of battle-ships now bearing the American flag, over-elaboration of coast defence seems unnecessary.

The author's views and opinions have been accessible ever since the publication of the first edition of the work in 1890. They were not welcomed by military engineers—quite the contrary; but little by little, step by step, they have forced their way to practically universal acceptance, at least in theory.

The first twelve chapters, while exceedingly interesting and instructive, are not likely to receive much attention in this country, for they deal exclusively with land sieges, a branch of the art of warfare which has not concerned us since Appomattox. Nevertheless, they offer many fertile suggestions, such as:

"It seems clear that in the majority of cases the refinements of detail

* "Fortification." By Colonel Sir George Sydenham Clarke, R.E., G.C.M.G., F.R.S., etc., etc. London: John Murray.

and trace, to which theory has delighted to assign disproportionate importance, exercised no influence whatever over the issue. . . . Broad military principles—not the technical artifices which were dear to Uncle Toby and Major Dugald Dalgetty—appear to have determined the issue in the sieges of this period [the eighteenth century]. Then, as now and always, events declined to take the course prescribed for them."

In these sentences may be found the key-note to Sir George's teaching.

Nor is the book dull reading. The author has a delightful vein of humor, which, cropping out here and there, makes one fearful of skipping, lest choice bits be lost, such as:

"One writer, for example, discovered that the siege of Guisnes in 1558 'brings out very strikingly the value of hidden flanks.' The siege of Jericho would probably afford interesting data as to the stability of revetments, if we were in possession of fuller historical details of the operation."

Speaking of the Napoleonic era, the writer says:

"Defences were short or long, contemptible or brilliant, in accordance with the spirit of the troops, the genius and readiness of resource of their commanders, the available supply of food and ammunition, and not because the fortress was laid out on simple or complex lines. Within broad limits, the nature of the fortifications mattered exceedingly little; general tactical conditions decided the event."

The same lesson is drawn from the episodes of our Civil War.

Nothing happened in France in 1870-71, or at Plevna in 1877, or in South Africa in 1903, to modify the author's conclusions.

The operations around Port Arthur are clearly described and well illustrated. The reasons why they were undertaken are presented and the appropriate inferences are drawn from the conduct of the struggle. This part of the book is especially worth the reading, even if its deductions, happily, are not likely to be applicable to our case.

With the thirteenth chapter, Sir George passes to the "General Principles of Coast Defence." What more true than his calm though disconcerting generalization:

"The primary considerations are, therefore, matters of policy dependent upon national conditions, and varying with circumstances, naval, military and geographical. Unless the coast defences of a maritime country are designed to fit into a harmonious scheme of national preparation for war, they may become sources of weakness by diverting expenditure from essential requirements. Unfortunately, this point of view is usually disregarded, and large sums have been wasted upon

fixed defences which could have no value in war, but have been successful in warping national aims and in misleading public opinion. Statesmanship is rare, and technical experts abound, while the palpable and visible means of protection that coast batteries appear to provide necessarily appeal to uninstructed minds with much greater force than the sea-going navy and the field army, upon which alone national security must ultimately depend. Thus, we have seen waves of coast defence which have strewn our shores with derelict fortifications technically bad even in their day, and now worthless, while the requirements of the field army have been uniformly ignored. Similarly, in the United States, the preposterous proposals of the 'Board on Fortification' which demanded more than five and a half millions sterling for the defence of a comparatively unassailable port such as San Francisco, have created extravagant standards attainable only by a people disposing of superabundant funds, and, if attained, adding nothing to national security.

"In this country [England] there are now signs of a rational treatment of the policy of coast defence. It is recognized that the only intelligent basis of schemes of Fortification must be sought in careful estimates of the probable scale of attack, and the Admiralty has accepted the responsibility of preparing such estimates. We may, therefore, hope to arrive at and to maintain a consistent standard which will suffice for all reasonable requirements, and will prevent future waste."

Would that there were some prospect of "a consistent standard" in this country! A glance at our splendid fleet of battleships and a walk along the forts which defend Boston, New York, San Francisco, or indeed any of our leading seaports, will reveal to the thoughtful man a vast and inexplicable lack of adjustment somewhere.

War-ships are not built to assail defences on shore, he says, as a preface to condemning the attack on San Juan by the American Squadron—our only repulse during the war with Spain. We had not profited by the example of the Japanese in 1894, who "gave proof of their mastery of the lessons of war by consistently declining to expose their war-ships to the fire of coast defences." In 1904, the Japanese displayed a like sagacity, or prudence, if the term appears preferable. Five times did they bombard Port Arthur, but in all these cases they were most careful to avoid risks to their ships. Habitually they drew off when the Russians began to obtain their range. It is through such instances as these that we learn to appreciate the rôle of the man-of-war.

The gist of the matter he sums up in these words:

"The principle is that only ports containing resources of national

importance—resources the destruction of which would directly reduce the capacity of the nation for carrying on war—can be fortified. All other ports must depend upon naval protection alone, and irresponsible threats of bombardment and of the enforcement of indemnities, to which naval manœuvres have accustomed us, can be disregarded. Bombardments would only lead to reprisals, which the superior naval Power can easily carry into effect; while indemnities can only be collected by a process of pillage involving the landing of men."

The chapters on the evolution of coast batteries and battleships are extremely interesting. As treating of fundamentals they merit the careful study of military and naval men.

The criticism of so capable a student of the art of war as Sir George ought to be of great service even to the designer of vessels who might well heed this suggestive hint:

"A well-conceived vessel should continue to be a useful element in a navy as long as her structure remains effective. She may sink in the scale and be forced to accept a lower rôle than that for which she was built; but she will generally be worth maintenance and even rearming. On the other hand, a badly designed ship will quickly become obsolete."

It is in what Sir George terms the "adjuncts of coast defence" that are found the best examples of good things carried to excess. Remembering what an intolerable nuisance were the torpedoes planted in our various harbors in 1898, we are hardly surprised to read that Great Britain has decided to withdraw mines from her mercantile ports, accepting the lesser evil of the two.

While it is not agreeable to be made use of to point the moral and adorn the tale, we can hardly challenge his accuracy when he says:

"It is folly to run unnecessary risks; but, at the same time, the exaggeration of fixed defence is doubly impolitic—as a waste of public money and as a misdirection of public opinion;"

or again:

"It is the duty of statesmen to insist that [defences] shall be kept within reasonable bounds, to confine the technical expert within limits laid down by authority, and to disregard popular clamor, which here, as in the United States in 1898, is the natural result of ignorance or misreading of the history of war."

It is in the hands of these very statesmen that this timely work will be able to bring about an extensive and much-needed conservatism, unless Sir George Clarke is hopelessly in error.

A NAVAL OBSERVER.

"THE SEARCH OF BELISARIUS."*

"Sæpius ventis agitatur ingens
Pinus et celsæ graviore casu
Decidunt turres feriuntque summos
Fulgura montes."

JUST now when we are so frequently told that there is a distinct decadence in literary, and particularly in poetical, production, there has been written by Percy Stickney Grant, Rector of Ascension Church in the City of New York, a noble poem, whether we consider it from the point of view of Arnold, that true poetry is but a criticism of life and the highest expression of the best literature, or from the other extreme of Poe, that poetry is merely "the rhythmic creation of the beautiful."

The legend of Belisarius, oddly enough, with all its fascination and pathos, has not been a favorite with the poets. Longfellow has written a short poem called "Belisarius," but neither in conception nor in expression does it present the proportions of the theme.

The story as given by Mr. Grant tells how Belisarius—having won back for the Roman Empire something of its old renown in the world, and having made for himself a place among the foremost generals of all time—is summoned at the opening of the poem before his two sovereigns, Justinian and Theodora, to answer to the charge of treason.

The Forum of the great City; the swaying, feverish crowd with its protest against royal injustice, and its assertion of confidence in Belisarius; the ceremony of the Court; the baseless charge of guilt from the throne, and the simplicity of the defence of the old general, blinded now as a penalty for his greatness—all go to make up a scene alive with movement and color.

His banishment follows; and when he asks, in his grief and blindness, for his child, he hears from the reluctant King that it has been stolen from him. Then, after his wife has sought to atone by suicide for her share in his degradation, Belisarius sets forth in the search for his son.

He is met everywhere with tributes to his name and exploits. To young children, with his hand among their curls, he tells

* "The Search of Belisarius: A Byzantine Legend." By Percy Stickney Grant. New York: Brentano & Co.

of the strange lands he has visited, but he learns of them nothing to guide him in his search.

As, wandering on, he kneels in prayer before the entrance of a basilica, maidens, "white-robed like lilies in the isles far west," come to him with their ministering devotion. In words of peculiar beauty he tells them of his gratitude:

> "Daughters of love, your words are like the night
> That weaves its dream-web 'twixt two days of pain;
> I feel the soothing of your presence bright
> Like woods at dusk adrip with silver rain.
> Your words are like the slumbering night's low strain
> Which murmurs to the stars from dark till day;
> A song of myriad life in hushed refrain,
> The song of life that sings to us alway
> Amid our tears, our doubts, disease and Death's decay."

Loyal veterans of his wars urge upon him that he lead a victorious army against the cruel power which had stripped him of his honors and taken from him the light of his eyes and the child of his heart. For a moment the thought of vengeance possesses him, but in the end he turns from it, not merely because

> "Arms cannot strive against eternal laws,
> And whom God hath dethroned man cannot crown,
> Ensceptred by vain might,"

but also for the reason that contemplation has taught him another lesson:

> "My ears can hear the undertone of life,
> The joy, the woe, the wonder and the prayer
> I could not hear amid the din of strife."

As, strengthened in his purpose, he sets forth once more upon his search, a holy man greets him:

> "I welcome thee to a rich solitude,
> Rest for thy body and thy soul is here."

Belisarius, however, has had a glimpse of the Divine other than that which has been vouchsafed to the holy man, and conqueror as he has been of men and of worlds, he must be active, not passive, in the conquest of his own self. His interpretation of the call of God to man—little as he may understand the mystery of existence as manifested in his own misery—is to strive on even though that be to suffer, and to find victory in high endeavor and achievement which the search for his son symbolizes.

He journeys on, until among a group of boys, to whom he re-

counts the story of a great deed out of his life, the wanderer, after all his tireless effort, finds his son. But, as he carries the child in his arms, it dies of the sting of an asp, and Belisarius bears his boy but to the grave.

The picture which the story presents—sombre enough with its unmerited suffering and unrebuked guilt — is redeemed from gloom by the great calm of its atmosphere and the noble proportions of its heroic central figure.

Peculiarly fitting for the title-page of the volume are the lines put by Lowell into the speech of Columbus as he sails on his seemingly hopeless search for a new world:

> "Endurance is the crowning quality
> And patience all the passion of great hearts."

The poem is written in the Spenserian stanza, which has been the despair of even the gifted poets other than Byron, Keats and perhaps Shelley. It was a wise selection for a narrative poem, and Mr. Grant has made effective use of its strength and grace. It may serve to emphasize this view if it be added that the preceding quotations are selected merely as illustrative of the method employed in treating the legend, and not because of their superiority to the other stanzas, which frequently are of even greater merit.

If the poem be read aloud, it must be regarded as one of the fine poems of recent years. But, as Mr. Corson in his admirable treatise on English Verse says, poetry must be read aloud. There can be little doubt as to the correctness of this view. To read poetry in silence to one's self, particularly poetry written in the Spenserian stanza or in blank verse, is more or less like attempting to appreciate a great musician's creation by a mere inspection and study of the score. The composer may find satisfaction in such a method, but to others the mute score is largely meaningless, and is waked to life and beauty by the musical instrument, as are the lines of poetry by the human voice.

The appreciative reader will have keen enjoyment in this work of a man of rare intellectual attainments and spiritual insight, and on laying down the volume will find it no easy task to call to mind another living author equally capable of writing such a poem.

JOSEPH S. AUERBACH.

WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON; ST. PETERSBURG; PARIS; ROME; WASHINGTON.

LONDON, *January, 1908.*

LOOKING back over the conduct of their domestic and foreign affairs during the past year, Englishmen find little cause for dissatisfaction. It has been throughout Europe, and, indeed, throughout the world, a year of appeasement and settling down. The international temperature is lower than it was twelve months ago; is, in fact, almost normal. Great Britain has been well to the front in a period of unusual and nearly universal *rapprochements.* Her traders in the Far East are beginning to suffer severely from Japanese competition; but the Anglo-Japanese Alliance remains as steady as a rock and, within the last few months, has been officially recognized both by Russia and by France as the basis of Far Eastern peace. The Anglo-French *entente,* which is the pivot of Great Britain's European policy, adds something with each month that passes to its efficacy and steadfastness. With the United States, with Spain, Portugal, Italy and Austria-Hungary, this country has succeeded in maintaining and even strengthening its many bonds of popular and political sympathy. But 1907 will be memorable above all things in the British calendar for the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian Agreement and for the cessation of the Anglo-German war of words. The British people have been exhorted by I know not how many experts to regard the Anglo-Russian Agreement as a needless sacrifice of British interests in Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet; and it is, in my judgment, the fact that, if that Agreement stood by itself and could be considered apart from its reflex influence on British policy in other quarters of the world, Sir Edward Grey would be held to have had considerably the worst of the bargain. But in politics, in international politics especially, nothing stands alone; and in this particular case the

guidance of the experts, with their narrow, localized standpoint, has proved less trustworthy than the common-sense instincts of the uninstructed masses. The British people in general are unreservedly glad that the era of suspicion and pinpricks in Anglo-Russian relations should now be closed. The events of the last few years, the Morocco affair especially, have taught them that it is not a British interest that Russia should be disabled from making her weight felt in the balance of European power. They are delighted that their new-formed friendship with France should now be extended to include the ally of France. They believe, with Sir Edward Grey, that half the difficulties of diplomacy vanish when two Powers approach each other with sentiments of mutual good-will; and if the Anglo-Russian Agreement has contributed to this result they hold it to be well worth a few minor sacrifices.

In regard to Germany the situation, politically and psychologically, is somewhat more complex. There is but one feeling of relief and satisfaction among Englishmen that King Edward and the Kaiser should have found themselves able to resume their personal relations. The results of the Imperial meetings at Wilhelmshöhe last August, and of the Kaiser's prolonged visit to England in November, have been a sensible improvement in the attitude of the two peoples towards one another. For almost the first time in a decade, the British and German newspapers are ceasing to scowl and gird. There is a lull in the tornado of accusations, abuse and recriminations, and a general desire on both sides of the North Sea for a return to sanity. Anglo-German relations are at last being debated without passion and without discourtesy. That is admittedly a great gain. But to discuss unpleasant facts with politeness is not to make them more palatable; and it is being borne in upon Englishmen that there are many facts in Anglo-German relations which cannot be conjured away by smooth words. The chief of these facts is the growth of the German Navy. The new naval programme now under discussion in the Reichstag has opened the eyes of all Englishmen to the conviction that a great crisis lies ahead of them. Dependent for her very existence upon supremacy at sea, Great Britain sees across the North Sea the steady fashioning of a navy which is unlikely, it is true, ever to equal her own, but which must in time come to hold the balance of European sea

power, and which must also make it well-nigh impossible for the British purse to stand indefinitely the strain of the two-Power standard. How far English apprehensions are aroused may be judged from the fact that Mr. W. T. Stead, one of the most ardent of the anti-jingoes, has called upon the Government to lay down two "Dreadnoughts" for every one laid down by Germany. The feeling is biting into Englishmen that the policy of naval construction pursued during the next decade will be big with the fate of the Empire itself.

One other issue of transcendent moment has also emerged during the past year. It affects Great Britain and the British Empire more nearly than any other Power, but it does not affect them alone. I refer, of course, to the relations that are to obtain between the white and colored peoples. The anti-Japanese explosion in British Columbia, the refusal of both Australia and New Zealand to open their sparsely settled territories to Asiatic immigrants, the expulsion of Hindus from Canada, and the steps now being taken by the Transvaal to get rid of the Indians who have flocked over the border from Natal, raise problems which both in themselves and in their influence upon the course of British foreign and Imperial policy deserve the best thought and forethought that the Government can give them. In matters of such intricacy and magnitude, public opinion takes long to crystallize; but I notice the growth of a disposition to consider the suggestion put forward in these letters some months ago—that the first step towards the solution of the question should be a conference between Great Britain, China and Japan.

In domestic politics, the past year has been comparatively uneventful. The Liberals have held their own and start on the new year with a majority virtually undiminished and with few signs that they have yet lost, or are about to lose, the favor of the country. They have passed two admirable measures, one remodelling the organization of the army and the other providing small holdings for agricultural labors. Mr. Asquith's Budget contained two features that redeemed it from the commonplace. One was the setting aside of over two million pounds as a nucleus for an old-age pension fund. The other was the introduction, for the first time in British financial history, of a distinction between earned and unearned income for the purposes of income-tax assessment. The Government also presided

over the Colonial Conference with more success than its opponents have been willing to allow. It could not, indeed, entertain the idea of Colonial preference in fiscal matters, but it made provision for a common system of Imperial defence, it agreed to the organization of an Imperial Secretariat inside the Colonial Office for the special study and elucidation of Imperial subjects, and it took a long step towards the development of steamship communications between the various parts of the Empire. Indeed, both in their Colonial policy and in their handling of a delicate but by no means desperate situation in India, the Liberals have scored unlooked-for successes, the grant of self-government to the Transvaal being in itself a stroke of the finest statesmanship. It is only in Ireland that they have so far conspicuously failed. Mr. Birrell's Devolution Bill, after its rejection by the Nationalists, was withdrawn; the Irish University Bill, outlined by Mr. Bryce just before he sailed for the United States, aroused such an intensity of opposition that it was not even introduced; and Mr. Birrell's actions and speeches in regard to the epidemic of cattle-driving have not impressed English opinion as those of a statesman of firmness and insight. I do not myself endorse this judgment, believing that Mr. Birrell has nearly all the qualities that an Irish Secretary ought to have, and feeling confident that he will yet leave a deep and beneficent mark on the statute-book. Another venture which has also turned out badly is the Government's campaign against the House of Lords. Except perhaps in Scotland, where some excitement was aroused by the rejection of two Scottish Bills in the Upper Chamber, the response to the Prime Minister's call to arms has been inadequate. The issue, however, having been once raised, will have to be fought out: the Bills rejected by the Lords are to be sent back to them during the coming session; and the next general election will almost certainly turn on the relations that are to subsist between the two Houses.

On the whole, the Liberals have good reason to be satisfied with their present position and prospects. They have undertaken to tackle some highly difficult and complicated questions—the licensing question for one, Irish University education for another, English education for a third, and old-age pensions for a fourth—and they are greatly harassed by the pressure of the Labor and Socialist men in the rear and by the shrewd tactics

which these new political forces are adopting in the constituencies. Nevertheless, they are in a far happier state than their opponents, who, besides being a hopeless minority in the House of Commons, have rather lost ground than gained it in the country, and in spite of repeated demonstrations of unity are still almost as much divided as ever on the fiscal issue. The only party, indeed, that is completely contented with itself and feels that the future is its own is the Socialist party. The year that has just closed will always be remembered in English politics as the year in which Socialism, as a definitive and organized political force, first made its appearance in the House of Commons. Socialism has been the great debating topic of the year, and the Socialist campaign in the constituencies has been prosecuted with quite unexampled vigor. But how far the doctrines of Socialism, whether in their stiff Marxian garb or in the more flexible robes of the "Revisionists," have laid hold of the minds of the English masses, it is extremely difficult to decide. From many points of view, there is no country in which Socialism would seem to stand a poorer chance than in England. There is comparatively little of the class spirit here; the English working-man has none of the ferocity of the French proletariat against the black-coated *bourgeoisie;* the lines of separation between the various grades of English society are wavering, coalescent, easily crossed and recrossed; there is no privileged military caste to domineer over all who are outside its ranks; there is no fiscal system setting the country against the town and exploiting the many for the few; the tradition of individualism is still enormously strong and pervasive; the British disdain for theories, for large views and for logical conclusions, and the British instinct for compromise are very far from being exhausted; and the strength of trade-unionism, the vigor and adaptability of English Liberalism, and the fact that the work of social reform has always in Great Britain gone on continuously, are still further obstacles in the path of Socialism, and render it extremely unlikely that it will ever acquire the position and influence it has won in France and Germany.

What is unquestionable, however, is that all sections of the Labor party, whether they are Socialists or not, are gradually coming together on a platform of advanced social reform. Their programme goes very much further than the present Cabinet is

prepared to advance. But it is characteristic of the confusion into which English politics are descending that a large section of the Unionists applaud the Socialists and even seek to outbid the Liberals for their favor. Indeed, the only true Conservatives left in Great Britain nowadays are the Unionist Free-Traders, who, being alienated from their own party by the fiscal question and from the Liberals by the semi-socialistic measures and leanings of the present Government, are relapsing, under the guidance of the "Spectator," into a state of mind on the subject of social reforms that was antiquated twenty years ago, and has been incredible ever since. In their belief, the Unionist party ought to shelve the question of Tariff Reform and concentrate all its forces against any proposals that smack of Socialism. This, however, is very far from being the view of the Tariff Reformers, who constitute the majority in the Unionist ranks. According to them, all who desire social reform must also desire tariff reform, because tariff reform alone can supply the necessary funds for social reform. The Liberals, they argue, will soon disappoint the masses by the inability of "Cobdenite finance" to find the money for old-age pensions and similar experiments. Then will come the great chance of the Chamberlainites to offer social reform in return for tariff reform. The expectation is not impossible of fulfilment, and a union between those who advocate social reform at any price and those who advocate tariff reform at any price is more than conceivable.

Many new Acts came into force on the first day of the new year. The most important of these, and the one from which the most is hoped, is the Small Holdings Act, giving County Councils the power compulsorily to acquire land to be let as small holdings. Another Act, called the Probation of Offenders Act, marks the first introduction into England of a principle that is already familiar in America—the principle of releasing offenders in certain cases on probation, binding them over to good behavior, with or without sureties, for a period not exceeding three years, and appointing probation officers, who may be women, to observe their conduct and "advise, assist and befriend them." A third Act provides for the appointment of a public trustee who is qualified to undertake, for a small fee, all the duties of an ordinary trustee, with the added advantage of being permanent and backed by the Consolidated Funds.

ST. PETERSBURG, *January, 1908.*

CONTRARY to wont, this letter will touch upon a question of international interest—the commercial rivalry between Japan and the other Great Powers—the full significance of which is certain to be thoroughly grasped, if not to-day, then within the next five years. In some ears these words may sound like mere guesswork. So, too, did the definite foreshadowing of a Russian Constitution made in these pages thirty months ago, when the State was still an absolute monarchy. In June, 1905, the following forecast appeared in this REVIEW: "For Russia the destruction of her fleet means the close of the autocratic epoch and the beginning of a reign of democracy. One-man rule is now virtually dead." Less than six months later, the autocratic fabric had been pulled down, and at present parliamentary institutions are slowly growing up among its ruins. And as it has been with the forecast of the internal situation, so it will probably be with my present presentiment that serious international complications will result from the commercial strivings of Japan.

Nippon's commercial policy in the Far East may well seem to most readers of this REVIEW a matter devoid of actuality. They may argue that Japan cannot shut the Open Door in the face of the whole world and that, if that contingency be eliminated, no other danger is formidable. But if they will assume for a moment that Japan's commercial designs in the Far East may in truth be fraught with importance to the world, the following considerations will probably harden that assumption into a firm conviction and show that a new and unlooked-for turn is being given to the policy of the nations interested in the Far East by the Russo-Japanese Commercial Agreement.

In the course of the negotiations between the two Powers which were carried on for nearly a twelvemonth in St. Petersburg, M. Motono, the Mikado's Minister, made, and M. Izvolsky, the Tsar's Foreign Secretary, assented to, a novel demand which, had its ulterior trend been discernible, might have caused the diplomatic world to prick its ears and rub its eyes. For it is an unmistakable token of the new spirit that is now moving over the face of the Pacific waters, and it warrants the belief that a fresh political tenet is being fashioned which may, if it win recognition, secure for the people of Nippon a privi-

leged commercial status in extensive regions of the Far East. It consists of a claim advanced by the Mikado's Government to bestow upon and accept from "Corea *and the countries contiguous to Japan in eastern Asia situated to the east of the Straits of Malacca*" special commercial concessions to which no other Powers, despite their right to the treatment of the most favored nation, shall be entitled.

This claim has already been allowed by Russia; and Japan confidently expects that it will be likewise acknowledged by the United States, Great Britain and the other nations. The innovation came about in this way. The two contracting parties agreed to grant to each other what is known as the most-favored-nation treatment. That is to say, over and above the special tariff concessions and other commercial facilities reciprocally and expressly accorded, they affirmed their willingness to extend to each other the facilities which they have already bestowed, or may hereafter bestow, upon other friendly Powers. Thus, if Russia is expressly obtaining low duties, say, on her rye entering Japan, she would also implicitly, in virtue of the most-favored-nation treatment, enjoy the benefit of the favorable tariff on wheat conceded by Japan, say, to the United States, and on tallow granted, it might be, to the Argentine Republic. To confer these rights upon friendly nations is nowadays the custom. But it is also usual to add a restrictive qualification eliminating from the most-favored-nation clause those special concessions—sometimes mere border facilities for traffic—which are common between, and confined to, neighboring countries. Thus, for instance, the privilege of navigating the Danube in Austrian territory which Austria might allow to Bavaria would, of course, not be shared by Russia, despite her undoubted right in Austria to the most-favored-nation treatment. Well, this restrictive stipulation, which always qualifies the most-favored-nation clause in Russian commercial treaties, was omitted in the Japanese draft of the new commercial agreement. The Russian plenipotentiaries, assuming that the omission was due to an oversight, asked to have the lacking clauses inserted.

M. Motono assented to this, but conditionally. He would add the clause, he said, provided that the same stipulation be applied to kindred privileges which Japan may accord to and receive from her neighbors. "Her neighbors?" the Russians ex-

claimed. "Yes. Why should an island State be deemed neighborless and debarred from the enjoyment of the valuable commercial and political privileges which continental Powers vindicate for themselves?" "And who are your neighbors?" one can imagine the Russian statesman inquiring of his Japanese colleague. "Our neighbors," was the reply, "are the nations and the peoples living to the east of the Straits of Malacca; the Chinese, the Siamese, the Coreans and the inhabitants of Cochin-China." Truly, a formidable array of peoples and a vast expanse of territory. As M. Motono's proposal was accepted, these millions of Orientals, with their great and increasing purchasing powers, may be enabled to trade with Japan on terms calculated to baffle the most vigorous attempts at competition. Heretofore, Japan enjoyed some natural advantages over her trade rivals in the Far Eastern markets: she is on the spot; she is well acquainted with the peoples of the Far East and their needs, and it is in her power to purchase labor more cheaply than her competitors can. With these odds in her favor, she was winning steadily in the race. But now, if those further privileges be ratified, her competitors will in many respects be put out of the running altogether. Moscow and Lodz, for instance, will hardly have the ghost of a chance. As Russia, not being an industrial nation, had but little to lose by compliance with Japan's demand, while probably she stood to gain considerably, her plenipotentiaries consented.

But the consent was contingent, not absolute. For it would be inconsistent with Russia's dignity were she to contract herself out of rights which her competitors and peers, Great Britain, the United States, Germany and France, continue to enjoy. And for that reason she stipulated that her acquiescence shall not have any practical consequences unless and until those other Powers also assent. Russia owed it to her dignity to make this proviso. Now, what the Mikado's representatives have in view is to induce all the great commercial nations of the world to contract themselves in a similar manner out of those same privileges for the behoof of Japan, Russia being asked to forego them before the others solely because she happened to be negotiating a commercial treaty earlier than they. And the Japanese are so sure of obtaining their end within the next five years that they have agreed that Russia's renunciation shall not take effect until

the other Powers have followed her example. But, as soon as their new commercial treaties with Japan are under discussion, this stipulation will be insisted on as an essential feature of them. And only if it be embodied in the future commercial treaties will Russia be asked to honor her cheque written nearly five years in advance.

Put into concrete shape, then, the innovation means that Japan would fain cultivate much closer commercial relations with the peoples of the Far East—of whom she among all great nations deems herself the only neighbor—than shall be permissible to the other Powers. For these the extreme Orient shall, indeed, keep open its door, but for Japan its portals. According to the new formula, the "special commercial relations" which Nippon may entertain with Siam, China, Corea and Indo-China as with next-door neighbors, and the special commercial concessions which may emanate from these relations, shall not be liable to be claimed by other Powers under the most-favored-nation clause. All other peoples shall be expressly excepted, with their own consent.

This whole story, which may be pieced together from the official protocols of the Conference now printed in St. Petersburg, is on all fours with the arrangement once come to between Japan and the United States, prior to the abolition of consular jurisdiction in the Mikado's dominions. The American Government then agreed that its citizens resident in the Mikado's realm should be subject to Japanese laws and amenable to Japanese tribunals, if other nations would also consent to have their subjects thus treated. And in this action America was alone, no other Power following suit. Consequently, the agreement did not come into force until years after, when Great Britain and the other Great Powers had likewise assented to the abolition of consular jurisdiction. America, however, had by her example exercised a considerable moral pressure upon the other States, for which Japan showed herself duly grateful. Russia acting in a similar spirit to-day is establishing a strong claim upon Japan's gratitude. And when at last the commercial treaties are altered in the sense indicated—assuming that Great Britain and the other Powers do eventually consent to have them modified in this way—Russia will have lost much less by renouncing the special advantages reserved by Japan than will the United States, Great Britain or Germany.

Will Japan succeed in persuading the commercial Powers of the world to give her that exceptionally advantageous position in the Far East at which she is obviously aiming? Those who lay stress upon the magnitude of the interests involved will probably answer the question by an emphatic negative. Others who bear in mind the consummate skill, the despair-proof energy and the unflagging perseverance that characterize the Japanese, and who read the future in the light of the past, will be tempted to reply affirmatively.

In Japan's designs, so far as they are revealed or foreshadowed by her attitude at the St. Petersburg Conference, there is nothing calculated to shock or surprise the onlooker. Foreign policies should be dispassionately judged according to the contemporary standard of international ethics. And the moral code of nations to-day extols one-sided nationalism and condemns altruism. Japan, therefore, has done the right thing at the right time. Certainly, it would ill become those who applauded Russia's line of action in Manchuria to cavil at Japan's enterprise in the Far East. The principle underlying the schemes of both States is identical, and international "ethics" identifies it with patriotism. The only difference is that the project of Nippon is much vaster than that of Russia, and has a better chance of being successfully carried out. The only rival who hitherto appeared formidable is now prostrate: her army is demoralized, and her navy is either at the bottom of the sea or flying the flag of Japan.

As an artichoke is eaten leaf by leaf, so a great national scheme like this is realized bit by bit. And the Japanese are persevering and methodical. As their statesmen carried out their design of abolishing consular jurisdiction, so they may gradually get the new restrictive clause introduced into the commercial treaties which must be renewed in a few years. It is natural to begin with Corea and Great Britain. What objection, for instance, can Sir Edward Grey raise to Japan's enjoying exceptional privileges in Corea? Obviously none, for the British look upon the Hermit Kingdom as part of Greater Japan. In like manner, the United States Government may, it is assumed, easily be won over. No well-informed Russian would be surprised to learn that Mr. Taft, during his recent visit to the Tsar's realm, had heard the subject broached by competent observers and that he had displayed no tokens of concern.

PARIS, *January, 1908.*

I PROPOSE to record the doings of the Deputies since the beginning of the session seven or eight weeks ago: for the present, there is no other history of France. They have managed to despatch the Budget in this comparatively brief space of time. In countries where the chief business of Parliament is to sanction the taxes, such haste might appear excessive, but the Chamber needs time for its long-contemplated reforms.

The Budget as sent up to the Senate is not absolutely sincere. For several years—in spite of occasional pleasant surprises like a surplus of two hundred millions of francs in the receipts, this year—the Chamber has not succeeded in balancing the Budget, and all it has done has availed only to disguise the deficit. Last year the dodge was to put down to the Budget in hand the proceeds accruing to the Treasury from the Rothschild and a few other large successions, though the duty did not fall due for another twelve months. This year, the Minister of Finance bethought himself of the no less childish method of redistributing between three or four future Budgets twenty-eight million francs to be paid to pensioned State servants, or employed as bounties to the merchant shipping, a heavy burden on French finance. This device was adopted by a large majority who know very well that the average Frenchman invariably skips the portions of his paper devoted to pure finance or to foreign politics. Nor did the Chamber entertain any doubt of the welcome it would receive from the Senate. The senatorial *rapporteur* is M. Poincaré, a man of exceptional ability and absolute integrity, who gave up office as Minister of Finance in the last Cabinet, because he saw that there was no escape from financial shifts if the Chamber were to redeem its promise of an Old Age Pension fund. The Chamber does not much mind a rebuke from the Senate on the subject of finance—it matters very little: the country knows nothing of it, and the second reading of the Budget seldom occupies more than four afternoons, after which the subject is never mentioned. Another measure, popular or, in the language of politicians, *electoral* and economical, has been taken, which the Senate will not find quite so easy to throw out. Three times in the ten or twelve years during which he belongs to the reserve, the French citizen is called back to the colors for periods of thirteen and twenty-eight days. The Chamber felt sure that

it would please the electorate, while lightening the Budget, by reducing the longer period to three weeks, and the shorter one to one week. The wisdom of such a step just when the two years' service must necessarily weaken the Army may be questioned. In fact, it brought about the indignant resignation of two veterans in the military Commissions, M. Mézières and M. de Freycinet, twice Minister of War. But few Deputies are strong-minded enough to seek the approbation of military experts rather than that of the laborers who send them to the Chamber. Political considerations rule military as well as religious questions, and the prospect of re-election is the chief factor that moulds our representatives' opinions.

Sums have been voted towards the much-needed revision of the *cadastre* (land assessment), preparatory to the future enactment of the Income Tax. In fact, it is impossible to determine the tax to be paid by each landowner, unless a correct estimate of the actual value of the land be obtained, and the *cadastre* is so obsolete that some land properties pay, when they change owners, the extravagant tax of a hundred and fifty per cent., whereas first-rate estates pay next to nothing because they happened to be waste when the original survey was made. Strange to say, the very wise proposal to revise the cadastral tables had been made—as I hinted above—by M. Poincaré to the last Chamber; it was considered, discussed and finally passed by both Houses; but, the necessary sums having been diverted from their proper channels by M. Poincaré's successor, the Act was not only left in abeyance, but completely forgotten.

For some little while the Chamber had flattered itself that this very useful and apparently harmless measure would save it the ordeal of the debate on the main issue. In point of fact, the revision of the *cadastre* must take place at least every three years, and what is the good of passing an Act that cannot be enforced for three years to come? This reasoning would have seemed urgent, had it not been for M. Jaurès, who pointed out that the present Chamber and present Cabinet have made the Income Tax part and parcel of their programme—that it is, therefore, their duty to pass it, and that the project will be safer if it waits as an Act than if it waits as a Bill.

With the exception of a legal spoliation, to which I will advert at the end of this letter, the Chamber has done nothing else be-

sides the ordinary routine of the Budget, and the country thinks it is too little. Unfortunately, the country is only called upon to speak its mind on its representatives one half-day in four years, and it is seldom that an event of particular significance happens so to coincide with a general election as to raise it to the dignity of a national verdict.

There is one question the examination of which will delight all parties except the monarchists of the Right, whose policy is to stand for religious liberty even though they may not care a straw for religion: I mean the revision of the Law on Secondary Education. The conduct of secondary education was until 1850 a State monopoly. After that date M. de Falloux succeeded in passing a law empowering private teachers duly qualified to open and conduct schools. This liberty had long been claimed by Catholics, who insisted that they had a right to see their children educated by masters of their own choosing. Most of these Catholic colleges were managed by priests, secular or regular, and in course of time became as numerous as the State establishments. Naturally they had not the privilege of granting diplomas and the boys were examined for the baccalaureate degree by the official boards. About twenty Colleges were in the hands of the Jesuits and, as might be expected, were mostly frequented by the sons of monarchists or of people anxious to secure for their sons a more or less aristocratic connection. These schools, of course, were antipathetic to the republicans and often denounced by the local radical committees: a great deal of the anti-clerical agitation was directed against them and their suppression in 1901 was looked upon as a triumph over the reactionaries. On the contrary, the schools conducted by the diocesan clergy had no political flag of any sort, and only aimed at turning out well-educated lads with sound religious principles. The masters who taught in them had been at first mere seminary priests; but, as years passed and the standard for the degree grew higher, they became better scholars, and, in the last twenty years, most Catholic schools could boast of a staff with an excellent University education and much broader notions than those of the ordinary parochial clergy. There was nowhere a better chance of reconciling the Church with the spirit of the times.

At various periods, there had been some talk of submitting the unofficial schools to official inspection and nobody thought this

a very serious encroachment on the liberty of teaching. Two or three Bills to that effect have been framed since 1901, the last of which, by M. Chaumié, then Minister of Education, won the approval of both Liberals and the Government. This Bill was waiting for a chance of securing the Chamber's attention when the Disestablishment of the Church brought about the state of tension which the reader cannot have forgotten. Immediately the Leaders of the Left spoke of remodelling the Chaumié project, and in fact a new *rapporteur* was named,—a perfectly unknown Radical-Socialist, M. Massé, with no experience whatever of education—and a new Commission was elected.

In July of last year, M. Massé's report was ready and its conclusions were published. They preserved the main lines of the Chaumié Bill, *i.e.,* equality of rights and charges between the free and the State establishments, but M. Massé introduced a curious exception. "The Commission," he said, "would have liked to please its President, M. F. Buisson, by excluding the clergy from the schools altogether, but it had appeared impossible to give a satisfactory legal definition of a priest, and the Commission had to be content with excluding the clergy from the direction of establishments but not from teaching." This extraordinary statement amazed the few experts who take an interest in the question. If it was impossible to find a correct definition of a priest as teacher, how was it possible to find one of a priest as manager? Anti-clericalism having nothing to do with logic, no answer was ever given.

In September the Papal Encyclical against Modernists appeared and the feeling it created dispensed M. Massé from seeking explanations. Clearly, to the Radical mind, a clergy who received and consented to act upon such an anti-scientific document *ipso facto* declared themselves unequal to the task of educating French citizens. These gentlemen did not take the trouble to observe that many—I should say most—of the so-called Modernists blamed by the Pope were professors in Catholic Colleges.

The probable consequence of this wholesale view is that M. Buisson will rise during the debates and move the complete exclusion from the schools, of the clergy, whether legally defined or not. This would take their bread from about fifteen hundred French citizens with University degrees, against whom no exception could be taken if they did not happen to be priests.

My American or English reader will not fail to ask me whether the immorality of excluding French citizens from rights open to all the French nation will not strike the majority and cause some wavering among them. The fact is that one must live in France to realize how politicians can always bring themselves to view things politically and apart from any moral consideration. Men who would not take a penny from a Rothschild will have no hesitation in robbing a whole category of citizens just to please a Minister. The instance with which I am going to conclude happened only six weeks ago and is most instructive.

The Pope's prohibiting the French Bishops against forming "*associations cultuelles*" (associations for public worship) entailed the loss of all Church property. But in some cases the property was of such a nature as to enable individual claimants to dispute the confiscation. For instance, there existed in most dioceses funds for aged priests which had at first been appropriated by the Treasury, but which the efforts of the well-known Abbé Lemire will probably succeed in transferring to municipal charities, with the charge of paying the pensions till the death of all the old priests concerned. The case I am noticing is very similar. Nothing is more frequent among Roman Catholics than the endowment of religious services for the dead. The state used to recognize these foundations, provided the capital bequeathed was invested in stocks. No Catholic *associations cultuelles* being forthcoming, the Treasury appropriated the endowments, and, as a consequence, the services were suspended. The testators' heirs no less naturally sued the Government, and, the law being glaringly in their favor, obtained satisfaction from all the Courts they applied to. Unfortunately for the heirs and for justice, it is those very judgments that the Chamber has just coolly quashed, deciding, moreover—to add insult to injury—that the claimants shall pay the legal expenses of all the cases originally decided in their favor.

No such contempt of justice had been seen in France even during the worst days of the Revolution. A jubilant Socialist judged the situation by exclaiming on giving his vote: "At last we see a real blow struck against private property!"

P.S.—The Senate has just sent the Budget back to the Chamber, after substituting for the shifts proposed by the Minister a loan of twelve million dollars.

ROME.

A VERY serious question which must be dealt with effectively in Italy is that concerning the railways, especially under two aspects, both very important: (1) the bringing up of the system to modern requirements and to meet the extraordinary development of traffic in the Peninsula, and (2) the controlling of the pretensions, which are often excessive, of the railway servants.

As is known, the Italian railways were ceded, in 1885, when the finances of the State were at very low water, to private companies for a period of twenty years. The statesmen who had recourse to this measure thought they had solved the railway problem in the best interests of the State, as while freeing the Government from the heavy expenses which the construction and management of the lines implied, and securing to it at the same time a considerable participation in the dividends, they hoped that the spirit of competition between the different companies would ensure an efficient and constantly improving service. In reality, the companies merely worked the lines in their own interest, to such a point that when, in July, 1905, the State decided to take them over, it was found that the 10,000 miles of railways, forming the whole system, were practically so worn out as to require thorough renovation in every department, especially in that of the rolling stock, which was in a complete state of decay. For instance, every year 60,000 trucks had to be hired, representing a loss of twenty per cent. on what they produced. The engines were inadequate in number, antiquated in type, and in bad condition, and the passenger carriages in many cases unfit for use. Despite these facts, however, public opinion exercised such strong pressure in favor of State ownership that Parliament almost unanimously approved their being taken over, and voted in different bills $182,000,000 to be invested in laying double tracks on all those lines the returns of which exceed a certain amount, in strengthening all the main lines, so as to be able to carry the heaviest and fastest trains, in transforming them from steam to electricity, in adapting every new installation or change to three times the present requirements to meet the constantly growing traffic, and, finally, in renewing and nearly doubling the present rolling stock. For this last item, as all the manufactories in Italy had received Government orders which would keep them busy for several years, com-

missions were given abroad for engines, and cars already built were bought, including some from America. But it is estimated that the work undertaken cannot be completed in less than ten or twelve years even with foreign aid.

The question of the men is much more serious. Although, with the passage of the lines into the control of the State, they have become public officials, they, understanding the enormous power which they can exercise through their Union, abuse it, augmenting their pretensions constantly. While the Government does not interfere in strikes, except to protect the liberty of those who wish to work, the strike of public officials is considered a crime, severely punished by the penal code. The trouble arises when, as in the Milan strike, the strikers number several thousands, and are backed by the threat of a general strike not only on the railways, but among all classes of workmen. Indeed, the situation tends to grow worse just because of the complete solidarity existing among all working-men of all classes.

The strike of 7,000 railway servants in Milan and Lombardy was, in fact, only to express sympathy with the gas employees of that town, who, by the time the railway people struck, had already settled their quarrel with their employers. When the railways were taken over by the State, the Government was, for the first time, confronted with the dilemma of either not applying to the railway strikers the punishments established, thus losing all authority and encouraging the men in their rebellion, or enforcing the law and facing a general strike. The Government was rather in favor of treating the matter with great indulgence, but conservative elements, both in the country and at Court, exercised such an influence as to make it clear that too weak an attitude would have unpleasant consequences. As a kind of compromise, therefore, sixteen of the leaders of the strike were dismissed. The railway people thought at first of answering immediately by a general strike, but this was impossible through the opposition of the Socialist leaders, who preferred inaction rather than risk the advent of a Cabinet of repression. Public opinion, however, is inclined to believe that it will be difficult to avoid the experiment of a general strike promoted by the railway people in revenge. To that end they make claims for the reduction of their work to eight hours daily, and for one day free in the week.

To realize to what extent such claims are nothing but impositions, it must be known that the Italian railway employees are among the best treated in Europe, the State securing to them a good pension, insurance against accident, free medical attendance and medicines, and additional wages for those who live or travel in malarial districts. The expenses of the Department of the Railways for the men and the administration absorb in Italy sixty per cent. of the gross returns against forty per cent. in other countries. The railway employees even considered to which alternative, in case of non-acceptance of their terms, it would be better for them to have recourse instead of to the strike —to obstructionism, that is, the too literal carrying out of the regulations, or to *sabotage,* the secret injuring of railway material. It would make little difference which of these methods should be employed, as those adopting the former would subject themselves to punishment as strikers, and any one committing *sabotage* would be liable to dismissal and to five years' imprisonment besides.

WASHINGTON, *January, 1908.*

A REPORT is current in Washington that Mr. Roosevelt has predicted that Secretary Taft will have over six hundred votes on the first ballot. The computation will not bear analysis. It assumes that the Secretary will get all the delegates from Southern States, and all those from the Far Western States, and a majority of those from New York, New England and Ohio. It is tolerably certain that Minnesota and the two Dakotas will instruct for Senator La Follette, who is also sure of his own State, Wisconsin, at least on the first ballot. It is doubtless true enough that Mr. Taft will have a larger number of votes than any other candidate on the first ballot; but it is also likely that these will fall materially short of giving him a majority, and the fact that they will be derived largely, if not mainly, from States certain to give their electoral votes to the Democratic nominee, will not tend to commend him to far-sighted politicians who want to see their party win at the ballot-box. The fact, also, that the Secretary of War cannot expect to have behind him an undivided delegation from his own State casts grave doubts on his availability. It is generally believed in Washington that, under certain circumstances, Governor Hughes could get a good deal of support

from New England, but he can hardly hope for an undivided delegation from New York, in view of the adverse position taken by President Roosevelt and the latter's adherents. The pivotal importance of the Empire State in the coming campaign is fully recognized by politicians on both sides. One has ceased to hear much talk about Vice-President Fairbanks's chance of obtaining the nomination, though he remains assured of Indiana's delegates. More is said about Speaker Cannon, but that is because the House of Representatives is full of his personal friends, and because he is known to have, beyond any other candidate with the possible exception of Senator Knox, the confidence of the Stand-Patters. Senator Knox will have Pennsylvania, but, apparently, no other State on the first ballot. He is, however, as we have intimated, the second choice of the Stand-Patters.

Until three or four weeks ago, it was generally conceded among Democratic politicians at the Federal capital that, although few of them wanted him, Mr. Bryan could probably count on obtaining a third nomination for the Presidency from the Democratic National Convention which is to be held in Denver. The spirit of resignation and despair seemed almost universal, although experience has shown that, in Democratic national conventions, owing to the two-thirds rule, it is relatively easy to defeat the most prominent candidate.

It is evidently a recognition of this fact which has caused the New York "World" to announce that it will designate sixteen candidates for the Democratic nomination, any one of whom, if selected, would be more likely to be chosen Chief Magistrate than would Mr. Bryan. This announcement, followed as it has been by successive demonstrations, has produced what may be termed a sensation in Washington. The "World" began by designating a Western candidate, John A. Johnson of Minnesota, who was chosen Governor by a small majority in 1904, when Mr. Roosevelt swept the State for President by a plurality of over 160,000. In 1906, Mr. Johnson beat his Republican competitor for the Governorship by more than 76,000. An Eastern candidate proposed by the "World" is Judge Gray of Delaware. Unquestionably his own State will send a Gray delegation to Denver, and his nomination would appeal eloquently to the Democrats of Pennsylvania.

Of all the candidates, however, thus far proposed by the

"World" the most promising is Woodrow Wilson, President of Princeton University. As a native of Virginia, who practised law and married in Georgia, he would be the first Southern man nominated for the Presidency by a National Convention since James K. Polk of Tennessee. As such, he would almost certainly carry such States as Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri, States that in recent years have once or oftener been detached from the Democratic column. As a man who for many years has been a professor in Northern institutions of learning, and who for some six years has been President of Princeton, he would powerfully commend himself to the Northern section of the Union, and beyond a doubt would carry the States of New Jersey and New York. There is no reason, either, why Woodrow Wilson, as a tariff revisionist, should not run well in Massachusetts, which elected a Democrat, Mr. Douglas, Governor in the Presidential year of 1904, and in Ohio, which also elected a Democratic Governor in 1905.

There is no doubt that a large appropriation for coast and insular fortifications will be requested at the present session of Congress, and the request seems likely to be granted, owing to the existence of a good deal of disquietude concerning the defenceless condition of our possessions in or bordering upon the Pacific Ocean. It also begins to look probable that the bill increasing the pay of officers and men in both the army and the navy will become a law. A large increase in the number of battle-ships is demanded by public opinion, in view of the fact that we require a powerful fleet in both the Atlantic and the Pacific, and in consideration also of another fact, that Germany's revised naval programme provides for the addition to her navy of three first-class battle-ships yearly, up to and including 1911 If, now, the American Congress should enact that no fewer than *four* first-class battle-ships shall be laid down by us annually, up to and including the year last named, we should soon have a mightier fleet in the Atlantic than we have just sent to the Pacific, and we could maintain it at its full fighting strength, if we should assume that the life of a modern battle-ship is only about twenty years, after which it becomes obsolete, and if we should, consequently, arrange to lay down the keels of two battle-ships a year after 1911. In that case, we should always remain a maritime power second in warlike capacity to Great Britain alone.

THE EDITOR'S DIARY.

Jealousy as a Curable Disease and as an Admirable Attribute.

Because the world continues to wag much as it did when Malory wrote, "There befele a Ialousye betwixe kynge Marke and Sir Tristram, for they loved bothe one lady," we are greatly interested to hear from France that the most erudite of modern scientists are convinced that at last they feel justified in pronouncing jealousy a disease, like consumption, which, while not invariably curable, may yet be eradicated in most cases by enlightened treatment. The malady, according to these notable discoverers, may be traced through three distinct phases: "First, jealous hyperesthesia, or morbid excitation of sentiments attended by uneasiness or fear; second, jealous monomania, which is a real mental disease leading to the mania of persecution; third, jealous insanity, which is the last stage of the two preceding phases, and this should be treated like any other form of insanity." The conclusion logically follows that jealousy is only an affliction of the nerve centres of the brain and can be readily modified by the use of such ordinary therapeutic remedies as cold douches and bromides. The experiments now being made we shall follow with keen interest, for the reason that a successful demonstration of the efficacy of the new treatment would obviously tend to exercise a material influence upon the intellectual and moral development of the human race; and yet we are constrained to question whether any actual advantage is to be gained by dealing with this disorder through exclusively scientific means.

It has become the custom of thoughtless and heedless persons to regard jealousy in all of its manifold forms as obnoxious, and its manifestation as discreditable; and so, undoubtedly, in its most vulgar phase it should be considered even by the thoughtful and heedful. One Pittacus, for example, as good and just and

wise a man as lived in his day and generation, was probably justified in begging from the Senate of Marseilles the privilege of killing himself because of the increasing clamor from the "jealous head" of his wife. Nor may we dispute the wisdom of the judicial body, which well knew and valued his worth, in acceding to his request, despite the lamentable and in our judgment unwarranted bitterness indicated by his positive general declaration to the effect that there could be no happy marriage, except that of a blind woman to a deaf man. That the services of such an one should have been lost to the world for a cause so trifling to mankind as a whole, however exasperating to the individual, is, of course, regrettable; but there must have been inherent weakness of some sort in a man who would resort to a remedy which, from time immemorial, has been considered cowardly, and the attempt to employ which is to-day a misdemeanor under the law in a number of our States. A jealous wife, as we all know from sympathetic observation of the affairs of our neighbors, is a severe trial; but, clearly, a man's duty to his fellow men should restrain him from pursuing a course which opens the way for her to foist her clamor upon another, and perhaps others, equally helpless. It is a matter of grave consideration whether the appropriation of a moderate sum of money for the building of a ducking-stool would not have better served both the Senate and the Senator.

But we suspect that the form of jealousy whose cure by the use of bromides and douches is pronounced by the French savants to be practicable is that defined by Addison as, "The Pain which a man feels from the apprehension that he is not equally loved by the Person whom he entirely loves." This variety of suffering is not uncommon, and frequently ends in homicide followed by suicide. The mind of the man thus afflicted is not necessarily abnormal; it may be only sensitive and resentful. Even in these comparatively enlightened days, barbaric notions prevail as to the superior rights of the male; and it is as instinctive among humans as among beasts to feel a sense of deprivation of just dues if affection be not returned upon demand. Consequently, to the warped judgment murder becomes a mere act of justice, and self-destruction follows naturally to evade the penalty of the law. Underlying all motives is the common and unreasoning misconception that love can be acquired by insistence upon a fancied or

even real right to its possession. If persons thus afflicted, whose tragical doings are recorded daily and we fear with growing frequency in the newspapers, would emulate the example of Pittacus and restrict their activities to attempts upon their own lives, there would be little cause for grief; but unfortunately this happens so seldom and the efforts, moreover, are so often unsuccessful that we are disposed to welcome any discovery that would tend to save for others the lives even of ladies of flirtatious disposition.

But further than this we could not conscientiously go, for the reason that in all other phases jealousy has always seemed to us one of the most admirable and attractive of the traits directly bequeathed by divinity to humanity and shared with substantial equality by both. The minor prophet, Pusey, correctly interprets the Old Testament's recognition of the attribute as one "whereby God does not endure the love of His creatures to be transferred from Him or divided with Him; it is twofold; an intense love, not bearing imperfections or unfaithfulness in that which it loves and so chastening it; or not bearing the ill-dealings of those who would injure what it loves, and so destroying them." From this comprehensive definition sprang the application to human affairs as voiced first by Bolingbroke when he marked the difference between jealousy and distrust, saying, "Men may be jealous on Account of their Liberties, and I think they ought to be so, even when they have no immediate Distrust that the Persons who govern seek to invade them," and reiterated by Emerson in the characteristic phrase: "The jealousy of every class to guard itself is a testimony to the reality they have found in life." In this broad, wise sense no nobler trait can be found in either divinity or humanity, and no exception can be taken to the direct declaration forbidding the worship of graven images, "For I the Lord thy God am a jealous God," as the best of His creatures are to this day jealous men and jealous women, conserving in real stability the rights of others by insisting upon their own.

"Yankee Doodle" and Peace.

We have received the following letter from Albion, New York:

"Sir,—I notice that you attribute the origin of 'Yankee Doodle' to the English. Another authority—published in 1839—says: 'Yankee Doodle' (or 'Iankhe Doule') is of classic origin. It was chanted by

the tuneful sons and daughters of Miletus, certainly in the days of Herodotus, and perhaps in the days of Homer.' This same authority says, further, that 'Yankee Doodle' ('Iankhe Doule') are Greek words meaning, 'Rejoice, O Slave!' or, 'Let the enslaved rejoice. . . .' The American version is evidently indigenous, and has not been transmitted through the English, to whom, indeed, the original appears to be wholly unknown.

"'Father an' I went down to camp,
Along with Captain Goodi*ng*,
And there we see the *gals and boys*,
As thick as *hasty pudding*.

. . . . . .

"'Yankee Doodle, be a man!
Yankee Doodle Dandy,
Yankee Doodle, kiss the gals,
Sweet as 'lasses candy.'

Indian corn was unknown to the English until the discovery of America, but was known to the ancients—at least 450 B.C.'

"These sketchy extracts which I have quoted are from an article published in *The Democratic Review*, February, 1839.

"Your whimsical assertion in the current REVIEW—that you 'continue to regard yourself as a lover of peace'—fills me with the liveliest admiration not unmixed with awe. Would it be indiscreet to inquire just what you mean by 'a lover of peace,' as applied to yourself? As an unprejudiced reader of your Diary, I *have* thought that you habitually used a frolicsome stick of dynamite, rather than the innocuous pen, when you playfully prod the shy widows, or gleefully prance across the outraged angularities of our esteemed spinsters. But when you had your merry fling at the funeral directors, I felt that it behooved the world at large to tread softly and speak low lest we provoke a characteristic explosion, liable to scatter consternation for miles around, and to permanently cripple the tender sensibilities of many innocent and hitherto harmless widows, spinsters and the like. I earnestly hope that the coming year will produce as many more of your agreeable rows among the fair sex as you can conveniently precipitate in order that the twelvefold pleasure I am anticipating shall not be marred.

"I am, sir, etc.,

"B. FAWCETT."

An ephemeral Review can hardly be accepted as an "authority" upon matters of grave historical concern, and yet there is a semblance of justification in the mere accuracy with which the Greek words are translated. In other respects, we are forced to observe, the letter is tinged with a spirit of frivolity. Assuredly we love peace, and are willing, if necessary, to fight for it.

LA SENTENCOJ DE SALOMONO.*

(El la Biblio.)

EL LA ORIGINALO TRADUKIS, L. L. ZAMENHOF.

ĈAPITRO V.

(1) Mia filo, atentu mian saĝon, al mia prudento klinu vian orelon, (2) por ke vi konservu prudenton kaj via buŝo tenu scion. (3) Ĉar la buŝo de malĉastulino elverŝas mielon, kaj ŝia gorĝo estas pli glata ol oleo. (4) Sed ŝia sekvaĵo estas maldolĉa kiel absinto, akra kiel ambaŭtranĉa glavo. (5) Ŝiaj piedoj iras malsupren al la morto, ŝiaj paŝoj atingas la inferon. (6) Ŝi ne iras rekte laŭ la vojo de vivo; ŝiaj paŝoj ŝanceliĝas, ŝi ne scias, kien ŝi iras. (7) Kaj nun, infanoj, aŭskultu min kaj ne forkliniĝu de la vortoj de mia buŝo. (8) Malproksimigu de ŝi vian vojon, kaj ne proksimiĝu al la pordo de ŝia domo, (9) por ke vi ne fordonu al aliaj vian honoron kaj viajn jarojn al la kruelulo, (10) por ke fremduloj ne satiĝu de via havo, kaj viaj laboroj ne estu en fremda domo. (11) Kaj vi ĝemos en la fino, kiam konsumiĝos via karno kaj korpo. (12) Kaj vi diros: ho, kiel mi malamis instruon, kaj mia koro malŝatis moraligon! (13) Kaj mi ne aŭskultis la voĉon de miaj instruantoj, kaj mi ne klinis mian orelon al miaj lernigantoj. (14) Mi estis preskaŭ en ĉio malbona meze de kunveno kaj societo. (15) Trinku akvon el via kavo kaj fluantan el via puto. (16) Viaj fontoj fluu eksteren, akvaj torentoj—en la stratoj. (17) Ili apartenu al vi sola, sed ne al aliaj kun vi. (18) Via

* Dr. Zamenhof has made this translation of Proverbs from the original text especially for The North American Review. The first chapter appeared in the December, 1907, issue. The subsequent chapters will be published during 1908.

fonto estu benata, kaj havu ĝojon de la edzino de via juneco. (19) Ŝi estas ĉarma kiel cervino kaj aminda kiel ĉamino; ŝiaj karesoj ĝuigu vin en ĉiu tempo, ŝia amo ĉiam donu al vi plezuron. (20) Kaj kial, mia filo, vi volas serĉi al vi plezuron ĉe fremda virino kaj enbrakigi ne apartenantan al vi? (21) Ĉar antaŭ la okuloj de Dio estas la vojoj de homo, kaj ĉiujn liajn irojn Li mezuras. (22) Liaj propraj malbonfaroj enkaptos la malpiulon, kaj la ŝnuroj de lia peko lin tenos. (23) Li mortos pro manko de eduko, kaj la multo de lia senprudenteco lin devojigos.

ĈAPITRO VI.

(1) Mia filo! Se vi garantiis por via proksimulo kaj donis vian manon por fremdulo, (2) tiam vi enretiĝis per la vortoj de via buŝo, kaptiĝis per la vortoj de via buŝo. (3) Tiam, mia filo, agu tiel kaj saviĝu, ĉar vi falis en la manon de via proksimulo; iru, rapidigu kaj pelu vian proksimulon; (4) ne lasu viajn okulojn dormi kaj viajn palpebrojn dormeti; (5) savu vin, kiel cervo, el la mano, kaj kiel birdo el la mano de la birdokaptisto. (6) Iru al la formiko, vi maldiligentulo, rigardu ĝian agadon kaj saĝiĝu. (7) Kvankam ĝi ne havas estron, nek kontrolanton, nek reganton, (8) ĝi pretigas en la somero sian panon, ĝi kolektas dum la rikolto sian manĝon. (9) Ĝis kiam, maldiligentulo, vi kuŝos? kiam vi leviĝos de via dormo? (10) Ne multe vi dormos, ne multe vi dormetos, ne multe viaj manoj estos intermetitaj por kuŝo: (11) Kaj venos via malriĉo kiel vojiranto, kaj via senhaveco kiel viro armita. (12) Homo sentaŭga, homo malbonfarema iras kun buŝo malica, (13) donas signojn per la okuloj, aludas per siaj piedoj, komprenigas per siaj fingroj; (14) renversaĵo estas en lia koro, li intencas malbonon, en ĉiu tempo li semas malpacon. (15) Tial subite venos lia pereo, li estos rompita subite, kaj neniu lin sanigos. (16) Jen estas ses aferoj, kiujn Dio malamas, kaj sep, kiujn Li abomenegas: (17) altaj okuloj, mensogema lango kaj manoj, kiuj verŝas senkulpan sangon, (18) koro, kiu preparas malbonfarajn intencojn, piedoj, kiuj rapidas kuri al malbono, (19) falsa atestanto, kiu elparolas mensogojn, kaj kiu semas malpacon inter fratoj. (20) Konservu, mia filo, la ordonon de via patro, kaj ne forĵetu la instruon de via patrino. (21) Ligu ilin por ĉiam al via koro, volvu ilin sur vian kolon. (22) Kiam vi iros, ili gvidos vin, kiam vi kuŝiĝos, ili vin gardos, kaj kiam vi

vekiĝos, ili parolos kun vi. (23) Ĉar moralordono estas lumingo kaj instruo estas lumo kaj edifaj predikoj estas vojo de vivo. (24) Por gardi vin kontraŭ malbona virino, kontraŭ glata lango de fremdulino. (25) Ne deziregu ŝian belecon en via koro kaj ne kaptiĝu per ŝiaj palpebroj. (26) Ĉar la kosto de publikulino estas unu pano, sed fremda edzino forkaptas la grandvaloran animon. (27) Ĉu iu povas teni fajron en sia surbrustaĵo tiel, ke liaj vestoj ne brulu? (28) Ĉu iu povas marŝi sur ardantaj karboj, ne bruligante siajn piedojn? (29) Tiel ankaŭ estas kun tiu, kiu venas al la edzino de sia proksimulo; neniu, kiu ŝin ektuŝas, restas sen puno. (30) Oni ne faras grandan honton al ŝtelanto, se li ŝtelas por sin satigi, kiam li malsatas; (31) kaj kiam oni lin kaptas, li pagas sepoble, la tutan havon de sia domo li fordonas. (32) Sed kiu adultas kun virino, tiu estas sensaĝa, tiu faras ŝin pereigantino de lia animo; (33) batojn kaj malhonoron li ricevas, kaj lia honto ne elviŝiĝas; (34) ĉar furiozas la ĵaluzo de la edzo, kaj ĝi ne indulgas en la tempo de la venĝo, (35) ĝi rigardas nenian paciganton, kaj ĝi ne akceptas, se vi volas eĉ multe donaci.

ĈAPITRO VII.

(1) Mia filo! konservu miajn vortojn kaj gardu ĉe vi miajn moralordonojn. (2) Konservu miajn moralordonojn, kaj vi vivos, kaj mian instruon—kiel la pupilon de viaj okuloj. (3) Ligu ilin al viaj fingroj, skribu ilin sur la tabuleton de via koro. (4) Diru al la saĝo: vi estas mia fratino, kaj la prudenton nomu via amiko. (5) Por ke vi estu gardata kontraŭ fremda edzino, kontraŭ fremdulino, kies paroloj estas glataj. (6) Ĉar mi rigardis tra fenestro de mia domo, tra mia krado, (7) kaj mi vidis inter la sensaĝuloj, mi rimarkis inter la nematuruloj junulon senprudentan, (8) kiu pasis sur la placo preter ŝia angulo kaj iris la vojon al ŝia domo, (9) en krepusko en vespero de tago, kiam fariĝis nokto kaj mallumo. (10) Kaj jen renkonte al li iras virino en ornamo de publikulino, kaptanta la koron, (11) bruema kaj sovaĝa, ŝiaj piedoj ne loĝas en ŝia domo. (12) Jen ŝi estas sur la strato, jen sur la placoj, kaj apud ĉiu angulo ŝi embuskas. (13) Kaj ŝi kaptis lin kaj kisis lin kun senhonta vizaĝo kaj diris al li: (14) Mi devis alporti dankan oferdonon, —hodiaŭ mi plenumis mian solenan promeson; (15) tial mi eliris al vi renkonte, por serĉi vian vizaĝon, kaj mi vin trovis.

(16) Mi bele kovris mian liton, per multkoloraj teksaĵoj el Egiptujo. (17) Mi parfumis mian kuŝejon per mirho, aloo kaj cinamo. (18) Venu, ni ĝuu sufiĉe volupton ĝis la mateno, ni plezuriĝu per la amo. (19) Ĉar mia edzo ne estas hejme, li iris en malproksiman vojon. (20) La sakon kun mono li prenis kun si, li revenos hejmen al la tago difinita. (21) Ŝi forlogis lin per sia multeparolado, per sia glata buŝo ŝi lin entiris. (22) Li tuj iras post ŝi, kiel bovo iras al la buĉo kaj kiel katenita malsaĝulo al la puno. (23) Ĝis sago fendas al li la hepaton; kiel birdo rapidas al la kaptilo kaj ne scias, ke ĝi pereigas sian vivon. (24) Kaj nun, infanoj, aŭskultu min, atentu la vortojn de mia buŝo. (25) Via koro ne flankiĝu al ŝia vojo, ne eraru sur ŝia irejo; (26) ĉar multajn ŝi vundis kaj faligis, kaj multegaj estas ŝiaj mortigitoj. (27) Ŝia domo estas vojoj al la infero, kiuj kondukas malsupren al la ĉambroj de la morto.

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fought through the Franco-German war, and continued in active military service until 1885, when he was appointed military attaché to the German Legation at Washington. He joined the diplomatic service in 1890 and was transferred to Pekin as First Secretary to the Legation. Subsequently he was *chargé d'affaires* at Belgrade, Servia. He was appointed First Secretary to the German Embassy at Washington in 1898, when he acted as High Commissioner on the Samoan Commission. In 1900, he was Consul-General of Germany for British India and Ceylon, and since 1903 he has been German Ambassador to the United States.

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The Rev. Robert F. Coyle, D.D.,

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has devoted himself for the past thirty-five years to the study of mental diseases. He has written extensively on the subject, and has appeared as an expert in the most important cases in this country. He is one of the Consulting Neurologists to the Manhattan State Hospital, and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, as well as of other societies.

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is an English journalist who has already contributed a number of articles to the Review on a variety of subjects. He visited Ireland last year, and spent a number of months in observing on the spot existing conditions in that country.

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after a brilliant career at Williams College, from which he graduated in 1905, came to New York, and he is now a member of the teaching staff of Columbia University as a lecturer on logic in the Department of Philosophy and Psychology.

Sir Alfred Moloney.

The views of this distinguished writer upon the British fiscal question derive much significance from the fact that he was long in the British colonial service. He fought in the Ashantee War in 1873; he was Secretary of the Gold Coast from 1879 to 1884; he was Administrator of the Gambia Settlement from 1884 to 1886, and of Lagos from 1886 to 1890. He was Governor, successively, of British Honduras, the Windward Islands and of Trinidad and Tobago.

Financier

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was born in Chicago. She is the daughter of a Unitarian minister, and was educated in France, Germany and England. Later, she studied for two years at the Conservatory of Leipzig, and for two years in Birmingham, England. She has lived in Virginia since 1887, and has been a contributor to "East and West," "The Chap-Book," "The Century," "The Outlook," "Poet-Lore," "The Times-Democrat" of New Orleans, "The Boston Transcript" and "The Evening Post" of New York. For several years she has been a reader and adviser of one of the leading publishing houses, and has regularly contributed editorials to "Harper's Weekly."

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Christian Gauss

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THE TRUTH ABOUT GERMAN EXPANSION.

BY BARON VON SPECK-STERNBURG, IMPERIAL GERMAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES.

Especially during the last two years it has been noticed by those interested in the world's development that a number of papers of Western Europe have circulated reports that the independence of the two small states of Holland and Belgium is jeopardized in consequence of the war spirit and lust for territory alleged to exist in Germany. The reports to which I refer seek also to interest the American people by asserting that the underlying reason for Germany's purpose to acquire the Netherlands arises out of her ambition to possess territory in the Western Hemisphere. The island of Curaçao in the Caribbean Sea is pointed to as a constant object of our keen solicitude. Should Germany, it is stated, succeed in annexing the Netherlands, her colonies naturally will pass with the mother country.

In an article printed in the number of the North American Review for May, 1906, "The Phantom Peril of German Emigration and South-American Settlements," I have already given a clear *exposé* of Germany's policy in the Southern Hemisphere, and proved that there is not a shadow of truth in the attacks directed against it by political calumniators.

Even politicians who cannot ignore the conspicuous fact that the German Emperor is an enthusiastic advocate of the Peace

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Movement; that the German Government for thirty-seven years —that is, ever since the great national struggle of the years 1870-1871—has striven always for peace, and always has been less active than any other country in the direction of expansion; that the German nation has no other wish than pacifically to mind its own business; even such politicians frequently believe, or profess to believe,—in spite of Germany's love of peace, which, ever since the German Empire came into existence, has been demonstrated by history to be an incontestable fact—that this peace-loving Germany ultimately, by force of circumstances or logical development, will be coerced into annexing Holland and the Flemish part of Belgium, containing the great port of Antwerp.

Usually it has been stated that Germany has an annual increase in population of 800,000, that these new masses must be supported by manufactories, and that the German Empire will thus be forced, with or against its will, into expansion, in order to procure the raw material and to establish the requisite markets for its industrial growth. The annexation of Holland and Flemish Belgium, containing Antwerp, is described as a mere preliminary necessary to make possible such measures of expansion. Germany must enlarge its maritime basis, and should have control of the Lower Rhine and its harbors. To the alien, these arguments may seem plausible enough. Whoever is acquainted with existing conditions, however, knows that, though seemingly plausible, this is not the truth.

In the first place, it is not true that colonial expansion is a necessity for Germany, resulting from its industrial growth. The impetus given to German commerce and German manufactures is to be ascribed far more to the increase in the buying capacity of other nations—England, France, Russia or America—than to all the German colonies combined. Germany needs no colonies; what she wants is merely free competition on all seas, the open door, and the right to co-operate freely on an equal footing with all other commercial and industrial nations, in opening up new and as yet unopened districts and markets. Hence the principle of the open door is the leading motive of the foreign policy pursued by Germany. It is the red thread that winds itself through the Eastern-Asiatic, the Oriental and the Moroccan policy of the German Empire. The high quality of all German products obviates the necessity of unfair preferences accruing to political

power. All they need is a fair chance to compete on equal terms with other countries. The world is large enough, and rich enough, in still dormant possibilities, to admit of a pacific co-operation by all nations in this great work.

It is equally absurd to allege that the annexation of Holland and Antwerp is a necessary preliminary to our colonial expansion. To have the harbors and ports of the Rhine controlled by foreign Powers, naturally, would be insupportable to Germany. The entire railroad and waterway system of Germany radiates towards the two main commercial centres, Bremen and Hamburg, which, as current development has shown, are fully equal to meet all demands of traffic, and are capable of further growth. The Rhine, it is true, is an important and, for the highly developed Rhine Province, an indispensable waterway. The export interests along the Rhine always naturally will prefer the shorter and cheaper all-water route on the Rhine to the more expensive and circuitous railway route *viâ* Bremen. It is, however, a matter of complete indifference to Germany whether the vessels on the Rhine, carrying the products of the German Rhine countries to the ocean, on their journey pass along banks under the dominion of Germany, Holland or Belgium, for the traffic on the Rhine is free of all payments, obstacles or restrictions, and could not be more free even if Germany controlled the adjacent districts. And this freedom has been secured abundantly by the so-called "Rhine-Traffic-Treaties," entered into and upon by the interested states.

The ocean commerce, also, in no wise suffers from the transportation of the Rhine products on the Rhine, as these German goods are reshipped on German ocean steamers from the ports at the mouths of the river.

Hence the reasons which supposedly would impel Germany to annex the two neighboring states are deduced from false premises.

If we view the matter more closely, however, and, independently of the particular arguments which I advanced in the introduction, give consideration to the situation of these three states in general, we find that no reasons exist why Germany should be solicitous for annexation, or even for a union of economic interests. On the other hand, there are quite a number of reasons why Germany should oppose annexation or a union of economic interests. Holland produces none of the raw material required

by Germany for her manufactures. Belgium produces merely coal and iron, which is the specific raw material of which Germany possesses a superfluity, and which is practically inexhaustible. Moreover, the coal and iron mines of Belgium have led to a splendid development of the iron industry of that country, which is protected by a tariff, and manufactures for its own consumption and principally for trans-Atlantic export. If the German-Belgium boundaries were to be wiped out, the products of this industry would depress the German internal market, which, at present, is controlled by the German iron industry. Conversely, the German competitive products would depress the Belgian internal market. Thus, German as well as Belgian manufacturers possibly may desire an increased tariff—certainly not its abolition. The same condition that obtains in the iron market prevails in other competitive industries of the two countries.

In consequence, no one in Germany or Belgium considers a tariff-union of the two countries feasible or desirable; and annexation, of which a certain group of foreign political writers would like to make a German bugaboo to frighten Belgium, as a matter of fact, is not seriously contemplated in either state.

The situation is the same in the case of Holland. Holland also does not produce any raw material which German factories could use. Holland is a free-trade country, whose tariff is dependent upon financial, not protective, considerations; and, inasmuch as Germany can derive advantages from the markets of Holland, no tariff-union is desirable. On the contrary, German agriculture stands in great need of the tariff wall between the two countries.

Holland is an agrarian country which imports grain and exports cattle. Unrestricted importation of cattle from Holland, which is now precluded by German sanitary protective measures, would drive the East-German cattle from the markets of the thickly populated West, and seriously injure the agricultural interests of Eastern Germany.

Several years ago, when the boldly conceived canal project of the Prussian Government, which designed to connect the East of Germany with the West, was submitted for approval to the German Diet, the strong conservative party and the other representatives of agrarian interests successfully fought the bill, because they believed such a waterway would favor the influx of agrarian

products, and thus impair the agricultural interests of the East. The same objections, in a much higher degree, would militate against a removal of tariff boundaries between Germany and Holland.

It may be argued, of course, that, in the absence of commercial reasons, there may be political reasons rendering annexation desirable. Under existing conditions the Netherlands, which at one time were the classic fighting-ground of Europe, are no longer geographically of strategic importance. In the days when England engaged in Continental wars, and its armies fought side by side with the Germans against Louis XIV and Napoleon I, the Netherlands were the inevitable battle-field. But those times are past. Even if, contrary to all expectations, peace on the Continent should ever seriously be menaced, the Netherlands are completely out of the scope of the probable battle-ground. Therefore, strategic reasons are likewise untenable. Is it, then, to be supposed that the free and independent Netherlands constitute a political menace for Germany,—a menace which Germany logically would wish to anticipate by annexation?

No sensible person in Germany or in the Netherlands believes that any political combination could be concluded which, in a European conflict, could force the Netherlands into a coalition with England or France, directed against Germany. Only total ignorance of the condition of both nations, of their racial and historical relationship, the interests they have in common, can presuppose that the free and independent Netherlands can ultimately or eventually work a political injury to Germany. The initiated know that Germany is assured of the neutrality of the Netherlands, and Germany requires nothing but this neutrality.

Moreover, the persons who persist in attributing to Germany covetousness in the way of annexation, in regard to Holland, or Denmark, or the German provinces of Austria-Hungary—in spite of the fact that the history of German politics constitutes a monument to the contrary—totally misconstrue the spirit and purpose of the Constitution of the German Empire. Germany is not a federal state into which other states can be readily incorporated. The individual states, forming this federal state, are of greatly varying dimensions and importance, and consequently are represented in a congress of the united governments,—the Federal Council *(Bundesrath)*—with a varying number of votes.

Prussia, the largest of these states, has the most votes, and thus retains in the Federal Council *(Bundesrath)* the historical leadership which it has enjoyed since the Empire was founded. Upon this Prussian cornerstone the Empire is reared. The relation of the states to each other forms a tenacious, but complicated, equipoise-system, which, through being thus complicated, assumes a certain rigidity. The introduction of other states into the system, consequently, would not be a matter of small moment and would not be nearly as simple as the casual observer might suppose. The introduction of such a foreign body would lead many of the individual states to demand a reorganization of representation by votes in the Federal Council *(Bundesrath)*. Such a reorganization, like every decisive modification of a Constitution, would at best be a most difficult and hazardous undertaking.

One must, therefore, ascribe to ignorance of German conditions the attitude of some chauvinistic papers of Western Europe in deliberately attempting to undermine Germany's reputation, particularly in the United States, and to inspire with fear the Danes, the Bohemians, the Austrians, the Hollanders, on the ground of a possibly impending union of their states with the German Empire, a union of which the German Empire is not in the least desirous, and which in Germany itself, even if desired, would encounter well-nigh insuperable difficulties.

I certainly do not believe that the fairy-tales of annexation originate in Belgium or Holland. Their sources are to be found elsewhere. The feeling of safety and assurance which each of these two states, in view of existing conditions, has in relation to the other, and logically must have, is exemplified in the close relations existing between them. These have become traditional. The closeness of these relations is guaranteed amply by parallel interests on both sides and by cultural and mental motives.

I believe the importance of the mental element in politics is habitually underestimated. Depending upon the racial divergences of different nations, these mental view-points may manifest themselves in various directions and in varying degrees of intensity. In general, it is safe to say that the peoples of the Germanic race are less swayed than others by momentary moods and by the elusive sentiments of the imagination; rather are they moved by a certain placid, historic continuity, a kind of loyalty

to their own history. Their development is not fitful and arbitrary, but calmer and more direct. They refrain from violating the traditions of their own history. Germans and Hollanders, independently of the racial relationship of their sentiments and their characteristics, possess a common mental history. In spite of sentimental longings for the South, the German artist ever remained aware of an abyss betwixt himself and the Southern masters, an abyss which even his sincerest admiration and most unswerving devotion could never completely bridge. There is no such abyss between himself and the Hollander. The atmosphere which they breathe, and which permeates their very souls, is the same. This may be of no importance in politics, but it serves as an illustration of a general unity of sentiment which evinces itself in every phase of life, and which reacts upon politics by far more than a materialistic age may be inclined to believe.

Upon each page of German history are inscribed the annals of the Netherlands, commemorating the same unquenchable thirst for freedom and independence that inspired ourselves. The mental activities of both nations have in particular been closely allied for centuries. The philosophy and literature of one country reacted upon the other. The two nations worked hand in hand.

Politically the same condition prevailed. I will not refer to earlier history, the assistance of the German States during the Spanish occupation, which the Electors of Brandenburg rendered the Netherlands, during the wars of Louis XIV. The history of the last century also perpetuates a similar unity of political interests and actions. The existence of the new kingdom of the Netherlands dates from the spring of the year 1814, when the Prussian troops forced the French to beat a retreat from Holland and Belgium. During the Congress of Vienna, when the Cabinets of the four Powers which successfully had combated Napoleon,—England, Austria, Prussia and Russia,—planned a reorganization of European affairs which had been put into such sad disarray by the French Emperor, these four Powers determined to establish the unified kingdom of Holland,—which was to include Belgium,—as a protective measure against a possibly recurring French desire for territorial aggrandizement; and it was then that the Prussian King, acting in accord with England's ministers, who desired to make amends for the loss of the two Dutch

colonies of Ceylon and the Cape by increasing the territory of the Netherlands on the Continent, served the best interests of the Netherlands because of the traditional friendship which had existed always between the two nations. In the year 1830, it was again the King of Prussia who gave the French to understand that any attempt on their part to annex Belgium, by taking advantage of the Brussels Revolution, would result speedily in war with Prussia. Thus independence was secured to the Belgians. At that time the Powers made a treaty, declaring the Kingdom of Belgium, which had been separated from the Netherlands, to be a neutral state. The object of this was to protect the little country from falling a prey to the territorial covetousness of some other nation, the case being similar to the episode of 1815, when the Allied Powers deemed it advisable to fortify strongly the western frontier of the Netherlands.

In the sixties, when Bismarck was hard at work on the unification of Germany, Napoleon III repeatedly offered the great German statesman to withdraw completely from interference in German internal affairs, in return for Belgium. This proposition Bismarck never even considered. Nor were the Belgians unmindful of the fact that, had Napoleon III been the victor at Sedan, they would have forfeited their independence.

However, I do not wish to overemphasize these matters, which belong to the past and to a wholly different political situation; nor do I wish to advance the claim that the Belgians entertain in regard to the pacific France of to-day fears similar to those which agitated them in the days of Napoleon III. Affairs have undergone a general reconstruction since then, and even the liveliest historical reminiscences scarcely would restrain Holland and Belgium from giving a different direction to their apprehensions, if there were any legitimate reasons for so doing. Nevertheless, the recollection of the intimate association of the peoples of Germany and the Netherlands and Germany and Belgium, during the past, will, in the absence of every legitimate reason, prevent these nations from imputing to each other enmity and ill will, but will promote instead an eminently sane, mutual cordiality, which, even if merely a matter of sentiment, will have effect upon their action and affairs.

I can only assume, therefore, that the baseless fear pertaining to a possible desire on Germany's part to annex Belgium or Hol-

land certainly does not emanate from Belgium or Holland, but from some place where persons, unacquainted with Germany and the Netherlands, blindly believe that the big German Empire simply must be possessed of an ambition to annex its two smaller neighbors.

It is possible that, after the war of 1870-1871, when Germany, which had been powerless and torn by centuries of dissensions, and which all Europe had been accustomed to consider a *quantité négligeable,* suddenly sprang to the front as a powerful, unified realm, some Hollanders and Belgians, viewing the unaccustomed situation, began to feel strange apprehensions lest the mighty, young state would abuse and not merely use its newly won strength. These apprehensions, however, soon crumbled away, and disappeared as a concomitant manifestation of a transition period.

To-day, however, the home of such apprehensions is neither Belgium nor Holland. Several years ago, a group of writers, inspired by influential politicians of some Powers of Western Europe, started a virulent campaign for a Holland-Belgium Alliance, indicated to be the only means of saving these states from threatened annexation by the German Emperor. It is possible that such politicians promulgated these views in good faith, and believed themselves to be acting in the interests of their own countries, by holding up the German bugaboo to all the small states and frightening them into seeking the protection of their own altruistic and less dangerous friendship.

At all events, the best refutation of the needlessness of this dread of annexation is the fact that the German bugaboo is not "made in Holland or Belgium," but is a strictly imported article.

STERNBURG.

A PARCELS POST.

BY GEORGE V. L. MEYER, POSTMASTER-GENERAL.

THE public has come to a realization of the importance of the legislation recommended by the Post Office Department in connection with the extension of the parcels post, and the demand for authentic information is widespread and constantly increasing. This is very gratifying, as the proposed changes intimately affect the entire population, and every citizen should know just what the effect will be.

In the first place, no radical changes are contemplated in the system. Two distinct propositions have been made. Both of them must be considered in the light of logical developments, demanded by the growth and conditions of the country—as forward steps, in scientific service, not as changes or a reorganization in the present machinery. They can be better discussed separately.

The present rate for the transmission of fourth-class matter through the mails is sixteen cents a pound (one cent an ounce or fraction thereof), and the limit of weight is four pounds. Under our postal treaties, the rate from any American post-office to twenty-nine foreign countries is twelve cents a pound, and the limit of weight to twenty-four of these countries is eleven pounds. The Department has simply recommended that our citizens be permitted to despatch parcels to each other, in our own country, at as liberal a rate as that at which they are allowed to send them to a foreign country. So far as this affects a parcels post, it means a general increase of seven pounds in the weight limit and a reduction of four cents a pound in the rate; and herein lies the direct benefit which will accrue to the people as a whole. For parcels weighing less than one pound the suggested rates are: For one ounce, one cent; over one ounce and not exceeding three ounces, two cents; over three and not exceeding four ounces, three

cents; over four and not exceeding five ounces, four cents; over five and not exceeding six ounces, five cents; over six and not exceeding eight ounces, six cents; over eight and not exceeding twelve ounces, nine cents; over twelve ounces and not exceeding one pound, twelve cents.

In this as in many other matters the makeshift method which from time to time has been adopted to meet wants of the moment has left us far behind other countries, older in experience and practice. As to what has been accomplished by our contemporaries the following data are of great interest:

Great Britain: Limit of weight, 11 pounds; for first pound, 6 cents; for each additional pound, 2 cents.

New Zealand and Commonwealth of Australia: Limit of weight, 11 pounds; for first pound, 12 cents; for each additional pound, 6 cents.

Germany: Weight limit, 11 pounds; for all parcels conveyed not more than ten geographic miles 6 cents, and 13 cents for greater distances. If parcels are more than 11 pounds in weight, for each additional 2 pounds carried ten miles, 1 cent; twenty miles, 3 cents; fifty miles, 5 cents; one hundred miles, 8 cents, etc.

Austria: Limit of weight, 110 pounds, except for parcels containing gold or silver coin, 143 pounds. Up to 11 pounds the rates are, for the first ten miles 6 cents, and 12 cents for greater distances, etc.

France: Limit of weight, about 22 pounds. Postage rates—up to 7 pounds, 12 cents, delivered at the railway station, and 17 cents delivered at a residence; from 7 to 11 pounds, 16 cents at a station, and 21 cents at residence; from 11 to 22 pounds, 25 cents at a station, and 30 cents at a residence.

Belgium: Limit of weight, about 132 pounds. Unwieldy parcels are charged 50 per cent. in addition to the following rates for any distance: Up to 11 pounds, 10 cents—or, if by express trains, 16 cents; up to 22 pounds, 12 cents—or, if by express trains, 20 cents; for each additional 22 pounds, 2 cents—or, if by express trains, 10 cents. Fee for delivering at residence, 6 cents.

Italy: Limit of weight, 11 pounds. For ordinary parcels, greatest size in any direction, 2 feet, except rolls, which may measure 40 inches in length by 8 inches in thickness. Postage rates for a parcel not exceeding 7 pounds, 12 cents; and 20 cents for a parcel exceeding that weight. A parcel which exceeds 2 feet in any direction, but does not exceed 5 feet, is admitted to the mails as an "unwieldy" parcel and is charged, in addition to the above rates, 6 cents if it does not weigh more than 7 pounds, and 10 cents if it exceeds that weight.

The Netherlands: Limit of weight, 11 pounds; greatest size, 1,525 cubic inches, or 40 inches in any direction. Postage rates: 6 cents up to 2 pounds; 8 cents from 2 to 7 pounds; 10 cents from 7 to 11 pounds.

Chile: Limit of weight, 11 pounds; must not measure more than 2

feet in any direction. Postage rates: 10 cents, if a parcel does not weigh more than 7 pounds; 17 cents if it weighs more.

Cuba: Limit of weight, 11 pounds; greatest size, 3 feet 6 inches in length, by 2 feet 6 inches in width. Postage rate: 10 cents a pound up to 5 pounds; and 6 cents for each additional pound.

It will be seen that the rates of many foreign countries are materially lower even than those proposed for the United States, and that the limit of weight is often very much greater. It would be impracticable to inaugurate such a system of zone rates here, as exists in Germany, however, nor could the low rates of Great Britain be maintained. The extent of our territory and the diffusion of our population must receive due consideration, and this has been recognized in the recommendations of the Department. Financially, these recommendations rest upon a safe basis. The mean cost of railroad transportation for hauling fourth-class mail matter from coast to coast, at the time the present railroad compensation was adjusted, was 6.4 cents a pound. Since then, reductions have been made which place the average cost per pound at approximately 5.5 cents. Based upon the average length of haul, the following account will give a correct idea of the result of parcels post at 12 cents a pound, estimated by the ton:

Expenditures		Revenue	
Railroad charge, per ton	$ 29.70	Postage	$240.00
Labor, " "	103.87		
Other conveyances, " "	15.70		
Net income, " "	90.73		
	$240.00		

The cost of railroad transportation is, of course, the most variable item, and the amount shown is that which would be paid for an average haul, which, as near as can be determined, is about 540 miles. The net income would be sufficient to pay for the transportation of the ton for an additional 1,640 miles.

The railroads of great Britain are allowed 55 per cent. of the gross receipts on the parcels they carry; but this means that the parcels must be separated from the other mail, which seriously hampers economical administration and also involves a cumbersome and expensive system of accounting and auditing. These disadvantages have been avoided in the proposed plan for a parcels post in the United States. Any augmentation of expense, here, will simply come from very long hauls. That there is more

than a sufficient margin to cover all of that, has been shown in the foregoing table.

Heretofore, parcels-post measures have been of a nature making it evident that they were advocated by selfish interests to such an extent as to cause, among certain classes, a very unfavorable attitude toward any legislation bearing upon the subject.

That public interest in the present measures is rapidly increasing as the subject becomes better understood is aptly illustrated in the following communication:

"OMAHA, NEBRASKA, *October 25, 1907.*

"GEORGE v. L. MEYER,

"Postmaster-General, Washington, D. C.

"MY DEAR SIR,—

"Your communication of October 18 received, for which I thank you. I am sending you herewith some editorial comments, collected from a number of trade papers. These may be of interest to you. The 'Trade Exhibit,' I am pleased to state, is the first trade paper in the United States to approve your position as to a parcel post. During the past four years I believe I have circulated more antiparcel-post literature than any other individual in the United States. All my work has been directed against the establishment of any parcel-post system that would be unfair to the retail merchants, and which might be considered a subsidy to the mail-order system of business, and by making a rate much lower than cost of transportation to the Government would tend to concentrate business in districts where the price of labor is the lowest.

"I inclose you a little pamphlet which I prepared two years ago. It is only one of the many like articles that I prepared for circulation, and which formed the basis of the antiparcel-post articles appearing in numerous trade journals. I also delivered many addresses before commercial bodies and merchants' organizations in Nebraska, Colorado, Kansas and other Western States. I would still continue to oppose a widening of our parcel-post system, did I believe that it would be injurious to those sections of our country which are now undergoing development.

"After a most careful study of the plan you propose, I cannot discover a single objection that can be based upon sound economics. Rather a parcel-post extension, as you propose, will be helpful to enterprising retailers, and will assist in the building up of home industries in the so-called agricultural towns. Should any effort be made, when your proposition be laid before Congress, to have a lower rate instituted than that which you propose, I will use what little influence I have in opposing such a move.

"Assuring you what little support I can give to the plan that you propose will be given, I beg to remain, yours respectfully,

"OMAHA TRADE EXHIBIT,

"Per D. M. CARR, *Editor.*"

This letter forms a fitting introduction to the consideration of the second proposition—the establishment of a distinctly local parcels post entirely separate from the general parcels post, and confined to packages received upon a rural route or at the distributing post-office thereof, and delivered upon the same rural route or another emanating from the same distributing post-office. The rate recommended is five cents for the first pound and two cents for each additional pound or fractional part thereof up to eleven pounds (making twenty-five cents for a package of the maximum weight). The rates for packages weighing less than one pound are: For two ounces or less, one cent; over two and up to four ounces, two cents; over four and up to eight ounces, three cents; over eight and up to twelve ounces, four cents; over twelve ounces and up to one pound, five cents.

This recommendation is founded upon the broad ground of the ability of the Government to render the service at a profit, yet with great advantage to the farmer, the retail merchant and other patrons of the rural routes. The necessary machinery, 38,215 rural routes covered by carriers already employed and equipment already in operation, is at hand. There are approximately fifteen millions of people served on these routes; the vast possibilities of the rural service are, therefore, apparent. The Post Office Department has simply suggested their utilization. It is estimated that if but three packages of the maximum weight were handled each trip, on the rural routes now established, the resulting net revenue, even at the low rates given, would more than wipe out the present deficit of the postal service. It would be practically all gain with the exception of the amount paid to postmasters on account of cancellations.

In the operation of this local parcels post there would be no railroad transportation, and therein lies the element which will forever defeat any attempt to make the local rate universal.

There, also, is found a reply to those who have attempted to maintain that the parcels post on rural routes would be made the entering wedge for parcels-post rates more favorable to the large mail-order houses.

To the assertion that mail-order houses would assemble their orders and ship them to suitable points, there to be distributed over the rural routes at the local rate, the reply is that the Department advocates a provision which will prevent any such use

of the routes. It is, however, pertinent to note that, even in the absence of such a prohibition, any systematic attempt upon the part of a mail-order house to deliver its wares thus would necessitate the employment of many thousands of local representatives. Their catalogues show pretty plainly that a large part of their success is attributed to their remarkably low selling expense, and that the absence of any sort of agents is the principal feature of their argument in accounting for the supposedly low prices of their goods.

The special local rates shown, it may be added, apply only to parcels offered by merchants or dealers whose regular places of business are on rural delivery routes and by residents on such routes.

That the establishment of such a local rural parcels post would be of material and manifold advantage to the retail merchant in competition with the mail-order houses is seen at once, as the latter, at the proposed general parcels-post rate of twelve cents a pound, would be obliged to pay $1.32 for sending an eleven-pound package to a rural route patron, a difference in favor of the local storekeeper of about ten cents a pound. The retail merchants are rapidly learning this phase of the situation, which has been misrepresented to them by opponents of the plan, and as soon as they fully comprehend the measures recommended they lend their hearty support and co-operation.

The local rural parcels post would enable the farmer to obtain many of his requirements when it is impossible for him to make a special trip to town, thus sparing him inconvenience. He could order certain goods from country merchants by mail or telephone. By thus facilitating consumption, the trade of the country merchant would be increased, and any betterment in the condition of this very numerous class would be reflected in a general increase of trade to the jobber and the wholesaler.

Some retail merchants have said that they do not want the farmer to stay at home—that it is necessary he should frequently come to their stores and view their wares in order that the greatest possible sales may be made. The farmer would, no doubt, go to town quite often enough for the purposes of trade. His bulky produce and other heavy articles would not be handled through the mails. He would be saved, however, from making an emergency trip, perhaps of considerable length and in bad weather,

to obtain a few pounds of some article which, though urgently required, he could wait for until the rural carrier reached his gate.

This leads, finally, to the consideration of a feature of the proposed local parcels post which is too important to be overlooked. It would inevitably tend toward the improvement of the roads. Improved roads mean improved conditions and better facilities for the farmer in transporting his goods to market. The establishment of rural routes has already, especially in the South, increased the value of farms, and another advance should come from the inauguration of the special local parcels post.

Recent reports from 54,000 post-offices show that the average weight of fourth-class matter (parcels) handled was one-third of a pound, although the weight limit is four pounds. It should be borne in mind that there is a distinction between expressage and parcels post in this country, because postal parcels are practically not delivered except when the weight is light. Under the present postal regulations where the parcel is large or heavy a notice is sent to the addressee to call for it. In the case of rural delivery the parcels, of course, would be delivered to the rural boxes by the carriers, as is now the practice.

In illustration of the misunderstanding which exists as to what the proposed legislation would do in the way of altering the postal laws and regulations, I am glad to have this opportunity of inviting attention to the fact that a resolution of the Richmond Commercial Club, of Richmond, Indiana, appeared in the "Congressional Record" of January 7th, to the effect that "a certain mail-order house will save $40,000 a year alone on mailing their catalogue by this reduction." Similar statements have been made in various parts of the country. There need be no fear of this, for catalogues are classified as third-class matter and are mailable to-day at eight cents a pound. The proposed parcels post rates do not affect them in any way.

GEORGE V. L. MEYER.

THE PROSPECT OF AERIAL NAVIGATION.

BY SIMON NEWCOMB, LL.D.

SOME twenty-five years ago, when the building of our new Navy was just commencing, the writer was conversing with a friend whose official duty it was to provide for the armament of the new ships. I remarked that there was one point connected with ordnance about which physical science might have something to suggest. This indicated the lines along which efforts to improve the gun could be most hopefully directed. The longer the gun the more advantageous it was in theory, when the relations between muzzle-velocity, explosive power and weight of gun were worked out. The Chief replied that all experience up to that time had shown that nothing was to be gained by increasing the length of the gun. I admitted that this might well be the result so far as practical experience had yet gone, but that, if so, it only showed that the art of making powder burn in the right way had not been perfected, and that when this was done the principle of lengthening the gun would come into play. I strongly suspect that he looked upon this view as practical men commonly do upon the results of purely mathematical theory; yet it was not long before even practical experience succeeded in replacing the old-fashioned "beer-bottle" of the Civil War with the type of gun, forty feet long, more or less, which now projects from the turrets of our battle-ships.

It is now proposed to inquire whether abstract physical science may not have something to say about the methods of aërial navigation to which recent successes, both in ballooning and flying, have given so large a space in the public mind. If it can do nothing more it may at least give us some hints as to the direction which improvement is to take, if such navigation is ever to be a commercial success.

Every one interested in the subject knows that the vehicles to be used in navigating the air are of two distinct types. One of these is based on the balloon. Its essential feature is that the vehicle must be as a whole lighter than air, so as to be supported in the air by its own buoyancy. This idea is embodied in the dirigible balloon. The other type is that of the flying-machine heavier than air. Several forms of flyer have been proposed, but they all have the common feature of being supported by a rapid movement through the air, on the principle on which a bird flies or soars by means of its wings. The best known and, I believe, the only one that has heretofore been tried with any approach to success, is the aëroplane, which is practically a soaring machine, and which both the Wright Brothers of Ohio and Farman of Paris are engaged in perfecting. The idea of flying like an eagle is so much more captivating than that of ballooning that, for the moment, popular interest is centred upon the vehicle which seems to promise that flying is feasible. The success attained by the dirigible balloon has helped to diffuse the idea that it may be replaced by the aëroplane. Our present purpose is to inquire whether this inference is well founded.

So far as results are concerned, the dirigible balloon is the form which seems to have reached the best measure of success. At least, that is what may be inferred from the flights that were made last autumn in the great competitive trial from St. Louis, which were hundreds of times longer than the Farman or Wright flyer has ever gone. At the same time, it must be confessed that a long step is still to be taken before the dirigible balloon can compete with the railroad in the cheap transportation of passengers and mails, and that the prospect of commercial success is still far in the future. Let us, then, return to the flyer, and inquire whether there is any sound reason to base a hope for its success upon results reached by the dirigible balloon. The fact is that the two types of machine are as radically different as a steamship and locomotive in the principle on which they operate. To see in what the difference consists, let us study the principles at play in the great ocean steamship. The success both of this and of the dirigible balloon grows out of a physical principle, easy of comprehension by any one acquainted with so much of geometry and physics as is taught in the High School: indeed, one which can perhaps be well grasped by any reader who has a common-

school education. I shall call it the principle of the square and cube. There is no need of putting it into mathematical form; this can be as well done by an illustration from the history of ship-building during the last half century, as by any mathematical statement.

Fifty years ago, a great ocean steamship was about 300 feet long and 35 feet beam, with a tonnage of 3,000 to 4,000, and engines of perhaps 2,000 horse-power. These sufficed to drive the ship at a speed of ten or twelve knots. At that time the builders of such ships might well have doubted whether any of much larger type would prove a commercial success. The warning example of the "Great Eastern," which, immense though it was, had proved a total failure, was fresh in the minds of every shipper. But this experience need not have discouraged a physicist, who would have claimed that the failure was due to some defect in the model of the ship, or in her method of propulsion. Taking the case of a ship propelled by a screw, which had already been proved superior to the paddle-wheel, he might have made this little calculation. Build a ship twice the size of the present one in every dimension; instead of her length being 300 feet, let it be 600, and let her be twice as broad and twice as deep. The cubical dimensions of the proposed ship will then be eight times those of the present one; she will carry eight times the freight, and have room for eight times as many passengers. If her plates are twice as thick, her weight will also be multiplied by eight, but this will probably be unnecessary, as nearly the same thickness of plate will answer for the larger as for the smaller model. You can, if you choose, put in engines of eight times the power without taking up more than their proportional space in the present ship. So far nothing is gained. But mark! The surface which she exposes to the water and the storm is only increased four times. Therefore, if you are satisfied with the speed of the ship you now have, her engines need have only four times their present power, and will therefore fill only half the proportional space in the proposed ship. And you will certainly not need more than four times the number of men to run her. You will, therefore, be able to carry freight at little more than half the cost per ton without lessening the speed. If you aim also at high speed, you can secure it by increasing the power of your engines, and it will then be a purely economic question what combination of

power and speed will best serve your purpose. You have a range of choice from engines of four times their present power, to those of eight times; the first involves a saving of one-half in the cost of running; the other an increase of speed at the same cost that is now incurred. In a word, physical science shows that the larger you build your ship the more economical she is in the ratio of efficiency to cost of running. The only limits to size are those set by such conditions as the depth of water in harbors and the amount of freight or the number of passengers that can be advantageously carried on a single ship. We thus see that the ocean Leviathan of our time has been developed in strict accord with the traditional laws of geometry and mechanics.

The same principle applies to the dirigible balloon, or any other form of ship that is to float in the air. Double its linear dimensions, make its walls twice as thick if you choose, and you will have eight times the cubical space, and eight times the buoyant power. But you will require only four times the propelling power to drive her through the air with a given speed, and therefore only four times the horse-power in her engines. There is no difficulty in conceiving an ideal ship which would be a commercial success were it not for the practical difficulties in the way of realization. I have a mental image of a structure much larger than any ship that navigates the ocean, say three or four hundred feet in diameter, nearly the same in height, a thousand feet or more in length, built out of rolled sheet steel one-twentieth or one-thirtieth of an inch thick,—inflated with hydrogen gas. Of course, the sheets must be perfectly gas-proof; the slightest crevice in them would be fatal. If the conception in which we are indulging were purely ideal, we should have a tube twenty or thirty feet in diameter, running centrally through the whole length of the ship, which would contain engines, passengers and freight. But we do not propose to indulge in a dream that, even if realized, might not prove a success. The practical difficulty with the inner tube would be that of having it firmly connected with the outer steel skin, and at the same time connecting the whole fabric so that, when the ship rose in the air, the skin would have the necessary flexibility to accommodate itself to the varying pressure and temperature of the air. Passengers, freight and engines must, therefore, be suspended from the ship in much the same way as in the present dirigible balloon. Taking the

engines and the metal of which they are made just as we now have them, there is little doubt that such a ship as I have described could be driven at a speed ranging from fifty to one hundred miles an hour, and could visit any part of the world not too high above sea-level, including both the poles.

I must beg the reader not to misunderstand this claim in favor of the theoretical possibility of an immense aërial ship. We must distinguish between obstacles to progress placed in our way by nature itself, which can be overcome only by the discovery of some hitherto unknown law of nature, or of some new metal or alloy; and obstacles which arise only from the limitation of our power to solve great mechanical and engineering problems. We are only picturing what results might be reached could we but overcome all practical difficulties. I do not claim that men can ever build this ideal ship. The engineering and constructing difficulties are beyond any ever encountered, the problem of inflation seems nearly insuperable, and even the gas would cost a great fortune. We could not rely upon so vast a surface being soldered without a single flaw. An immense structure would be required to protect so huge and yet feathery a mass from the wind; but I do say that if we could overcome these practical difficulties, so as to actually build and inflate the ship, we should have a successful aërial ship. And I do not believe we shall ever have a commercially successful one until we do. With this claim I turn the subject over to engineers, constructors and others to be handled in their own way.

Now, our principle of the square and cube applies to the aëroplane, and to every form of flying-machine pure and simple; but it is reversed in the application. With every increase in the size of the machine the weight increases as the cube of the linear dimension, always supposing that the model remains the same. Possibly it might not always be necessary to increase the thickness in the same proportion as the length and breadth, but in every case the weight would necessarily increase in a higher ratio than the square of the length or breadth. But, the sustaining power being proportional to the surface, or to the spread of wing, whenever we increase the size of the flyer or of the aëroplane, the sustaining power diminishes relatively to the size. We see this exemplified in the limitations put upon the size and agility of flying animals; the smaller they are, the more easily they fly. There

is a certain weight, which probably is less than the weight of a man, which no bird can ever exceed.

The principle we have applied does not of course set any precise limit to the weight which a flying-machine may possibly be made to carry. It only says that the advantage in increasing the size and weight continually diminishes. A very small machine, say one less in size than a humming-bird, would carry only the weight of a humming-bird. At the other extreme there is a size,—we cannot say exactly what, but not many yards in length,—beyond which no machine can be made to carry more than its own weight. There is a certain intermediate size where the maximum weight, perhaps that of one or more men, can be carried; and this size can never be exceeded with advantage.

This limitation upon size applies only to the case when we enlarge the machine in all its dimensions—in height as well as in length or breadth. But it has been pointed out by Bell that a general enlargement on one and the same model may be avoided by using a combination of small machines instead of a single large one. This is true to a certain extent; we might almost say that there is no limit to the possible superficial dimensions of a combination of aëroplanes. If we should arrange four separate Farman flyers in two pairs, side by side and end to end, they might possibly perform as well in combination as each would perform separately. The one disadvantage would be that the forward ones might "take the wind" from those behind it. But for this drawback there would be a positive, though small, advantage if they were placed end to end so as to form a train of any length. But, if we attempt to gain an advantage by the substitution of a single large machine for a combination of small ones, drawbacks will at once be encountered which will speedily become insuperable.

In describing the two types of aërial vehicle as quite distinct, it is not implied that no combination of the principles of the two is possible, which may result in a combined machine more advantageous than either. In the case of the dirigible balloon, the difficulties are purely those of construction. In the aëroplane they are inherent in the very theory of the action; but it is quite possible that an attachment to the airship similar in principle to the bilge keel of the ocean steamship may afford the best combination. The question thus raised is one for the inventor, to

the solution of which the mathematical physicist may be able to contribute after the inventor has worked out a plan. The function of the physicist, therefore, seems worthy of consideration.

In reading, as we all do, of the efforts of inventors during the last twenty years to construct a practicable flying-machine, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that they have overlooked the aid that might be afforded them by physical science in enabling them to predict, in advance of costly experiments, whether a given plan would prove successful when tried. An example of what should be done is afforded in the regular work of designing any great seagoing ship. No marine constructor would think of starting with the building of a ship on any other than well-known models until he had made a careful computation of her weight, buoyancy and stability. If he neglected to do this, the result might be that the ship would capsize immediately on being launched. A recent deplorable experience reported from Italy shows that the computation should be made even if the model is the usual one. The calculations in question are, of course, long and intricate, yet they are necessary; and any constructor dispensing with them should be deemed unworthy of his profession.

Now, the performance of any flying-machine of which an exact design is made, showing the dimensions, material and weight of every part, the power of the engines, and the size and form of the propellers, admits of being computed in advance through the known results of experiments on the resistance of air. It is true that the computation cannot be made with the same certainty and precision as in the case of a ship, because the data themselves are not so certain, and there may be difficulty in accurately determining the speed. The computation is also more intricate and involves a wider range of considerations. Yet it is fully within the power of any expert in mathematical physics to make it, and the labor involved in doing so, intricate though the problem is, would be much less than in the case of a great ship. The cost also would be only a small fraction of the money and time spent in making the machine. The laws of force and motion are paramount in the working of all machinery, and the successful man is not the one who disregards them, but he who understands them so well that he is enabled to apply them so as to secure success and avoid failure. But his understanding must be complete—a

condition which, so far as we can judge from current utterances, is not appreciated by all the inventors of flying-machines who are coming forward. The order of progress is a complete study and appreciation of the abstract principles of force and motion. With these, the conditions can be studied and calculated by a mathematical physicist, and by no one else. When the mathematician has done his work, and made clear what difficulties there are and what conditions may be satisfied, then the inventor may devise some way of avoiding them. But to attempt to avoid them before he appreciates what they are—to go on before he knows whether he will or will not succeed—is a policy certain to result in failure. To the optimistic public, it might seem that the success of Farman in constructing a flying-machine which will actually carry a man settles the entire question, and shows that no further aid from science is necessary. But it would be contrary to the common course of human experience to suppose that Farman has reached the best and only form of aërial vehicle. The experiments of Graham Bell with kites show that there may be a great number of combinations, the possibilities of which have not yet been worked out, and which may lead to a better solution than even that reached by Farman. Such being the case, it is requisite that progress be as rapid as possible. The inventor, the physicist and the experimenter should work in combination, the one designing his plans, the other making the computations necessary to know whether it is possible that they can work, and the experimenter—who, of course, may be the inventor himself—making such trials as may be necessary to determine points on which the physicist is in doubt.

The question of greatest public interest is the practical one whether men now living may reasonably hope to see aërial navigation prosecuted in such a way as to be commercially successful, or to afford the public, or any part of it, a method of transporting passengers or things from place to place with more celerity and economy than under our present system. I conceive that, while science cannot answer this question categorically, it will enable us to state with a fair approach to certainty the conditions of success. The airship proper, or dirigible balloon, can be a commercial success only when expanded to such dimensions that thin metal sheets can take the place of a textile fabric in the structure. I say this on the supposition that no such fabric can be

made perfectly gas-proof, so that when once inflated it can be run for months and years without any new supply of gas. If this supposition is incorrect, if a textile fabric can be made to hold the gas indefinitely, then success may be reached on the present system. As has already been pointed out, the obstacles in the way of success are those of construction and engineering rather than those of natural law.

It would seem that, at the present time, the public is more hopeful of the flying-machine than of the dirigible balloon. The idea that because such a machine has at last been constructed, which will carry a man through the air, there is no limit to progress, is a natural one. But to judge of possibilities, we must advert to the distinction already pointed out between obstacles interposed by nature, which cannot be surmounted by any invention, and those which we may hope to overcome by possible mechanical appliances. The mathematical relations between speed, sustaining power, strength of material, efficiency of engine, and other elements of success are fixed and determinate, and cannot be changed except by new scientific discoveries, quite outside the power of the inventor to make. That the gravitation of matter can in any way be annulled seems out of the question. Should any combination of metals or other substances be discovered of many times the stiffness and tensile strength of the fabrics and alloys with which we are now acquainted, then might one element of success be at our command. But, with the metals that we actually have, there is a limit to the weight of an engine with a given driving power, and it may be fairly assumed that this limit is nearly reached in the motors now in use.

We have pointed out the direction in which improvement may be possible. But, when we consider the resistance of the air, not only do we find the field open to improvement to be limited, but there is one great problem belonging wholly to the future, that of transporting the passenger in safety and comfort upon a machine that can be made available at will. Let us look more closely at the actual conditions. Owing to the levity of the air, the supporting surface must have a wide area. We cannot set any exact limit to the necessary spread of sail, because the higher the speed the less the spread required. But, as we increase the speed, we also increase the resistance, and therefore we must have a more powerful and necessarily heavier motor. Unless the ad-

justment of parts in Farman's machine is far from perfect, more than a thousand square feet of ground is necessary to hold the flyer when at rest. If the traveller is to possess his own machine, the reader who reflects upon the situation and upon the probable cost, can form as good an idea as any one of the expense involved merely in the storage and care of the flyer. But let us grant that he is so fortunate that cost need not be considered. Then he will certainly need comfort in travel. But, if he attempts to protect himself from the inclemency of the weather and the discomfort of a motion through the air at a speed approaching that of a railway train, we may well doubt whether any person will ever prefer flying to railway travel. There can be no warming of the air without much additional weight, and no protection from the wind without much additional resistance. The highest measure of success which even the idealist could hopefully conceive would place the passenger in much the same condition as regards surroundings as that of a traveller by rail, mounted on a platform without sides or covering, driven along at railroad speed in every sort of weather.

If the machine is to be in charge of a skilful driver, which seems to be essential, it must carry him as well as the passenger. But in this case there is, as I have already pointed out, no way of reaching the result except by so constructing the machine that it shall be equivalent to two flyers, each capable of carrying a man. Then the size of the vehicle, and the general difficulty of management, are all increased in the same proportion. If this view seems pessimistic, if it seems to belong to that large class of predictions which have been belied by the result, I think it can only be from want of full consideration of the obstacles I have pointed out, and from our neglecting to take account of all the conditions. Bearing in mind that no limit is to be set to the possible discovery of new laws of nature or new combinations of the chemical elements, it must be understood that I disclaim any positive prediction that men will never fly from place to place at will. The claim I make is that they will not do this until some epoch-making discovery is made of which we have now no conception, and that mere invention has nearly reached its limit. It is very natural to reason that men have done hundreds of things which formerly seemed impossible, and therefore they may fly. But for every one thing seemingly impossible that they

have succeeded in doing there are ten which they would like to do but which no one believes that they can do. No one thinks of controlling wind or weather, of making the sun shine when we please, of building a railroad across the Atlantic, of changing the ocean level to suit the purposes of commerce, of building bridges of greater extent than engineers tell us is possible with the strength of the material that we have at command, or of erecting buildings so high that they would be crushed by their own weight. Why are we hopeless as to all these achievements, and yet hopeful that the flying-machine may be the vehicle of the future, which shall transport us more rapidly than a railroad train now does? It is simply because we all have so clear a mental view of the obstacles in the way of reaching such ends as those just enumerated that we do not waste time in attempting to surmount them, and we are hopeful of the flying-machine only because we do not clearly see that the difficulties are of the same nature as those we should encounter in erecting a structure which would not be subject to the laws of mechanics.

I have said nothing of the possible success of the flying-machine for the purposes of military reconnaissance or any other operations requiring the observer to command a wide view of all that is on the landscape. This is a technical subject which, how great soever may be its national importance, does not affect our daily life. It is, therefore, one in which we can wait patiently to see what success attends the effort made by our Army Signal Office to command a practical flyer. The complex questions arising may well be left to military men, as may all questions relating to the practicability of the dirigible balloon as an engine of warfare. What immediately interests the public is the possibility of the commercial success of aërial flight as a means of travelling with greater speed or greater economy than we now do. The writer cannot see how any one who carefully weighs all that he has said can avoid the conclusion that the era when we shall take the flyer as we now take the train belongs to dreamland.

SIMON NEWCOMB.

AN ENGLISHMAN'S VIEWS OF THE PANAMA CANAL.

BY ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN.

AMONG the relics of vanished civilizations there are many remains of engineering works which would have been monumental in any age, but which appear stupendous as the achievements of people who had not that great servant the electric current at their beck and call. I sometimes wonder whether any one of these was discussed, debated and experimentalized upon as the Panama Canal has been! To the casual observer—that most inaccurate person—it must seem extraordinary that apparently so small a feat as the cutting of a neck of land only some forty miles wide should present difficulties which have kept the united wisdom of the ages at bay ever since Nuñez de Balboa, in 1513, first sighted the Pacific and stimulated the search for the new highway to the East.

It is not likely that I should attempt to minimize these difficulties, for, on my first visit to the Isthmus, in 1895, to report on the rival routes for the canal, I was so strongly persuaded of the engineering obstacles of the Panama route (as now chosen) that I strongly urged the adoption of the Nicaragua line as more feasible, though longer and less convenient. Since that time, however, engineering has made great strides, and the political conditions, which then appeared to me unfavorable, have been entirely changed. The Panama route has also by the work of the last four years been robbed of one of its main disadvantages—the deadly character of the climate. In 1895, the investigations of science into the cause of malarial and other tropical fevers were still elementary; and, although here and there a pioneer was trying to get a hearing for his theories, no government had yet thought of attempting, as the United States has since done,

the great task of cleansing tropical regions of the disease-producing germs.

The last twelve years of history in the engineering and scientific world have brought us nearer to the solution of the Panama Canal problem than the centuries (close on four) which have passed since Bastidas, "Spain's best and noblest *conquistador*," first sighted the shores of the great American isthmus in 1501. The United States, which have overcome two of the greatest difficulties, in securing unquestioned political control and in rendering the canal zone habitable, may well congratulate themselves on possessing the keys to success. I believe in their work and their destiny as the builder of a canal, and it is therefore in no carping spirit that I now indicate some of the chief obstacles which they have still to overcome.

It is obvious to careful readers of the copious literature dealing with the question of canal construction in the last few months, that so far neither the type of canal nor the principle of construction is as yet definitely settled. American readers are so familiar with the discussion as to "sea-levels" and "locks" that they must forgive me for briefly reiterating, for the sake of clearness, the projects hitherto considered.

Three types of canal were chiefly discussed. The first—a sea-level, with a great flood-regulating dam and sluices at Gamboa, and with two tide-regulating locks at the Pacific end in order to obviate the tidal range of nineteen feet, at an approximate cost of £50,000,000—was chosen by the majority of eight members (three Americans and five Europeans) of the International Consulting Board, which was a body composed of the first engineers of Europe and America. It was in their opinion the only project "giving reasonable assurance of safe and uninterrupted navigation." The second project, ultimately adopted by the United States Government, received the adherence of a minority of the Commission (five in number) consisting entirely of American engineers. It provided for a "lock and lake" canal, with an immense artificial lake, at a level of eighty-five feet above the sea, to be held up by a great dam at Gatun, on the Chagres River, some three miles from the Atlantic in Limon Bay. This scheme, which was estimated to cost £28,000,000, is in all essentials no new plan, but is almost identical with that of Godin de Lépinay, the distinguished French engineer, in 1879, who, however, pro-

vided an alternative site for the dam at Bohio in case Gatun should be found unsuitable. A third project, a lock canal of the usual type, recommended by the majority of the Board of Consulting Engineers in case the American Government decided to build a lock canal, provided for a height of not more than sixty feet, with a regulating lake and dam at Gamboa, and was estimated to cost £35,000,000. This scheme, which had the advantage of being so designed as to be convertible into a sea-level canal, was not adopted by the United States Government, which, for reasons "other than of an engineering character," preferred the "lock and lake" project already referred to.

Nevertheless, the weight of expert evidence in Europe and the United States has been so heavily in favor of a sea-level scheme that there was actually a majority in its favor both in the Senate and the House. In the last few months, opinion has been swinging round in the direction indicated by Senator Knox, at the time when the type of canal was decided by Congress, when he declared that, though not the type immediately chosen, the sea-level canal should be the ultimate aim. It is the conviction, founded on the opinions of all the first engineers of the day, that the only permanent and satisfactory highway from Atlantic to Pacific must be as nearly as possible freed from artificial works and the dangers consequent on them, which makes me regret that the United States should have adopted the "lake and lock" scheme. As I shall show, it involves works which will directly impede the ultimate sea-level channel, even if they are in themselves practicable—which is extremely doubtful.

The idea of many people seems to be that the Culebra cut—the divide between Atlantic and Pacific—is the greatest difficulty to be met; and the encouraging reports of the excavation done there by the great steam shovels has even led such journals as the London "Times" to the conclusion that another seven years may see ships like the "Mauretania" steaming through from the Caribbean to the Pacific. But, although the cutting of the Culebra cut is a stupendous work, and one that seemed to me twelve years ago almost impracticable, yet it is to-day merely a matter of time and money. And, although the figures now being supplied are not trustworthy guides as to the necessary expenditure under both these heads, since it is no mere question of straightforward "digging," yet there is no ground to doubt that

the problem of the Culebra cut is on the road to solution. The work now proceeding there has this advantage—it is necessary for any scheme and can be pushed on without regard to the rest of the canal. Not so the operations for overcoming the other great difficulty, the Chagres River. Now, as in 1895, this is the key to the situation—*la grande inconnue*—the unknown quantity, the small stream which, draining three-fourths of the isthmus, suddenly becomes a tearing yellow flood. On the Pacific side, the rivers are insignificant and can flow partly direct into the canal and partly into the Rio Grande. Engineers with life-long experience of tropical regions find it difficult to calculate the exact strength necessary to control such erratic floods; but it is agreed that a colossal dam and regulating lake are necessary at some stage of its career to regulate the Chagres, since the canal will pass along its channel and cannot safely be subjected to sudden and violent floods.

The "lock and lake" scheme now under construction attempts to meet the difficulty by a huge earthen dam at Gatun. By means of this the Chagres would be spread out, during the greater part of its course, into a huge lake (about thirty-two miles in length and reaching to within a few miles of the Pacific) at an elevation of eighty-five feet above sea-level. From this lake a giant flight of locks would descend on either side to the ocean level. The Gatun dam would extend for 7,700 feet on the crest; its foundations, as is admitted by its projectors, would be on earth and other uncertain and unreliable materials, since the rocky foundation of the subsoil is from 260 feet to 300 feet below the surface at the site. This great dam, made of earth (protected on the up-stream slope by a rock wall), without core, stop wall or cut off, is the key to the "lock and lake" scheme. On it depends the success of the whole project. No change of detail in its construction, nor slight variation in its position, can alter its essential character. It was modelled originally on the Wachusett North Dyke (near Clinton, Mass.), completed in 1905. This dam partially collapsed in April, 1907, when subjected to a much less pressure of water than it was designed to hold, and about two-fifths of that which the Gatun dam may have to bear. Since then—and even prior to the disaster—there has been a doubtful note, even in the opinion of the most optimistic, with regard to the Gatun dam.

The giant locks are a second drawback, for it is obviously no small undertaking to raise and lower vessels like modern battleships, of 22,000 tons, (and notoriously unwieldy even in the most favorable circumstances), or liners like the "Mauretania" with eighty-eight feet beam, up and down this Brobdignagian staircase. It may be mentioned, in passing, that in the estimates for the "lake and lock" canal the size of lock necessary was underrated. The essential increase, and the compensation (not allowed for) for the huge area to be submerged, beyond the canal zone already belonging to the United States, would bring the cost up to nearer thirty-six millions than the twenty-eight now estimated.

The alternative plan for damming and controlling the Chagres adopted in the sea-level scheme, and one which is considered by the majority of experts as essential to any sea-level scheme, is also embodied in the lock canal projected by the majority of the consulting engineers under a reservation already noted. In the sea-level scheme the Chagres is taken at an earlier stage in its career before the canal enters its bed, at the point where it turns eastwards to the Atlantic. Here, at Gamboa, its head waters are confined by a dam, which converts them into a lake reservoir provided with numerous spillways and sluices. The site is claimed to be ideal, providing a rock foundation and near to the Culebra cut, so that the rocky excavation can be utilized. The dam would have a core wall of concrete, supported with earthen walls and faced with rock. Its height would be 135 feet, its crest 5,000 feet long, and it is believed that it would be adequate to domesticate and control the river at this point and to ensure the regularity of the velocity in the canal. The Gamboa dam has this advantage over the Gatun one—it is equally practicable for a lock or sea-level canal, and is in the opinion of the majority of engineers an essential feature of either. It is a fact, ignored or forgotten in the United States, that this Gamboa dam, or a dam on an alternative site higher up the Chagres valley, has formed a feature in all canal schemes since that of de Lépinay was rejected some thirty years ago. No sufficient reason, so far as I have been able to discover, has been advanced for abandoning Gamboa in favor of Gatun; but the impression seems to have prevailed in certain quarters that a comparatively inexpensive and easily constructed earthwork at Gatun would suffice, and would provide a good lake waterway at a high level, thus minimizing

excavation. The ingenious theory was attractive to those who desired, for political reasons, the early opening of the canal. But it depended for its success on premises which were insufficiently proved.

The administrative difficulties which have met the United States Government are, like the Culebra cut, mostly a matter of money and patience, but the work has been complicated in a manner little anticipated when it was first undertaken. One chief engineer after another has thrown up the task, and numerous commissioners (many with no previous experience) have succeeded each other, to the detriment of any continuity in the policy of administration. The invitation to contractors was not responded to by responsible firms, since the conditions were considered by them to be too complicated and onerous. Since March, 1907, the Canal Commission is actually on the isthmus and in direct touch, and the whole working has been handed over to the military authorities, a course which is less unusual in the United States, where many public works are done by the military engineer, than it would be in Great Britain. In our Indian empire, of course, the Royal Engineers do similar work under similar conditions. The great advantage in Panama will be to secure permanence in the personnel, since army engineers under orders cannot be tempted by more lucrative employment elsewhere or influenced by family considerations. The present chief engineer, Colonel Goethals, who has the immense advantage of being also Chairman of the Commission, has the reputation of being a man of iron determination and discipline, and under his eye matters certainly seem to be proceeding with a regularity which has been lacking hitherto.

The question of labor supply is one which will make itself felt more keenly as time goes on. At present twenty-seven per cent. of those employed are white and Eurasian, and the health conditions as secured by the great exertions of the United States render it possible for them to live and work on the isthmus, although the preservation of those conditions and the arrangements for their comfort render their employment a very expensive luxury. But I am much inclined to doubt whether even freedom from malaria can render work at Panama really healthy for white men, as is claimed; and I am convinced that the supply will need to be constantly replenished. The same applies in even greater

measure to the colored labor supply. It is little understood that pulmonary complaints are more fatal to colored laborers than fevers, when working in the tropics. The frequency with which a man sits down to eat, or goes back from work, in a wringing wet condition very soon tells on the constitution. If reports from Panama can be trusted, a great deal more needs to be done both for white and colored labor to minimize a danger which is quite as real as malarial fever.

The source of the colored labor supply, so far, is chiefly the West Indies, and this cannot be indefinitely exploited, since already there is a shortage of labor in some of the islands. Asia, of course, could supply an unlimited number, but the present relations between Asia and America do not encourage a hope that this reservoir can be tapped. Panama itself is now bitterly anti-Asiatic. It will be especially interesting to watch how this problem of labor works out on the canal, because the conditions are to a certain extent novel. Great engineering feats in ancient times were executed by slaves. In more recent days, contract labor was employed under conditions which gave those responsible complete authority. To-day, we find a democratic government for the first time engaged in a vast engineering undertaking outside the boundaries of its own country. To a certain extent, the theories as to the construction of the canal by free labor have already broken down, since it has been necessary to place the whole work under military control. Even under these conditions the problems raised by modern ideas of the relations between employers and employed, and the claims of the latter to regulate those relations, will inevitably complicate the administration of Panama, and must be an important and ungauged factor in determining the length of time necessary for the completion of the work, as well as the expenditure involved.

One criticism presents itself very forcibly to the Englishman with some knowledge of engineering work in other parts of the world. It has not seemed possible or desirable to the United States Government to place the work (as would be done anywhere else) in the hands of one man, who would be subjected to no ulterior influences, and make him responsible for its speedy and economical completion. The United States, except in rare cases, prefers to deal through commissions, although practical experience has demonstrated the disadvantages of this system.

At the present time there is a Canal Commission which is the supreme authority on the isthmus, and of which Colonel Goethals is the Chairman. To my mind, the efficiency and success of the Commission largely depend upon the extent to which Colonel Goethals, or some other man of strong personality, can succeed in dominating the rest of the commissioners. In other words, multiple control is as futile in engineering as in war operations. The United States Government is the controlling force, dictates the policy and provides the funds; but for the instrument to carry out their wishes they do not need a multiple-headed executive, but one good man, with complete power and responsibility.

The political aspect of the canal is, perhaps, the one which has undergone most changes in the last twelve years. It has improved in some aspects, but in others unexpected difficulties are now looming on the horizon. The centre of gravity has shifted. In 1895 it was European opposition and local difficulties which had to be faced. The first was removed by the negotiations which culminated in the Hay-Pauncefote treaty. No European Power would now dream of making the slightest objection to the control by the United States of a waterway which they have the sole right to construct. The French claims have been successfully eliminated. By the *coup d'état* of 1903 President Roosevelt disposed of an even greater difficulty, which would have been a permanent source of weakness had the canal been made through a foreign state. The alarm excited in South America by this sudden advance towards her boundaries seems to have been allayed; and, though I am far from believing that the southern expansion of the United States will always be as peaceful and easy as the acquisition of the canal zone, yet there is no doubt that she is mistress of the situation and that the Central-American States are aware that their present independence can only be preserved by a correct attitude.

But, if all these conditions are now favorable, there still remains that cloud on the horizon. I shall indicate it very slightly. We are accustomed to speak of the canal opening the way from East to West, from the Eastern States (and even Europe) to the Pacific. We must remember, however, that the tide of traffic may flow equally in the contrary direction, and that the awakening of China and the industrial, as well as the maritime, expansion of Japan are two factors in the case. East and West

will inevitably be brought into more intimate relations, and, considering the difficulty at present experienced in adjusting our intercourse with Eastern Asia, it is not difficult to foresee possible complications of an epoch-making character.

Finally, I must return for a moment to the canal itself. Many prophets there be who, assuming a certain progressive increase in the amount of monthly excavation at Culebra, arrive at a conclusion and tell you the exact date at which the Atlantic and Pacific will join hands. I am not one of those because I have yet to see the adoption of a scheme for controlling the Chagres which has some reasonable chance of success. I am indebted to engineering experts of European reputation—who I believe are confirmed by those of America—for the following estimate, which I offer to my readers with all possible reservations as to the effect of seismic disturbances, unusual floods or administrative difficulties. If the work which is said to be now proceeding at Gatun were abandoned, and all energy were concentrated in damming the Chagres at Gamboa, and excavation were vigorously pressed, a sea-level canal might be opened in ten years from the present time. A lock canal with dam at Gamboa might possibly take less time—though this is doubtful; but whether it is worth while to construct expensive temporary works just to save a year or two and to lessen the initial outlay is a controversial point. From an English point of view, it seems entirely false economy. Lastly, the works at present proceeding, which are expected to open a "lock and lake" canal in about seven years' time, at a cost of £28,000,000, will, if persisted in, put the canal back several years. To base any scheme on a work like the Gatun dam, which (even in December, 1906) the optimistic President considered to "involve some risk," is to build a house on sand. I have no doubt that the scheme will be ultimately abandoned in favor of one which has the sanction of the majority of engineering experts; and the pity is that the change of policy should be delayed to the great detriment of a work of international importance.

ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN.

"CONCLUSIONS OF A FREE-THINKER" EXAMINED.

BY THE REV. ROBERT F. COYLE, D.D.

THE article in the October number of this REVIEW, entitled "Some Conclusions of a Free-thinker," is evidently the product of a sincere and honest mind. To read it is to have respect for its author's abilities and literary attainments. Through the work we see something of the worker, and accord him a high place in talent and in character. To be sure, he makes a thrust at the pulpit and, through the lips of Emerson, calls it "The Coward's Fort." The fling is as untruthful as it is ungracious. Taking them all in all, there is no class of men in public life to-day who dare to speak their whole minds more freely and fearlessly than our preachers. But let that pass.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Chamberlain's long and labored search for truth should have yielded such poor results. As the issue of it all he found, not the light, but the thick shadows. To me there is a deep undertone of sadness in his paper, a minor note that speaks of a quest unsatisfied, notwithstanding his avowal to the contrary. This feeling is confirmed in me by his statement that through all his life he was "a constant attendant at the religious services of the standard churches." But why attend churches in which he did not believe, and whose teachings were to him absurd and unreasonable? Somehow "The Coward's Fort" seems to have attracted him down to the very last. Was it because there was in him a hunger for something which his own way of thinking did not and could not appease? So, at any rate, it appears to me. His heart seems to have been at war with his head.

The article in question is destructive throughout. It lifts up axes and hammers upon the carved work, but plants not a

tree or a flower in the midst of the desolation it leaves behind. Its author begins in the mists of uncertainty and ends in the awful blackness of annihilation. What lies back of the universe, what power or force or influence, he regards as an "insoluble mystery"; what lies beyond the grave, nothing. His answer to the question of the ages is that "Death ends all." In the far-away past, night; in the swiftly oncoming future, night; and, all between, the relentless march of iron-footed law. In reaching his conclusions, reason — his own reason illumined from all available sources of information—was his sole guide. His appeal is to reason, and to reason we shall go. The Christian thinker accepts the challenge of that word. His Book exalts man's rational nature, and calls upon him to use his logical faculties and be ready always to give an answer to every man that asks a reason for the hope that is in him. Faith in God is not blind and stupid credulity; it is not superstition; it is reason so conscious of the Infinite that it falls upon its knees.

Mr. Chamberlain declares that Christian theologians and commentators and preachers, "one and all, start with assumptions which cannot be admitted and reach conclusions which are without validity." But let us ask as to his own major premise, or basic assumption, and compare it with that of the Christian thinker, and decide for ourselves which is the more reasonable. The proposition from which Mr. Chamberlain starts and upon which his whole philosophy is built is that some altogether unknowable force, or power, or influence, originated things, and evolution did the rest. There is no suggestion in his article of an intelligent and infinite Will at the spring-head of the universe. Nothing but an unknowable, impersonal force, out of which have come all the complex and marvellous arrangements of creation, all worlds, all laws, all life, all thought, all love. Here is our earth, with its teeming millions of thinking men. Here, everywhere, are the products of their intelligence—art, and music, and literature, and invention, and architecture. Here are their thoughts incarnated in dramas, and oratorios, and paintings, and libraries, and constitutions, and crusades, and reforms. And all this output of mind, and a thousandfold more, has been educed from the mindless by the law of evolution. Any man who can believe that and call it reason has a capacity for believing that seems to me quite extraordinary.

Evolution, from base to pinnacle, is built upon pre-existing material. It can only unfold that which has been infolded. If the chicken is not potentially in the egg, no process of incubation, long or short, can ever hatch it out. Evolution and involution must be equal. The Christian thinker sees that the universe is packed and crammed with thought and design. He sees them in the stars and trees, in the plants and animals, in all the throbbing life of the world; and is he less reasonable than Mr. Chamberlain and men of his intellectual type if he concludes that back of it all there must be a Thinker big enough to be the source of it all? The Christian thinker reasons that something cannot be in the effect which was not in the cause; that man, for example, who can analyze the planets and weigh the sun and wing the lightning and make air and water and wind his servants, could not have been produced by an impersonal being or force. He concludes that man, with all his wonderful attributes, is reason enough for belief in God. One marvels that Mr. Chamberlain did not see the absurdity of his own position. His explanation does not explain. It solves no problem. It is a good illustration of the wholly untenable and preposterous things that can be said in the name of reason.

With the primal cause of things hopelessly beyond our ken, excluding "once for all and peremptorily" the Christian's God, leaving the origin of the universe in the fog of the unknowable, he brings in what he calls the "stupendous evolutionary theory of the world," and makes the "all-embracing law of evolution" the builder and ruler of all that was, or is, or ever shall be. "The mental and moral world," he says, "like the physical, is the result at every stage of the workings of the laws of evolution." This sort of language surprises me, and more especially as coming from a man who bows so completely to reason. As a matter of fact, law never does anything, either in the world of matter or in the world of men. It is not an agent, but a method. It points to a way or process of doing things, but is never a performer. The State enacts a law prohibiting a certain crime. But the law in and of itself prohibits nothing. It merely indicates the way in which intelligent order-loving men are to proceed in relation to the crime in question. Without living, willing men behind it, statutory law is dead and useless. So, in the realm of the material, it is misleading and untrue to

fact to say that law ever operates to accomplish this or that. The law of gravitation does not attract the heavenly bodies; it simply tells us how a certain mysterious force acts upon them. A machine is made to run in a certain way; that is its law, but the law has no power to make it run. When we speak of the laws of health, we do not mean that those laws are the authors of health. We mean only that, if we pursue a certain line of conduct, we shall avoid disease. Law, then, produces nothing; and, hence, when Mr. Chamberlain affirms that all there is in the worlds of mind and morals and matter is the actual output of the laws of evolution, he is saying something that will not bear the light of a moment's thought. The laws of evolution necessarily imply an Evolver who made those laws, and who chooses to proceed in the way they specify and in no other.

How utterly inadequate Mr. Chamberlain's philosophy is to account for the great facts of human life—sin, free-will and the sense of responsibility—must be apparent to every candid mind. Call it by what name you please, sin is here. It is in evidence everywhere. Something is wrong with the world. A thousand black passions burn in human hearts and flame in human society. Cruelty cuts and grinds and kills. Falsehood paints and veneers and deceives. Impurity stains and soils and slimes. All these things we group together and call them "Sin." It is here, and the question is, How did it get here? If it is involved in evolution, if it belongs to the nature of things, then it is a part of a great necessity; and, if so, why punish men for it? Why hold them responsible for that which they cannot help? How can there be any such thing as accountability if the entire "mental and moral world, like the physical, is the result at every stage of the workings of the laws of evolution"? Mr. Chamberlain calls himself a "free-thinker"; but, if his position is the correct one, he is mistaken; he is only a machine-thinker, and can be nothing else, grinding out of his thought-mill what is forced into it from behind. How can a man be free to think if he is not free to choose; and how can he be free to choose if he is under a system of fixed and inexorable laws; and, if he cannot choose, if he is acted upon and not an independent actor, how can he be responsible for what he does? If Mr. Chamberlain's reasoning is sound, man has no free will; he is a mere machine, and can no more sin than an automobile or a factory

can sin. If his reasoning is valid, it is a misuse of language to speak of a man as a "moral being" at all; he is and can be neither moral nor immoral, neither good nor bad.

Mr. Chamberlain affirms in substance that there is no God above the universe, and no God in the universe; no God working upon it from without, and no God working through its forces from within—nothing but law, inevitable, immutable, everlasting law. Hence the Providential and miraculous are excluded, as having "no part or lot in the progress or development or course of events." This is conceived to be more reasonable than the Christian idea of a "presiding and controlling Deity." For my part, I like to think that this great world-ship, freighted with all our human destinies, is directed, not by the blind, unpitying, unthinking laws of its machinery, but by the Captain on the bridge. It seems to me, in view of all the facts, immensely more credible and more worthy of men who can think than the derelict theory of a universe unpiloted, drifting, going on forever and arriving nowhere.

Society itself furnishes a convincing proof of an overruling Providence. We have seen it convulsed by revolution, torn by Hun and Vandal, hurled into chaos by the wild hand of anarchy, writhing in the grip of war and bleeding from a thousand wounds; we have seen it like a dismantled ship, swept by the tempest, and yet somehow it has come out of every storm safer, more staunch, more seaworthy than ever. We have learned that society is not a disorderly mass of human beings, that it is not a tangled web of twisted and crossing threads, without pattern or design. We have learned that, through all the surging billows, there is a Gulf Stream sweeping steadily onward and bearing society up to higher and better things. "Through the ages one increasing purpose runs." The great Purposer sits behind the loom, weaving into the web His own plans for warp and woof. Such is the Christian thinker's conception, and I must leave the reader to judge between it and the other. Evolution is blind, Providence is full of eyes; and, for my part, I prefer to be led and ruled by something, or Some One, who can see.

If we believe that God is and reigns—and, in view of all the evidence, this seems to me the only belief warranted by the soundest reason—we can hardly deny that miracles are possible, not to say probable. Man is a free being, consciously, admittedly,

free. And if man is not the creature of necessity, is God? Is the Infinite so bound by his own natural laws as to be without liberty to act in this way or that as it pleases Him? To deny that God can work miracles is to deny God Himself. When He created the universe, He did not surrender His freedom and chain Himself up to evolution. It would be strange, indeed, if the determining God were Himself under the law of determinism.

And is it not highly probable that He would work miracles if there were need? That miracles have occurred and do occur is attested by the most abundant and convincing evidence. They are contrary to the general experience of men, to be sure; but experience is not the final arbiter here. When Marconi flashed his first wireless message across the sea, it was contrary to all experience; but it was done, nevertheless. If somebody had said, twenty-five years ago, that it was possible for a man in Chicago to talk with a man in New York, he would doubtless have been told that such a thing was opposed to all experience. To-day, however, all this is common enough and perfectly natural. So I believe, as another has said, that "miracles on earth are natural events in heaven." We all believe, even Mr. Chamberlain believes, that the world had a beginning, and what was that beginning but a miracle? Jesus Christ is a miracle. It is impossible to account for Him by the law of evolution, or by heredity and environment.

Mr. Chamberlain considers the Christian scheme or programme of redemption as "utterly impossible and as the height of unreason." But, if we start with a God who desires and wills the good of His creatures, it is not difficult to see how all the rest should follow. No doubt there are mysteries, but if human reason expects and demands that all mystery shall be cleared away, and especially on such subjects as this, it makes itself quite unreasonable. Referring to the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, Professor Huxley wrote in 1877, "I have not the slightest objection to offer *a priori* to all the propositions of the Three Creeds. The mysteries of the church are child's play compared with the mysteries of nature." Let him who rejects the Christian plan, or scheme, suggest something else, as a substitute, something that will as adequately account for the great facts of nature and of life, and something that will as satisfactorily solve the black problem of sin and guilt. No one

can deny that there is a stupendous vicarious principle pervading the existing order of things. In nature, one form of life dies for another; animals suffer for animals; and in society men suffer for men. We are clothed and shod and fed at the expense of innocent beings that have died. Our homes, our liberties, our inventions and our civilization have come to us along the pathway of vicarious sacrifice. The great altruistic principle is seen everywhere. Why, then, should it be thought a strange or absurd thing to find this principle fundamental in Christianity, running all through it as the mother-lode runs through the range? When all the vicarious hints and suggestions in nature and life are gathered up and given supreme incarnation and manifestation on the Cross, it is just what we might expect on the assumption that God is Love and longs to save men from the consequences of their sins. It has always seemed quite remarkable to me that men of sense and reason so often reject in religion what they are compelled to accept in all the material and domestic and social world around them. They cannot read the book of the fields and hills with open eyes, or pass among their fellow men in society, without seeing vicariousness in constant and universal evidence; and yet, when the church calls attention to the profoundly significant truth and preaches it as illustrated by Jesus Christ, it is the "height of unreason."

Our gifted "free-thinker" finds that the "records of the New Testament are throughout of the most doubtful authenticity." And yet, Renan and Strauss, who, he tells us, had something to do with leading him to his conclusions, admit that St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, his two Epistles to the Corinthians, and his Epistle to the Galatians are genuine. So do critics of all schools. And these Epistles in themselves contain all the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. The question of the authenticity of the New Testament writings is one that can only be decided by specialists; and the almost universal conclusion among men who have given years of the most painstaking study and investigation to the matter is that the Epistles already referred to, the "Acts of the Apostles," and the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke are authentic. The "Phædo" of Plato antedates the New Testament by more than four hundred years. Its trustworthiness is not questioned by Mr. Chamberlain; he re-

fers to it with evident pleasure; and yet he would be a rash man who should affirm that it is more thoroughly authenticated than the productions which are characterized in this article as "a tissue of myths, traditions and what may be called 'old wives' tales.'" Indeed, the "Phædo" was rejected by the celebrated Panætius as spurious more than a century before Christ.

In the face of the testimony of twenty centuries, from believers and unbelievers, saints and sceptics alike, Mr. Chamberlain disparages Jesus, takes Him down from the solitary and sublime pre-eminence which the ages have accorded Him, and discounts Christianity as no better, to say the least, than other religions. When the teachings of the great Master are sifted out, he tells us there is "little that is superlatively good or great or original." He assures us that the "best ethical sayings of Jesus Christ are easily paralleled from the doctrines and precepts of other great religions or systems of religious thought of the Eastern world." Even if this were true, it would prove nothing. It is to be regretted, however, that he does not give us a few specimens to make good his point. When he affirms that the "Sermon on the Mount" sets up no higher standards of living or of aspiration than are found in Brahmanism and Confucianism, I challenge the statement and call for the proofs. The Golden Rule as found in the teachings of Confucius is not to be compared with that of Jesus. The former is negative, the latter positive; and he who cannot see the immense difference is not largely endowed with the gift of discernment.

If the teachings of Jesus and of the other great religions are so similar and so nearly equal in point of merit, why has their moral effect been so immensely different? By their fruits ye shall know them. The uplifting influence of Christ upon the world has been a thousandfold greater than that of all other founders of religions put together. Listen to Renan, who helped Mr. Chamberlain to his "conclusions":

> "A thousand times more alive, a thousand times more beloved, since Thy death than during Thy passage here below, Thou shalt become the cornerstone of humanity so entirely that to tear Thy name from the world would be to rend it to its foundations. Between Thee and God there will no longer be any distinctions."

Of what other that ever lived could that be said? And Mr.

W. E. H. Lecky, the well-known rationalist and historian, speaking of this same Christ, says:

> "It was reserved for Christianity to present to the world an ideal character which, through all the changes of eighteen centuries, has inspired the hearts of men with an impassioned love; has shown itself capable of acting on all ages, nations, temperaments and conditions; has been not only the highest pattern of virtue, but the strongest incentive to its practice; and has exercised so deep an influence that it may be truly said that the simple record of three short years of active life has done more to regenerate and to soften mankind than all the disquisitions of philosophers and all the exhortations of moralists."

Thus, by rationalists as well as by Christians, language has been exhausted in proclaiming the unapproachable excellence of the ethics of Jesus.

But how does the morality taught by the Man of Galilee work practically? Mr. Chamberlain does not think that the Christian claim of superiority for Christianity in its influence upon the nations can be made good. He affirms that "its abuses, crimes against humanity, atrocities and cruelties are absolutely greater, far greater, than can be charged against any other system of religion whatever." He admits that this is a "broad assertion," and it certainly is. No one denies the abuses and all the rest of the black catalogue; but what man, with any sense of fairness and discrimination, or with any ability to reason, can hold Christianity responsible for crimes and atrocities committed in the name of Christianity? As well charge liberty with all the dastardly things done in the name of liberty, or love with all the vile and shocking tragedies enacted in the name of love. As well hold the Government of the United States responsible for the coinage and circulation of counterfeit money. There is not an honest man in Christendom who does not know that the Christianity of Christ is utterly incapable of the things which Mr. Chamberlain alleges against it.

He acknowledges, somewhat mildly, the higher moral standards of the Christian nations, but these he refuses to credit to Christianity. He insists that they are due to race qualities, and not to religion. Racially, the people of the Occident, ever since the advent of Jesus, have been the most virile and vigorous and aggressive on the face of the earth, but in point of morals our far-away ancestors were quite as low down as their contemporaries in the Orient. The historians tell us that they performed rites

and indulged in cruelties that are awful to think about. They tell us that they offered human beings in sacrifice, and it is said that sometimes they ate human flesh. What they did there in the forests of Britain and Germany and everywhere on the continent of Europe is not calculated to make us proud of our origin. And what was it that lifted them, until to-day their descendants, on the whole, in their social and national life, are so much higher than the people that have remained pagan? There is but one answer. It was the impact of Christianity upon them, and the gradual translation of the spirit of Christianity into their thought and conduct.

How any man can say, as our author does, that the Christianization of Oriental countries would not improve them, and especially if he be a well-poised, reasonable man, is hard, indeed, to understand. It ought not to be necessary to say to intelligent men that, wherever Christianity has been long enough in touch with these lands to make its power felt, they have been greatly improved already. Turn to India, and think of the inhuman and cruel practices that have been abolished, and the dreadful shadows that have fled away since the light of the Cross first fell upon that country. All the horrors of Juggernaut, of Suttee, of infanticide, of burial alive, and of human sacrifice, gone! Turn to China and note the effect of the Christian religion there. Foot-binding abolished by royal decree, school doors thrown open to women, public and private aid given to hospital-work, a vast increase of emphasis upon the humanities of life, and the whole country awaking from the sleep of ages. Turn to Japan, and the effect of Christianity has been even more wonderful. To-day many of her statesmen and military leaders and prominent officials are Christians. Thousands of her students are followers of Jesus, and the whole tone of her civilization has been immeasurably elevated by the introduction and spread and infusion of the religion of Christ.

After canvassing the whole field and weighing all the evidence, Mr. Chamberlain comes to the melancholy conclusion that "Death ends all." He tells us that the most convincing argument in bringing him to this conclusion was the physical one. The spirit, or mind, so far as we know, acts only through the brain. In death, the brain perishes like every other part of the body. Therefore, the tenant, the soul, must perish also. Now, in the

biographical introduction to Mr. Chamberlain's article, the writer quotes a remarkable statement from Mr. Chamberlain. It seems that, near the end of his life, he wrote a powerful invective against one whom he considered "A Traitor to Public Duty." It required almost superhuman exertion, and in a letter to a friend he said:

> "I little cared whether or not it killed me, and I was actually so weak that, when I had partially raised myself on my pillow and had my pencil in my hand, I could write only a dozen or twenty words and then give up, exhausted and panting. I thus wrote during five long days. . . . What I did now seems almost incredible even to myself. Considering the circumstances, I must consider it the greatest feat of my life. I reckon it shows how the spirit can triumph over the flesh."

If it triumphed over the flesh, then, one can but ask, why may it not triumph over the flesh in the hour and article of death? By his own confession the spirit is not inseparably connected with the body. It can rise and flame with unprecedented power as the body decays and slips down into the grave.

As I look at it, one of the most cogent and convincing arguments for the truth of immortality is found in the "stupendous evolutionary theory of the world," upon which our "free-thinker" stakes everything. On the assumption that evolution is true, it is admitted that man is at the head of the grand series, that the whole upward movement of creation has been toward him. He is not a link leading to something higher; he is the end of the chain. No superior being is looked for on this earth. When evolution got to man, it stopped. It could go no farther. Man is the final product. Is it reasonable, therefore, to suppose that, after evolution labored so long to produce man, a being so worthy to survive, he is to die as the brute dies? The man who can believe that must believe that the evolution on which he builds is an unreadable riddle and a stupendous failure, since it cannot continue and carry on into another world the one being it strove for countless millenniums to evolve. Accepting the philosophy of evolution, which is the more reasonable, immortality or annihilation? Look where you will, back over history, and out over society, and nowhere can you find a man who has done his best. No musician has ever composed his best music. No poet has ever sung his best song. No painter has ever put upon the canvas his best painting. No Beecher or Spurgeon or Brooks

has ever delivered his best message. Always there is something better, something more inspiring struggling for utterance, something more beautiful struggling for expression. Victor Hugo, on his death-bed, declared that he had not spoken out a hundredth part of what was in him. On the basis of evolution, is it reason to conclude that a being with so much in him must stop forever at the door of the tomb? How can you reconcile such a conclusion with the progress that sets steadily on forever? I believe in God, and I believe with John Fiske that "God is not like a child that builds a house of cards to blow it down again."

Besides, reason tells me that it is absurd to suppose that a man's work can last longer than man himself, that the builder is of less consequence than the building. It is preposterous to believe that "Paradise Lost" lives on, and that "Hamlet" and "Macbeth" live on, and "In Memoriam" and "Locksley Hall," and the "Orations on the Crown" live on, while Milton, and Shakespeare, and Tennyson, and Demosthenes have ceased to be.

Mr. Chamberlain does not consider it at all credible that the whole family of man, "good, bad and indifferent," should be indefinitely continued in another world. The number is so great, and the quality in uncountable instances so poor, that their continuance seems very unlikely. "*Cui bono!*" he cries. Why preserve that which is not worth preserving? Compare this cynical and pessimistic conclusion with the teachings of Jesus, and it is like setting a darkness that can be felt in contrast with the full blaze of noonday. Christ sees something in every man, in the vile wretch that slimes his way with the worm, as well as in the philosopher—something worth sacrificing his own life for. Over against the lowest specimen of humanity that walks the earth he sets the Cross. Who in his senses can hesitate for one moment to say that the Gospel estimate of man is infinitely more worthy of acceptance than the philosophy of those who think with Mr. Chamberlain? I do not believe that any human flower, however mean and frail and unworthy, is shaken from the stem at death only to be reduced to nothingness, and my belief is buttressed, not alone upon the teachings of Christianity, but upon reason. I do not believe that evolution collapses like a great bubble when it reaches the grave of man, its goal, its crown. What though "two hundred and eighty billions of human beings have passed across this stage of life," mostly fools,

as Carlyle would say; and what though there should come ten times that number to play their little parts till the curtain is rung down; there is room enough for all in a universe that is practically boundless, and, assuming that God is, there is reason enough why all should have a chance for everlasting unfoldment.

After concluding on all grounds that there is nothing for man to look forward to but annihilation, Mr. Chamberlain remembers that he has overlooked one important item. Man has a conscience, or a moral sense, a something in him that discriminates between right and wrong. What is its source? Our "free-thinker" is ready with an answer. "Man's moral sense is the result primarily of evolution." Through the long course of the ages man has learned that certain lines of conduct give pleasure, others give pain, and hence what we call the moral nature is simply the result of experience.

The truth is, that our sense of right or wrong is something entirely apart from the pleasant or painful feelings associated with certain acts. When I refrain from putting my hand in the fire, I may be restrained by the memory of some former imprudence; but that is a very different thing from refusing to do this or that because it is wrong. Or, as a great thinker puts it: "It is also quite different from expediency, or the idea of benefiting by an act. For an act may not benefit us at all, or may even injure us, and yet it may be right." Many a time a man, in obedience to Conscience, to the imperative Ought that speaks in his soul, is driven to do what pierces him to the heart. He shrinks from it. On the other hand, men are usually attracted to sin and to courses of vice by the thought of pleasure; so that the experience of pleasure or pain has nothing to do with our convictions of right and wrong.

Christianity has its difficulties. There are many things in it hard to believe, but its difficulties are nothing alongside of those involved in any atheistic view of the universe. If sometimes it staggers the reason—and what else should we expect, we poor humans, dealing with the Infinite?—it is, on the whole, a thousandfold more free from the incredible and the impossible than the world-interpretation in Mr. Chamberlain's article.

Practically, this matter is of overwhelming importance. Instead of being merely speculative, it bears down upon life with

tremendous emphasis. Let Mr. Chamberlain's philosophy pervade society, and down would go all our ideals. It is idle to say that men would live better lives if the belief in immortality were eliminated from their thinking and their convictions. To substantiate such a position is beyond the bounds of possibility, and he is engaged in poor business who undertakes the task. Would a youth be likely to do much in school and college if some "free-thinker" were to convince him that there was no life for him to live, that his career was to be cut short when school-days were over? And would it not be just as vain to exhort a man to be true and straight and unselfish if he had come to the conclusion that "Death ends all"? The effect of such teaching is, and always has been, and always must be, degrading.

It is powerful presumptive evidence in favor of the truth of Christianity that it can be preached, and that its preaching has the most wholesome effect under every sky. It is the strongest kind of presumptive evidence against Mr. Chamberlain's philosophy that the preaching of it would reduce society to chaos and whelm men everywhere in the Slough of Despond. Go out among the masses and preach that "Death ends all"; go out and say to the multitudes in shop, and mill, and mine, and factory that they are not worth preserving and perpetuating; go out into the highways and byways, into the streets and lanes of the city, and tell the people that there is no God, no future life, nothing but a brute's beginning and a brute's ending; go out and tell them that they are mere machines, the playthings of forces over which they have no control, mere puppets dancing as the strings are pulled by evolution—preach that gospel, and see how long our institutions will stand and our civilization hold together. Tell the toilers everywhere who sweat and strive and struggle that their wrongs will never be redressed, that there is no reckoning beyond, no Throne that is white, that all they will ever have, all they need ever hope for, is here between the cradle and the grave—then woe to the home, woe to the Government, woe to property, woe to everything that makes life worth living! It is either God or Gatling-guns, either the infinite Father or infinite despair. A philosophy that cannot be preached cannot be true.

ROBERT F. COYLE.

THE ROMANCE OF THE DIAMOND.

BY SIR WILLIAM CROOKES, F.R.S.

FROM the earliest times, the diamond has fascinated mankind. It has been a perennial puzzle—one of the "riddles of the painful earth." Speculations as to the probable origin of the diamond have been greatly forwarded by patient research, and particularly by improved means of obtaining high temperatures, an advance we owe principally to the researches of Professor Moissan.

There is one theory of the origin of diamonds which appeals to the fancy. It is said that the diamond is a gift from Heaven, conveyed to earth in meteoric showers. The suggestion, I believe, was first broached by A. Meydendauer, who said:

"The diamond can only be of cosmic origin, having fallen as a meteorite at later periods of the earth's formation. The available localities of the diamond contain the residues of not very compact meteoric masses, which may, perhaps, have fallen in prehistoric ages, and which have penetrated more or less deeply, according to the more or less resistant character of the surface where they fell. Their remains are crumbling away on exposure to the air and sun, and the rain has long ago washed away all prominent masses. The enclosed diamonds have remained scattered in the river-beds, while the fine, light matrix has been swept away."

According to this hypothesis, the so-called volcanic pipes peculiar to all diamond-mines are simply holes bored in the solid earth by the impact of monstrous meteors—the larger masses boring the holes, while the smaller masses, disintegrating in their fall, distributed diamonds broadcast.

Bizarre as such a theory appears, I am bound to admit that there are many circumstances which show that the notion of the Heavens raining diamonds is not impossible. The most striking confirmation of the meteoric theory comes from Arizona. Here, on a broad open plain, over an area about five miles in diameter,

have been scattered one or two thousand masses of metallic iron, the fragments varying in weight from half a ton to a fraction of an ounce. There is little doubt that these masses formed part of a meteoric shower, although no record exists as to when the fall took place.

Curiously enough, near the centre, where most of the meteorites have been found, is a crater with raised edges three-quarters of a mile in diameter and about six hundred feet deep, bearing exactly the appearance which would be produced had a mighty mass of iron struck the ground and buried itself deep under the surface. Altogether, ten tons of this iron have been collected and specimens of the Cañon Diablo meteorite are in most collectors' cabinets.

An ardent mineralogist, the late Dr. Foote, cutting a section of this meteorite, found the tools were injured by something vastly harder than metallic iron. He examined the specimen chemically, and soon after announced to the scientific world that the Cañon Diablo meteorite contained black and transparent diamonds. This startling discovery was afterwards verified by Professors Moissan and Freidel; and Moissan, working on a piece of the Cañon Diablo meteorite, has recently found smooth black diamonds and transparent diamonds, in the form of octahedra with rounded edges, together with green hexagonal crystals of carbon silicide. The presence of carbon silicide in the meteorite shows that it must, at some time, have experienced the temperature of the electric furnace.

Under atmospheric influences the iron would rapidly oxidize and rust away, and the meteoric diamonds would be unaffected and left on the surface of the soil, to be found haphazard when oxidation had removed the last proof of their celestial origin. That there are still lumps of iron left in Arizona is merely due to the extreme dryness of the climate and the comparatively short time the iron has been on our planet. We are witnesses to the course of an event which may have happened in geologic times anywhere on the earth's surface.

Although in Arizona diamonds have fallen from the skies, confounding our senses, this descent of precious stones is what may be called a freak of Nature rather than a normal occurrence. To the average reader it is now known that there is no great difference between the composition of our earth and that of ex-

traterrestrial masses. The mineral peridot is present in most meteorites. Yet no one doubts that peridot is also a true constituent of rocks formed on this earth. The spectroscope reveals that the elementary composition of the stars and the earth are pretty much the same. The spectroscope also shows that meteorites have as much of earth as of heaven in their composition. Indeed, not only are the selfsame elements present in meteorites, but they are combined in the same way to form the same minerals as in the crust of the earth.

It is certain from observations I have made, corroborated by experience gained in the laboratory, that iron at a high temperature and under great pressure—conditions existent at great depths below the surface of the earth—acts as the long-sought solvent for carbon, and will allow it to crystallize out in the form of diamond. But it is also certain, from the evidence afforded by the Arizona and other meteorites, that similar conditions have existed among bodies in space, and that on more than one occasion a meteorite freighted with jewels has fallen as a star from the sky.

Many circumstances point to the conclusion that the diamond of the chemist and the diamond of the mine are strangely akin as to origin. It is evident that the diamond has not been formed *in situ* in the blue ground where it is found. The genesis must have taken place at vast depths under enormous pressure. The explosion of large diamonds on coming to the surface shows extreme tension. More diamonds are found in fragments and splinters than in perfect crystals; and it is noteworthy that, although these splinters and fragments must be derived from the breaking up of a large crystal, yet in only one instance have pieces been found which could be fitted together; and these occurred at different levels. Does not this fact point to the conclusion that the blue ground is not their true matrix? Nature does not make fragments of crystals. As the edges of the crystals are still sharp and unabraded, the *locus* of formation cannot have been very distant from the present sites. There were probably many sites of crystallization differing in place and time, or we should not see such distinctive characters in the gems from different mines, nor indeed in diamonds from different parts of the same mine.

Although my experiments are chiefly connected with the physi-

cal and chemical properties of diamonds, and with researches on the perplexities of their probable formation, it will be a kind of compensation for some of my theories if I bring before the reader the general character of the South-African diamond-mines and their surroundings.

The most famous diamond-mines in the world are Kimberley, De Beers, Dutoitspan, Bulfontein and Wesselton. Kimberley is practically in the centre of the present diamond-producing area. The five diamond-mines are all contained in a precious circle three and one-half miles in diameter. They are irregular-shaped round or oval pipes, extending vertically downwards to unknown depths, and becoming narrower as the depth increases. They are considered to be volcanic necks filled from below with a heterogeneous mixture of fragments of surrounding rocks, and of older rocks, such as granite, mingled and cemented with a bluish-colored hard mass, in which famous "blue ground" the imbedded diamonds are hidden.

How the great pipes were originally formed it is hard to say. They were certainly not burst through in the ordinary manner of volcanic eruption, since the surrounding and enclosing walls show no signs of igneous action, and are not shattered or broken up even when touching the "blue ground." It is pretty certain that these pipes were filled from below after they were pierced, and the diamonds were formed at some previous time and mixed with a mud volcano, together with all kinds of débris eroded from the rocks through which it erupted, forming a geological "plum pudding." A more wildly heterogeneous mixture can hardly be found anywhere else on this globe.

It may be that each volcanic pipe is the vent for its own laboratory—a laboratory buried at vastly greater depths than we have yet reached—where the temperature is comparable with that of the electric furnace, where the pressure is fiercer than in our puny laboratories and the melting-point higher, where no oxygen is present, and where masses of liquid carbon have taken centuries, perhaps thousands of years, to cool to the solidifying-point.

In 1903 the Kimberley mine had reached a depth of 2,599 feet. Tunnels are driven from the various shafts at different levels, about 120 feet apart, to cross the mine from west to east. These tunnels are connected by two other tunnels running north and south. The scene belowground in the labyrinth of galleries is

bewildering in its complexity, and very unlike the popular notion of a diamond-mine. All below is dirt, mud, grime; half-naked men dark as mahogany, lithe as athletes, dripping with perspiration, are seen in every direction, hammering, picking, shovelling, wheeling the trucks to and fro, keeping up a weird chant which rises in force and rhythm when a greater task calls for excessive muscular strain. The whole scene is more suggestive of a coal-mine than of a diamond-mine, and all this mighty organization—this strenuous expenditure of energy, this costly machinery, this ceaseless toil of skilled and black labor—goes on day and night, just to win a few stones wherewith to deck my lady's finger! All to gratify the vanity of woman! "And," I hear my fair reader remark, "the depravity of man!"

Prodigious diamonds are not so uncommon as is generally supposed. Diamonds weighing over an ounce (151.5 carats) are not unfrequent at Kimberley. I have seen in one parcel of stones eight perfect ounce crystals, and one inestimable stone weighing two ounces. The largest known diamond, the "Cullinan," was found in the New Premier Mine. It weighs no less than 3,025 carats, or 1.37 pounds avoirdupois. It is a fragment, probably less than half, of a distorted octahedral crystal. The other portions still await discovery by some fortunate miner.

At the close of the year 1904, ten tons of diamonds had come from these mines, valued at $300,000,000. This mass of blazing gems could be accommodated in a box five feet square and six feet high. The diamond has a peculiar lustre, and on the sorter's table it is impossible to mistake it for any other stone. It looks somewhat like clear gum arabic. From the sorting-room the stones are taken to the Diamond Office to be cleaned in acids and sorted into classes by the valuators, according to color and purity. It is a sight for Aladdin to behold the sorters at work. In the Kimberley treasure store the tables are literally heaped with stones won from the rough blue ground—stones of all sizes, purified, flashing and of inestimable price; stones coveted by men and women all the world over.

Where fabulous riches are concentrated into so small a bulk, it is not surprising that precautions against robbery are elaborate. The Illicit Diamond-Buying Laws are very stringent; and the searching, rendered easy by the "compounding" of the natives, is of the most drastic character. The value of stolen diamonds

at one time reached nearly $5,000,000 a year. Now the safeguard against this is the "compound." This is a large square, about twenty acres, surrounded by rows of one-story buildings, divided into rooms holding about twenty natives each.

Within the enclosure is a store where the necessaries of life are supplied at a reduced price, and wood and water free. In the middle is a large swimming-bath with fresh water running through it. The rest of the space is devoted to games, dances, concerts and any other amusement the native mind can desire. In the compound are to be seen representatives of nearly all the picked types of African tribes. The clothing in the compound is diverse and original. Some of the men are evident dandies, whilst others think that in so hot a climate a bright-colored handkerchief or "a pair of spectacles and a smile" is as great a compliance with the requirements of civilization as can be expected.

One Sunday afternoon, my wife and I walked unattended about the compound, almost the only whites present among 1,700 natives. At one part a Kaffir was making a pair of trousers with a bright nickel-plated sewing-machine, in which he had invested his savings. Next to him, a "boy" was reading from the Testament in his own language to an attentive audience. In a corner, a party were engaged in cooking a savory mess in an iron pot; and, further on, the orchestra was tuning up, and Zulus were putting the finishing-touches to their toilet of feathers and beads. One group was intently watching a mysterious game. It is played by two sides, with stones and grooves and hollows in the ground, and appears to be of most absorbing interest. It seems to be universal throughout Africa; it is met with among the ruins of Zimbabwe, and signs of it are recorded on old Egyptian monuments.

A word as to the hardness of diamonds. They vary much in this respect; even different parts of the same crystal differ in their resistance to cutting and grinding. So hard is diamond in comparison to glass that a suitable splinter of diamond will plane curls off a glass plate as a carpenter's tool will plane shavings off a deal board. Another experiment that will illustrate its hardness is to place a diamond on the flattened end of a conical block of steel, and upon it bring another similar cone of steel. If I force them together with hydraulic power I can

force the stone into the steel blocks without injuring the diamond in the least. The pressure which I have brought to bear in this experiment has been equal to 170 tons per square inch of diamond.

The only serious rival of the diamond in hardness is the metal tantalum. In an attempt to bore a hole through a plate of this metal, a diamond drill was used revolving at the rate of 5,000 revolutions per minute. This whirling force was continued ceaselessly for three days and nights, when it was found that only a small point, one-fourth of a millimetre deep, had been drilled, and it was a moot point which had suffered most damage, the diamond or the tantalum.

After exposure for some time to the sun, many diamonds glow in a dark room. One beautiful green diamond in my collection, when phosphorescing in a vacuum, gives almost as much light as a candle, and you can easily read by its rays. But the time has hardly come when we can use diamonds as domestic illuminants! Mrs. Kunz, wife of the well-known New York mineralogist, possesses perhaps the most remarkable of all phosphorescing diamonds. This prodigy diamond will phosphoresce in the dark for some minutes after being exposed to a small pocket electric light, and if rubbed on a piece of cloth a long streak of phosphorescence appears.

For the manufacture of a diamond, the first necessity is to select pure iron—free from sulphur, silicon, phosphorus, and so forth—and to pack it in a carbon crucible with pure charcoal from sugar. The crucible is then put into the body of the electric furnace, and a powerful arc formed close above it between carbon poles, utilizing a current of 700 amperes at 40 volts pressure. The iron rapidly melts and saturates itself with carbon. After a few minutes' heating to a temperature above 4,000° C.—a temperature at which the iron melts like wax and volatilizes in clouds—the current is stopped, and the dazzling fiery crucible is plunged beneath the surface of cold water, where it is held till it sinks below a red heat.

As is well known, iron increases in volume at the moment of passing from the liquid to the solid state. The sudden cooling solidifies the outer layer of iron and holds the inner molten mass in a tight grip. The expansion of the inner liquid on solidifying produces an enormous pressure, and under the stress of this pressure the dissolved carbon separates out in transparent forms

—minutely microscopic, it is true—but all the same veritable diamonds, with crystalline form and appearance, color, hardness and action on light the same as the natural gem.

Now commences the tedious part of the process. The metallic ingot is attacked with hot nitro-hydrochloric acid until no more iron is dissolved. The bulky residue consists chiefly of graphite, together with translucent chestnut-colored flakes of carbon, black opaque carbon as hard as diamonds—black diamonds, in fact—and a small portion of transparent colorless diamonds showing crystalline structure.

The residue is first heated for some hours with strong sulphuric acid at the boiling-point, with the cautious addition of powdered nitre. It is then well washed, and for two days allowed to soak in strong hydrofluoric acid in cold, then in boiling, acid. After this treatment the soft graphite disappears, and most, if not all, the silicon compounds have been destroyed.

Hot sulphuric acid is again applied to destroy the fluorides; and the residue, well washed, is attacked with a mixture of the strongest nitric acid and powdered potassium chlorate, kept warm —but not above 60° C., to avoid explosions. This treatment must be repeated six or eight times, when all the hard graphite will gradually be dissolved, and little else left but graphitic oxide, diamond and the harder carbonado or black diamond and boart. The residue is fused for an hour in fluorhydrate of fluoride of potassium, then boiled out in water, and again heated in sulphuric acid.

The well-washed grains which resist this energetic treatment are dried, carefully deposited on a slide and examined under the microscope. Although many fragments of crystals occur, it is remarkable I have never seen a complete crystal. All appear shattered, as if on being liberated from the intense pressure under which they were formed they burst asunder. I have singular evidence of this phenomenon. A fine piece of artificial diamond, carefully mounted by me on a microscopic slide, exploded during the night and covered the slide with fragments. This bursting paroxysm is not unknown at the Kimberley Diamond-mines.

WILLIAM CROOKES.

PSYCHOPATHIC RULERS.

BY ALLAN McLANE HAMILTON.

EVERY nation has its period of turmoil and demoralization which is often brought about through the conduct of one or more of its rulers; and whether there be a short-lived disturbance, depending upon the isolated reign of a psychopathic monarch, or it be due to the gradual decadence inseparable from the perpetuation of an insane or immoral strain, like that, for instance, of the Bourbons, the burden of national misery, as every one knows, has at times been great indeed. It is not necessary to go back for illustrations to the insane Cæsars, to Nero or Caligula, or even to Tiberius; or to the degenerate kings or queens of a later time who had so much to do with misrule and oppression in Middle-Age Europe; for all periods are replete with examples. Historians who are untrained in psychiatry often allude only to the weakness and immorality of the individual, disregarding the origin of such defects; but modern students of mental disorder find no difficulty in recognizing the dependence of much of this upon actual disease or deterioration. It is to be regretted, therefore, that there is so little specific information from a medical point of view in most of the historical records to which we have access. Wood,* whose work upon the subject shows much patient research, is content to divide the mental attributes of the members of many royal families into classes which are denominated "intellectual," "virtuous" and "obscure," although in his tables he refers to certain subjects as being insane, melancholic, weak-minded, epileptic and imbecile, but without further analysis. Even contemporary history is barren, except so far as generalization is concerned; and various acts of cruelty, inconsistency, licentiousness or stupidity are related without any attempt at de-

* "Heredity in Royalty."

tails. We are, therefore, greatly hampered in our researches. The older chroniclers are as apt as not to invest some strenuous and unbalanced individual with transcendental heroism or supernatural attributes who to-day would simply be called a fanatic.

It is only with to-day's knowledge of the influence of psychopathic heritage, and the development of paranoid states in persons of defective organization, that we are able to explain the place in literature of those dramatic and picturesque characters whose hysterical and delusional utterances and grandiose assertions have led without question to their acceptance as leaders of mobs, and even to their canonization.

An inspection of the records of any great European royal stock enables us to speculate with something approaching certainty as to the possible usefulness or the to-be-expected incompetence of one of a line who has come into power, and from abundant data we are usually able to study successfully the psychopathic strain of several great ruling families, especially the Bourbons, the Hapsburgs, the Oldenburgs and the Romanovs. The careful investigation of some such line, for instance, as the Bourbons will disclose wide-spread degeneration, and it is known that one notable lunatic, like "Joanna the Mad," was responsible for much of the moral and intellectual Bourbon decay. Her great-granddaughter, Marie de Medici, married Henry IV of France, "the great and good king," and the progeny immediately presented the taint of insanity which subsequently cropped out very extensively in the French and Spanish lines. The children of this monarch and his queen were, with one exception, psychopathic. The whole French and Spanish lines, from the notorious Joanna and her weak husband, Philip "the Handsome," are filled with all manner of mental disorder and degeneracy, and Philips II, III, IV and V were mentally unsound or more or less degenerate. In Russia the same thing appears. Although Peter the Great was an epileptic, and Peters II and III and Nicholas I were mentally defective, the most conspicuous example of Romanov insanity was that of Paul, son of Catherine II, herself a psychopath; whose cruelty was the direct result of delusions of persecution. "He was," says Rappoport,* "looked upon as a dangerous madman whose forcible confinement was impracticable. He finally signed an order for the arrest of his wife and children

* "The Curse of the Romanovs." By A. S. Rappoport. London, 1907.

on the suspicion that they were accomplices in a conspiracy against his life."

The mental instability of the Stuarts in England is well known, and the House of Hanover, until the early part of the last century, was noted for its unbalanced members; the weakness and profligacy of the Georges, who were more or less deranged, were notorious, while William IV "was dull and eccentric and the victim of a psychoneurosis* . . . Queen Caroline was more insane than her foolish and dissipated husband," and it was only when the Saxe-Coburg blood was infused that it neutralized that which was synonymous with degeneracy, and with the accession of Victoria a new order of things was established to the great good of the English nation.

In every community are to be found a number of men who are so different from their fellows, by reason of their conduct and inability to accommodate themselves to ordinary social conditions, that they are looked upon as queer and eccentric. Baldwin has defined the exact place of these persons, classifying them as unfit or "anti-social," and he insists, first, that the individual must be *born to learn,* and, next, that all individuals must be born to *learn the same things.* It is also necessary that the individual be free from hereditary tendencies rendering him anti-social to a "suppressive degree."† The disposition of the ma-

* Wood: "Heredity in Royalty."

† "Suppose we take the man of striking thoughts and withal no sense of fitness,—none of the judgment about him which society has. He will go through a mighty host of discoveries every hour. The very eccentricity of his imaginations will only appeal to him for the greater admiration. He will bring his most chimerical schemes out, and air them with the same assurance with which the real inventor exhibits his. But such a man is not pronounced a genius. If his ravings about this and that are harmless, we smile and let him talk; but if his lack of judgment extends to things of grave import, or he is accompanied by equal illusions regarding himself and society in other relationships, then we classify his case and put him into the proper ward for the insane. Two of the commonest forms of such impairment of judgment are seen in the victims of 'fixed ideas,' on the one hand, and the *exaltés* on the other. These men have no true sense of values, no way of selecting the fit combinations of imagination from the unfit; and even though some transcendently true and original thought were to flit through the diseased mind of such a one, it would go as it came, and the world would wait for a man with a sense of fitness to arise and rediscover it. Men of such perversions of judgment are common among us. We all know the man who seems to be full of right and varied thought, who holds us sometimes by the power of his conceptions or the beauty of his creations, but in whose thought we yet find some incongruity, some eminently unfit element, some grotesque application, some elevation or depression from the level of commonplace truth, some ugly strain in the æsthetic

jority of mankind is to hold such a person to account for his laches, and he is usually tolerated as a bore, or one who forms an "anti-social" judgment, or is actually held responsible for his pernicious and freaky tricks. His ideals may be high enough, and he may strive to cultivate a personal altruistic life, yet his studied desire to help and reform others often ends in mischievous disregard of those who do not need development or protection or correction, and he may be even looked upon as a "mischievous meddler." Should he be invested with power, he may imperil the peace and safety of those over whom he rules.*

This kind of altruism is in some ways quite as offensive and dangerous as actual self-interest or immorality, and is as detrimental in some instances to the welfare of the community as actual wrong-doing. It would, therefore, seem that the apparent unselfishness of the mentally unbalanced is almost as much fraught with danger to a people as corrupt self-interest. Persistent effort, energy and fixity of purpose, even for the accomplishment of seemingly important results, of course do not in themselves of necessity indicate sanity. An erroneous fixed idea, no matter how lofty, if irrational and obstinately entertained, may be highly dangerous in its consequences, as all psychiatrists know. The true tests, after all, are the existence of consistency and continuity, of thought and action; the presence of sufficient and proper basis for the exercise of will; the realization of the conditions of existing order which are believed in and accepted by the majority; the avoidance of disorderly impulses, which are inconsistent with proper self-control; and the regard for the general social comfort of one's kind.

Many individuals, while not necessarily insane in a way to necessitate their being shut up, are at all times making their

impression. The man himself does not know it, and that is the reason that he includes it. His sense of fitness is dwarfed or paralyzed. We in the community come to regret that he is so 'visionary,' with all his talent; and so we accommodate ourselves to his unfruitfulness, and at the best only expect an occasional hour's entertainment under the spell of his presence. This certainly is not the man to produce a world movement."—JAMES MARK BALDWIN: "Mental Development," etc., page 160, section 107.

* The possible explanation of the apparent lawlessness of those who hold that the end justifies the means is that of Plutarch, who says: "There is a necessity, if a man must do wrong by detail, who will do right in gross, and injustice in little things that will come to justice in great." In the interpretation of this, we are confronted with the danger of the exercise of an anti-social judgment.

presence unpleasantly felt in the community. Some of them are kept more or less in order by their environment, or by restraint of various kinds which is inseparable from communal requirements and interests. These persons are quite likely under slight excitement or opposition, or perhaps dissipation, or even too much license, to indulge in conduct which is so characteristic as to be recognized by most normal people and to be especially clear to alienists. When their psychosis has developed sufficiently, it may be expressed by expansion, and false and exaggerated ideas of personal power; by vanity, love of display and personal decoration, and a futile attempt to correct the abuses supposed to exist by the person of diseased intellect, who is always prone to magnify trivial things or those in conflict with his morbid ego. Psychiatrists are familiar with such defects, for there is a well-known disorder called *paranoia reformatoria** which is expressed in erratic attempts at social betterment when none are needed, and in disorderly efforts which usually fall far short of accomplishment. Another class come under the head of what is known as *querulants,* whose unhinging is usually manifested by purposeless and unnecessary litigation; while ideas of persecution and conspiracy are accompaniments of both forms to a greater or less degree. Unfortunately for these people, they are too often looked upon simply as eccentric members of society, possessing the full responsibility of their mentally healthy fellows, thus escaping care and treatment, or detention; while in reality they often go through life bringing trouble upon themselves and others. It can easily be conceived how, in other countries than our own, an autocratic monarch may subject his people to all sorts of cruel oppression, his derangement being entirely unappreciated. All of these subjects are more or less "constitutionally inferior"; and, like certain high-grade imbeciles, they are perhaps exceedingly brilliant in some directions while deficient in others. There is, however, a conspicuous lack of stability in all their plans, and a want of consistency in what they say and do. They are obsessed by the *cacoethes* both of *loquendi* and

* "The psychopath is apt to pose as a champion of justice, as an avenger of humanity. He is given to anarchistic ideas, seeks to interfere in public affairs, to become the leader of popular movements, and he succeeds but too often. His conduct is often inconsistent with his ideas of justice and charity, though he fails to see it himself. Theoretically, he strives for the good of the Universe; practically, for the satisfaction of his own egotistic tendencies."—DE FURSAC.

scribendi, and the literature of the insane furnishes us with striking examples of verbosity; their oral and written productions being quite characteristic. Specimens of the writings of the expansive insane are not only redundant in exalted phrase and florid rhetoric, but in energetic invective as well.

While it is easy, as has been said, in other countries than our own to beware of certain pitfalls, or to know what to expect from degenerate monarchs, it cannot be denied that there is a great danger attached to all republican forms of government, no matter in what part of the world, where new presidents are chosen every few years, about whose antecedents and mental health little or nothing is known. While we are careful enough to question the political principles and declarations of such candidates as present themselves for this high office, no proper or adequate attempt has ever been made to analyze the mental integrity of presidential or other nominees, or to question for a moment the existence of any bad heredity or any previously expressed trouble, which, under the prod and stress of newly acquired power and great responsibility, may develop into a psychosis. It may be seen, when such is the case, that an entire country may be exposed to the gravest consequences through the unrestrained influence of an irresponsible demagogue, who may even impress others by his apparently lofty, but really visionary, ideas. The worst of it is that nearly always the *unfit,* and especially the educated unfit, is very apt to impose upon others by the display of a certain kind of superficial mental brilliancy, or by something akin to genius; but this, like all the rest, is merely a flash in the pan in the productions of such persons in whom there may be underlying mental disorder. Attention may be called to the fact that lately in the United States a movement has been inaugurated to remove from the public service, especially from the army, certain individuals whose alleged mental instability, it has been held, interfered with the proper discharge of their duties; but the way in which this has been done leaves much to be desired, and the reform is not thorough or far-reaching enough.

In other times than ours there have been occasions when nations, fretting under the oppression and misrule of licentious monarchs, have unhesitatingly accepted the leadership of some fanatic whose initial attempts to bring them freedom have for

a time been successful, but ultimately the psychopath has always asserted himself. Every one in this connection must recall the career of Cola di Rienzi, who, in the fourteenth century, for a long time exercised his fanatic sway, and put in operation his insane populistic and religious ideas, completely demoralizing Italy. Lombroso and several older writers have pictured him as a paranoiac, Lombroso analyzing his extraordinary writings. "By his fantastic eloquence he harangued the populace and with stilted oratory enchanted their ears." He soon had a mob following; and, after his usurpation of power, he first brought about a number of apparent reforms through the exercise of stringent measures which appealed to the masses. He abolished the rather aristocratic and licentious Roman Senate, rearranged taxes, and ordered that the granaries should be opened for public use. When his insanity became pronounced, he next insisted that confession should be made once a year under penalty of confiscation of one-third of a person's property. He became more and more unbearable, and his religious vagaries and enthusiasm were such that he compelled immediate obedience to his mandates, comparing himself to Christ; he believed in mysticism and symbols, and upon one occasion he waved his sword three times to the known divisions of the world and said: "They too belong to me." He became "incapable of undertaking any resolution which was not merely theoretical." His early more or less altruistic conduct was followed by erratic excesses, and a violent death, yet there are many to-day who think that he was anything but insane. There was something very characteristic in his behavior, and much in common with that of various unbalanced persons who hold the public ear from time to time. Such individuals, despite their pathological egoism, are themselves susceptible to suggestion from all sources, which perhaps is first sought for the satisfaction to be derived from the possible praise and mob-approval it may bring, and again a preternaturally active and disorderly mind is ready to take hints which it amplifies and makes its very own. In speaking of the crowd, Le Bon says:

"The leader has most often started as one of the led. He has himself been hypnotized by the idea whose apostle he has since become. It has taken possession of him to such a degree that everything outside it vanishes, and that every contrary opinion appears to him an error or a superstition. An example in point is Robespierre hypnotized by the

philosophical ideas of Rousseau, and employing methods of the Inquisition to propagate them. . . . Nations have never lacked leaders, and the latter have by no means been animated by those strong emotions proper to apostles. These leaders are often subtle rhetoricians, seeking only their own personal interests and endeavoring to persuade by flattering base instincts. The influence they exert in this manner may be very great, but it is always ephemeral. The men of crowds, the Peter the Hermits, the Luthers, the Savonarolas, the men of the French Revolution, have only exercised their fascination after having been themselves fascinated first of all by a creed. They are then able to call up in the souls of their fellows that fond dream of power known as faith, which renders a man the absolute slave of his dream."*

The existence of mob feeling, it is unnecessary to say, is just now making itself felt in the condition of unsettlement, and not a little of it is due to the existence of a temporary emotional instability which should be out of place in a country like ours, where Anglo-Saxon ideals have always existed and where sturdy men of healthy mentality have always governed us. Perhaps we are more than ever in need of discipline and the controlling influence of official dignity, for never in the history of the country has our population been so heterogeneous, and so susceptible to the influence of the moment as it is at the present time. Within the past few years there have been landed upon our shores an unassimilated crowd of "undesirable" emigrants, many of whom are the unfit of overcrowded Europe, and have come here with an absolutely erroneous idea of what they are to find or what they are to do, and are quite ignorant of our law or social customs. Many of them undoubtedly soon learn to believe that we are a swashbuckling, restless people, eminently selfish and undisciplined, and that the one thing for them to do is to "hustle," and that this must be done with an utter disregard for the feelings and rights of others; to find that older and slower business methods, even if stable and honest, are for the time discarded, for money must be made quickly and easily. No longer does reasonable contentment prevail. The strenuous and extreme life of excitement and unrest is expressed in general discontent, and the alleged interference with the rights of the unreasonable working-men who in turn find warm sympathizers in high places. What is really wanted is an example of unquestioned dignity, and the logical and unvarying administration of justice which requires absolute mental lucidity and poise.

* "The Crowd," pp. 134–135.

The power vested in a President of the United States is so great that if there be not sanity, self-control and self-respect, and a regard for the rights of every one, its immoderate and irrational use may be readily directed in a way which may be compared with the tyranny of any of the worst monarchs of other ages. President Roosevelt has elsewhere said:*

"The President of the United States occupies a position of peculiar importance. In the whole world there is probably no other ruler, certainly no other ruler under free institutions, whose power compares with his. Of course a despotic king has even more, but no constitutional monarch has as much."

The investiture, therefore, of power in an unstable person is likely to lead to an abuse of privilege, and a quasi-delusional assumption of the right to regulate in an arbitrary way the affairs of a great nation with a total disregard of individual rights.

In these days of mediocre or erratic rulers in all parts of the world, it is at least comforting to look back into the annals of Japan, a nation whose early traditions are replete with the deeds of great and sane men, and those who prate about "higher civilization" and the "supremacy of the white races" are referred to the comments of Lafcadio Hearn† upon the career of one of the greatest of Japanese rulers—Iyéyasu, who was a striking combination of a fearless warrior and a temperate statesman. Says Hearn:

"He was of Minamato descent and an aristocrat to the marrow of his bones. As a soldier, he was scarcely inferior to Hidéyoshi, whom he once defeated,—but he was much more than a soldier: a far-sighted statesman, an incomparable diplomat, and something of a scholar; cool, cautious, secretive,—distrustful, yet generous,—stern, yet humane. By the range and the versatility of his genius he might be not unfavorably contrasted with Julius Cæsar."

The influence of this great man lasted 250 years; and long after his death the house of Tokugawa gave to the Japanese prosperity and peace under fifteen Shoguns; and, in fact, until 1867.—when we civilized them.

ALLAN MCLANE HAMILTON.

* "The Works of Theodore Roosevelt," vol. I, page 1.
† "Japan: An Interpretation," by Lafcadio Hearn, p. 303.

CORPORATIONS IN MODERN BUSINESS.*

BY GEORGE W. PERKINS.

In the modern corporation we are confronted with a fact and not a theory. Whatever may be the individual attitude towards it, the corporation is here. What caused it, what it is doing and what is to become of it are live questions, vital to all the people.

A corporation, in a way, is but another name for organization. Broadly speaking, the first form of organization between human beings, of which we know, was the clan or tribe, in which the every-day conduct of the individuals was determined by the necessities of the group. This passed on into national organization, and then came the Church as a growing and vast organization. Latest of all has come the organizing of business.

But before all this, in the very beginning of things, the universe was organized—and all that man has done in society, in the Church, in business, and all that he ever can do in the centuries to come, can never bring to pass so complete a form of organization, so vast a trust, so centralized a form of control, as passes before our eyes in each twenty-four hours of our lives as we contemplate that all-including system of perfect organization called the universe. It does not require a very vivid imagination to picture the waste, the destruction, the chaos that would follow if there were not perfect organization, perfect co-operation, perfect regulation, perfect control in the affairs of the universe. How could we live, for example, if there were constant competition between day and night, or a constant struggle for supremacy between the seasons? Does any one, for a moment, think that he would prefer such a condition to the co-operation that now exists through all the affairs of the universe?

* The substance of an address delivered at Columbia University.

Organization being the all-permeating principle of the universe, the presumption is, therefore, in favor of organization wherever we find it or wherever it can be used. The corporation of to-day is entitled to that presumption; its underlying cause is not the greed of man for wealth and power, but the working of natural causes—of evolution.

Business was originally done by individuals trading with one another; then by a firm of two or more individuals; then by a company; then by a corporation, and latterly by a giant corporation or what is commonly (though perhaps inaccurately) called a "trust." Each step was brought about by some great change that took place in the conditions under which the people of the world lived and worked; each step was, in fact, mainly determined by discoveries and inventions of the human mind.

With the ox-team and the hoe we had men trading as individuals with individuals; with the sailing-vessel and the stage-coach we had trade carried on by firms; with the advent of the company we had the locomotive, the steamboat, the reaping-machine and the telegraph; with the birth of the larger corporation we had the express train, the Atlantic cable, the ocean liner, the local telephone, the seeder, the reaper and the binder; with the giant corporation came the Twentieth Century Limited, the crossing of the ocean in five days, the long-distance telephone, wireless telegraphy and a great extension of machinery into agricultural work.

In our forefathers' time it took about half as long to sail down the Hudson River from Albany to New York as it now takes to cross the Atlantic. The actual distance from Albany to New York is no less, nor is the distance from New York to London any less, now than then; but the inventions of man have so compressed both space and time that the financial and commercial markets of America and Europe are in constant exchange with one another every moment of the day. The business man in New York or Chicago can exchange several cable messages with London or Paris during the business hours of a day, and whenever an hour is clipped off the record of an ocean greyhound the people of the world are drawn so much nearer together. Because of the inventions of man, the Great American Desert of our boyhood geographies has, within a comparatively few years, largely become a vast fertile field, and, again, because of these inventions,

coupled with organized business methods, the product of this vast field is being marketed in remote parts of the globe.

The days when business was a local affair of individual with individual were the days when people were scattered, knowing little of each other and having no dealings with each other outside the radius of a few miles. Then steam and, later, electricity came into man's service; and then, by leaps and bounds, the possibilities of trade became extended to a radius of hundreds of miles, even of thousands of miles. Vast possibilities of international trade loomed up. The corporation sprang into active being as an inevitable result of this expansion of trade; for no one man, no firm, no small company, could provide the capital or the organization to cope with such opportunities. The only bridge that can span the ocean is the corporation. The real cause of the corporation was not so much the selfish aims of a few men as the imperative necessities of all men.

The first stage of corporationism was one of conflict—the old destructive competition carried forward under the new business forms. Trade could be carried further, much further, than before; and so A invaded B's territory and B retaliated. The fighting became faster and more furious, and the war in commerce became a hand-to-hand conflict. The trenches were being filled with able, splendid men who fell in the colossal struggles. Cut rates and rebates became the order of the day. Many railroads and many houses which had been successful in legitimate lines of business went down in bankruptcy. Labor suffered and the public suffered. The cost of doing business steadily increased; for war costs money. It became imperative that something be done to end the havoc. Prosperity could come only with peace. Instinctively, in a way unconsciously, men began to get together —not so much for profit as for protection; and so, under conditions which, in the mechanical development of the world, came on as naturally as day follows night, the great corporation came into existence and is the live, burning issue of to-day.

Perhaps the most useful achievement of the great corporation has been the saving of waste in its particular line of business. By assembling the best brains, the best genius, the best energy in a given line of trade, and co-ordinating these in work for a common end, great results have been attained in the prevention of waste, the utilizing of by-products, the economizing in the

manufacture of the product, the expense of selling, and through better and more uniform service.

This same grouping of men has raised the standard of their efficiency. Nothing develops man like contact with other men. A dozen men working apart and for separate ends do not develop the facility, the ideas, the general effectiveness that will become the qualities of a dozen men working together in one cause. In such work emulation plays a useful part; it does all the good and none of the harm that the old method of destructive competition did; the old competition was wholly self-seeking and often ruinous, while the new rivalry, within the limits of the same organization, is constructive and uplifting. Thus the great corporation has developed men of a higher order of business ability than ever appeared under the old conditions; and what a value this has for the coming generation! The opportunity, the inducement it provides to become all-around larger men than those of earlier generations could become!

We have heard many warnings that because of the great corporation we have been robbing the oncoming generation of its opportunities. Nothing is more absurd. The larger the corporation, the more certain is the office-boy to reach ultimately a foremost place if he is made of the right stuff, if he keeps everlastingly at it, and if he is determined to become master of each position he occupies.

In the earlier days, the individual in business, as a rule, left his business to his children—the firm to its relations. Whether or not they were competent did not determine the succession. But the giant corporation cannot act in this way. Its management must have efficiency—above and beyond all else, it must have the highest order of ability; and nothing has been more noticeable in the management of corporations in the last few years than that "influence," so called, as an element in selecting men for responsible posts, has been rapidly on the wane. Everything is giving way and must give way to the one supreme test of fitness.

And is it not possible that the accumulating of large fortunes in the future may be curtailed to a large extent through the very workings of these corporations? Are there not many advantages in having corporations in which there are a large number of positions carrying with them very handsome annual sal-

aries, in place of firms with comparatively few partners—the annual profits of each one of whom were often so large that they amassed fortunes in a few years? A position carrying a salary so large as to represent the interest on a handsome fortune can be permanently filled only by a man of real ability, so that, in case a man who is occupying such a position dies, it must, in turn, be filled with another man of the same order—while the fortune might be and most likely would be passed on regardless of the heir's ability. Therefore, the more positions of responsibility, of trust and of honor, that carry large salaries, the more goals we have for young men whose equipment for life consists of integrity, health, ability and energy.

Furthermore, the great corporation has been of benefit to the public in being able to standardize its wares, so that they have become more uniformly good. Wages are unquestionably higher and labor is more steadily employed; for, in a given line of trade, handled to a considerable extent by a corporation, there are practically no failures; while, under the old methods of bitter, relentless warfare, failures were frequent, and failure meant paralysis for labor as well as for capital.

The great corporation is unquestionably making general business conditions sounder. It is making business steadier; for one reason, because firms inevitably change and dissolve, while a corporation may go on indefinitely. It is making business steadier, for another and more potent reason—because it is able to survey the field much better than could a large number of firms and individuals and, therefore, it is vastly better able to measure the demand for its output and, if properly managed, to prevent the accumulation of large stocks of goods that are not needed—a condition which often arose under the old methods, when many firms were in ruthless competition with one another in the same line of business, oftentimes producing serious financial difficulties for one and all.

Broadly and generally speaking, the corporation as we know it to-day, as we see it working and feel its results, is in a formative state. In many cases, actual and desperately serious situations caused it to be put together hurriedly. In many cases, serious mistakes have been made in the forms of organization, in the methods of management and in the ends that have been sought. In some instances, the necessity for corporations has grown faster

than has the ability of men to manage them. Mistakes have been many and serious. But the corporation is with us; it is a condition, not a theory, and there are but two courses open to us—to kill it or to keep it. If you would kill it, you must kill the cause, or the thing will come back to plague you. The principal causes are steam and electricity.

Could anything be more dangerous to the public welfare than steam and electricity themselves? Then why not prohibit their use and, so far as possible, abolish them? Has any one ever suggested this? No. Why? Because their benefits were too apparent, and so we have bent our energies towards regulating and controlling them—by using all that is good in them and carefully protecting ourselves from all that is injurious. If we are not willing to exterminate the cause of corporations, we can never permanently exterminate the corporation itself. There is, then, but one thing left to do, viz., to regulate and control them; to treat them as we have treated steam and electricity; to use the best that is in them and to protect ourselves from the worst that is in them.

A large percentage of the mistakes of corporate management have occurred because managers have failed to realize that they were not in business as individuals, but were working for other people, their stockholders, whom they were in honor bound to serve honestly and faithfully; further, that they owed a duty to the general public and could, in the long run, best serve themselves and their stockholders by recognizing that duty and respecting it.

Then, too, many of our corporations, being of comparatively recent origin, have, at the outset, been managed by men who were previously in business, in some form or another, for themselves; and it has been very difficult for such men to change their point of view—to cease from looking at questions from the sole standpoint of personal gain and personal advantage, and to take the broader view of looking at them from the standpoint of the community-of-interest principle.

It is by no means clear that the danger-point in the development of corporations is found in the giant corporation. Indeed, it is more likely to be found in the corporation of lesser size; because the latter does not attract the eye of the public sufficiently to have its managers impressed with the fact that they are

semi-public servants—responsible not only to their stockholders, but to the public as well. It is easier and more natural for a giant corporation to adopt a policy of publicity with the public and of fair-dealing with its associates in the same trade, because such a course, from the broad, far-reaching view of the great corporation, becomes the wisest, most successful course. Then, again, the relation of the giant corporation to its labor is an entirely different relation from that of the small corporation or the firm to its labor; the officers and trustees of a giant corporation instinctively lose sight of the interest of any one individual, because such interest at best is infinitesimal compared with the whole. This places the officers and trustees of the giant corporation in a position where they can look on all labor questions without bias and without any personal axe to grind—solely from the broadest possible standpoint of what is fair and right between the public's capital, which they represent, and the public's labor, which they employ. In short, they assume on all such matters the attitude of the real trustee, the impartial judge, the intelligent, well-posted and fair arbitrator.

The great semi-public business corporations of the country, whether they be insurance, railroad or industrial, have in our day become not only vast business enterprises, but great trusteeships; and there would be far less attacking of corporations if this truth were more fully realized and respected. The larger the corporation becomes, the greater become its responsibilities to the entire community. Moreover, the larger the number of stockholders, the more it assumes the nature of an institution for savings.

It is not sufficient in corporate management to do the best one can from day to day. Corporate responsibility extends beyond to-day. The foresight, the planning ahead, the putting the house in order for the storms of the future, are the true measure of the best and highest stewardship, as well as of the highest order of managerial ability.

The corporations of the future must be those that are semi-public servants, serving the public, with ownership widespread among the public, and with labor so fairly and equitably treated that it will look upon its corporation as its friend and protector rather than as an ever-present enemy—above all, believing in it so thoroughly that it will invest its savings in the corporation's

securities and become working partners in the business. It would have been impossible, in the day of the ox-team, for people in every State of this Union to be partners in any one business; and yet to-day we have at least one giant corporation made up of partners resident not only in every one of our States, but in almost every country in the world, and reinforced by thousands of its own employees having become stockholders themselves.

During the past few months, when the campaign against corporations was most intense, when our country was in a turmoil of business perplexity and doubt, the people who, we are told, have so suffered because of the trusts and are so bitterly opposed to their existence, have been investing in these very securities to an unprecedented extent. To illustrate: During the past year the stockholders of the Great Northern Railway have increased in number from 2,800 to over 11,000. The stockholders of the Pennsylvania Railroad have increased from 40,000 to 57,000. The stockholders of the New York Central have increased from 10,000 to over 21,000. During the same period, the number of the stockholders in the Steel Corporation increased by over 30,000; the total number of individuals holding stock in that corporation now exceeds 100,000, and the average holding of the $868,000,000 of stock of the Steel Corporation is to-day about 98 shares per person. Can there, then, be any question that these great institutions have become semi-public? And when we contemplate the alternative of exterminating or of regulating them, must we not realize that they are owned not by a few individuals, but by a vast number of people representing our thriftiest class? That these corporations have thus become not only vast business enterprises, but great and growing institutions for savings, surely imposes a new and more sacred responsibility not only upon corporation managers, but upon legislators as well.

If the managers of the giant corporations feel themselves to be semi-public servants, and desire to be so considered, they must, of course, welcome supervision by the public, exercised through its chosen representatives who compose the Government. Those who ask the public to invest money in an enterprise are in honor bound to give the public, at stated intervals, evidence that the business in question is ably and honestly conducted; and they should be not only willing, but glad, that some authority, properly constituted by our Government, should say to stockholders and the

public from time to time that the management's reports and methods of business are correct. They should be willing to do this for their own relief of mind, since the responsibility of the management of a giant corporation is so great that the men in control should be glad to have it shared by proper public officials representing the people in a governmental capacity.

There is scarcely a corporation manager of to-day, who is alive to his responsibilities, to the future growth of this country, and to the enormous opportunities before us for foreign trade, who would not welcome this kind of supervision, could he but feel that it would come from the National Government, acting through an intelligent and fair-minded official; but to be faced with the requirement to report to and be supervised and regulated by forty or fifty governments, with varying ideas and laws, of course suggests difficulties that are almost insurmountable obstacles. For business purposes, at least in the larger business affairs of this country and from a practical standpoint, State lines have been obliterated. The telegraph, the express train and the long-distance telephone have done their work. For business purposes in this country the United States Government is a corporation with fifty subsidiary companies, and the sooner this is realized the sooner we can get the right kind of supervision of semi-public business enterprises, and, in this way, give the public the publicity and the protection to which it is entitled in the conduct of business by corporations. In no other way can the public be protected from evils in corporation management.

The criticism is often made that this would amount to bringing business into politics. That depends. We have at Washington a Supreme Court. Membership in that most honorable body is the goal of every aspiring lawyer. If, for distinguished service and ability, we honor lawyers by promoting them to decide our most difficult legal questions, why should we not honor our railroad men by promoting them to decide our most difficult railroad questions, our industrial men the industrial questions? For example: If we had at Washington a Railroad Board of Control, and that Board were composed of practical railroad men, would not membership in such a Board come gradually to be the goal of railroad men? And does any one, for a moment, think that if such a Board were composed of practical railroad men it would be especially partial to railroad interests? Certainly not.

Once on such a Board a man could not fail to recognize the great responsibility and honor of the office, and administer it for the best interests of the public and of the railroads at one and the same time. Thus the business man would merge into the public official, no longer controlled by the mere business view, and would act the part of a statesman, to the improvement of governmental administration and not to the lowering of its level.

This kind of expert, high-minded supervision would not be opposed by the business interests of the country. What they dread is unintelligent, inexperienced administration. National supervision, under a law requiring that those who supervise should be practical men thoroughly versed in their calling, would solve most of our difficult problems and be of the greatest possible benefit and protection to one and all.

To such rational supervision may we not look forward as a result of the sober second thought of the people and our legislators —of their calming down from the bitter denunciation of corporations which has been the prevailing outcry for some years?

In spite of what apparently has been an almost persistent determination to misunderstand or ignore his real purpose, the fact is that President Roosevelt, from the time when he was Governor of New York down to his latest message to Congress, has repeatedly proclaimed his belief that modern industrial conditions are such that combination is not only necessary, but inevitable; that corporations have come to stay, and that, if properly managed, they are the source of good and not evil.

The next period in corporation development should be a constructive one—constructive as to the relations of the corporation to its labor and to the public, and this can best be accomplished by the method of co-operation with supervision.

It is almost heresy to say that competition is no longer the life of trade, yet this has come to be the fact as applied to the old unreasoning and unreasonable competition, because of the conditions of our day. The spirit of co-operation is upon us. It must, of necessity, be the next great form of business development and progress. At this moment many people are looking askance upon the change, still believing in the old doctrine. They hold to it for several reasons: first, because they have inherited the belief; second, because they think that competition means lower prices for commodities to the public; third, because they think

it provides the best incentive to make men work. This may have been the best-known method at one time, but it is not and cannot be true in the mechanical, electrical age in which we live.

The highly developed competitive system gave ruinously low prices at one time and unwarrantedly high prices at another time. When the low prices prevailed labor was cruelly hurt; when the high prices prevailed the public paid the bills.

From every point of view the co-operative principle is to be preferred. It is more humane, more uplifting, and, with proper supervision, must provide a more orderly conduct of business, freer from failure and abuse, guaranteeing better wages and more steady employment to labor, with a more favorable average price to the consumer—one on which he can depend in calculating his living expenses or making his business plans.

GEORGE W. PERKINS.

THE NEW IRELAND.—I.

A REVIEW OF THE PAST.

BY SYDNEY BROOKS.

No attempt to interpret the Ireland of to-day can be helpful, can even be intelligible, without a constant throwing-back to the past. Other countries, Macedonia, for instance, and southern Italy and Sicily, have behind them a historical development as tortuous and mournful, as blood-soaked and convulsive; but with no country have fate and nature and human perversity dealt more harshly than with Ireland, and in none is it so indispensable that an ever-present consciousness of what has been should be the starting-point of any effort to elucidate what is. The unhappy legacy of the past culminates in the tragedy of the Irish present. You find the mark of its ravages wherever you turn, in all departments of Irish life, in the social and economic sphere as much as in the political and religious, in the mind and instinctive outlook of the people not less than in their material conditions. The resultant cannot be understood without some knowledge of the processes that have shaped it. The unique conformation which Ireland presents, intricate and astounding in any case, is a riddle in the geology of politics that cannot even be propounded aright, much less solved, without a sifting of the deposits of centuries.

Shut off from the Continent by a larger, richer, more populous and incomparably more powerful kingdom, Ireland has always differentiated from the normal type of European evolution. She was never conquered, she was never even invaded, by the Romans; she escaped altogether the ordeal which was to prove the birth-throe of most Western civilizations. The Celts who had overrun the land and absorbed the aborigines long before the dawn of Irish history found in its isolation a refuge secure from the

Roman legions. In Ireland the Celtic form of society, Celtic customs and characteristics, and the Celtic tongue developed with a freedom and in a seclusion unparalleled elsewhere. The Irish grew up the most primitive and the least spoiled of Aryan peoples. The keystone of their organization was the tribal system, with its communal holding of land, its elective chiefs, its cement of a real or reputed kinship, its self-governing septs, and its overwhelming inclination towards a pastoral life. The tribes had probably little effective unity. The rivers, marshes and woods would alone have sufficed to prevent the growth of anything resembling a State. Tribal wars were frequent, and beyond a vague acknowledgment of common customs and a common language the groups had neither the framework nor the consciousness of a more embracing union. Yet this loosely organized system, without collective coherence or efficiency, but strong and rigid in its parts, with no centralized seat of authority, and constitutionally fatal to both social and political progress, lasted on in Ireland for centuries after it had disappeared from the rest of Europe. Even as an institution it was not finally uprooted until the reign of Elizabeth, and as an economic, social and intellectual influence it persists to this day. Tribalism penetrated the Irish mind with the conviction that the Irish soil belonged of right to the Irish people, and this conviction, after embroiling Anglo-Irish relations and baffling British domination for seven and a half centuries, has now all but extinguished landlordism and is creating a peasant proprietary by the free use of English credit. Here and there you may still encounter in Ireland forms of land-holding—a ten-acre field, for instance, split up into scattered fragments among a dozen or more tenants—that are essentially tribal. Tribalism, again, fostered an intensive spirit of conservatism, and the Celtic Irish have an almost Malayan aversion to change. It subordinated home life to the life of the sept, and the Irish are still a distinctively gregarious people. It encouraged pasture and discouraged labor, and Ireland to-day is predominantly a stock-raising country, and has yet to assimilate the gospel of work. It promoted internecine feuds, and the spirit of faction permeates native Irish life to this moment. It shielded, as nothing else could, the mind and temperament and customs of the people from external influences, and no one can visit Ireland to-day without being made conscious of a strain of almost una-

dulterated Asiaticism in some of the workings of the Irish mind, in certain traits of the people's character, in several of their instinctive ways of looking at things, and in many of their social usages. When Lord Dufferin described the Bengali as the Irishman of the East it was not on the Bengali alone that he threw a light.

The strength which tribalism derived from the very looseness of its organization and from the impossibility of overthrowing it at a single stroke was shown by the manner of its conversion to Christianity. It adopted the new religion, but was not absorbed by it. The people became Christians, but the Church to a far greater degree became Celtic, and for some centuries remained somewhat isolated from the Western communion. While unable to graft her law on the tribes, she raised Ireland to a brief but high pre-eminence in learning and the arts. Irish missionaries spread over the Continent; the Irish monasteries attracted scholars from all over Europe; and the subtle and intricate traceries and spirals of Celtic design developed under the tutelage of the Church into a new and brilliant school of metal-work and illumination. But influences that might in time have knit Ireland with the broad movement of European progress were checked and dissipated by foreign invasion. The Danes swept over the island, an ecclesiastical exodus followed, and the country fell back again into its self-contained aloofness. The Celts were never a commercial or seafaring people, and the Danes from the few seaports in the south and east to which they were finally penned quickly gathered into their own hands whatever foreign trade there was. It is true the Church was reorganized on a Latin basis, and thus came once more into tentative touch with the temporal power of Rome. But it has always been the fate of Ireland to lie more or less in a backwater and to give to the world more than she receives from it. For three and a half centuries after the Anglo-Norman invasion, tribalism, somewhat modified by the influence of the new settlers, continued to imprison the faculties of her people and to intensify their separateness. The Reformation came not to touch her with a new vitality, but to confuse and embitter her social and political development with a sectarian contentiousness. Drawn into the wars of religion, Ireland experienced a momentary contact with countries other than England. But it was of too one-sided a character to stem

the current of Anglicization. The Catholic Powers used Ireland as a pawn and Irish soil as an occasional battle-ground; they enrolled Irish officers and troops in their Continental armies; men of Irish birth rose to power and honor in their councils. But they gave back nothing in return, and except for a glimpse now and then of a Spanish type of countenance in Kerry and of Spanish architecture in Galway one would not guess to-day that Ireland had ever come within the range of any European influence but England's. With hardly a break or deflection the English type of civilization has steadily imposed itself from the sixteenth century till to-day. The American Revolution had its reflex action on Irish politics; the French Revolution evoked a short-lived outburst of republicanism in the north; some flicker of the spirit of '48 showed itself for a moment in Irish agitation; but otherwise Ireland has remained completely cut off from all except English influences. It is only within the last sixty years that the great emigrations to America, Canada and Australia have linked her, sorrowfully enough, with a wider destiny and larger interests. From the Continent, except through the medium of the Roman Catholic Church, she is still severed in sympathies, in intellect and in commerce by the interposing might of Great Britain.

This geographical isolation acting on a people naturally conservative, averse from commerce, inclined to the least progressive form of agriculture—tillage in Ireland, as Professor Goldwin Smith has rightly noted, was marked from its birth with a bar sinister—and bound long after other nations had outgrown it to a system that both reflected and fostered their intolerance of innovation, must in any case have nourished the introspective instincts of the Celts, have driven them in upon themselves, and have stamped upon Irish life an exclusive and peculiar intensity. The neighborhood of England made it not less certain that that isolation could not permanently endure. That it should have been broken, however, in a form that complicated every element of national evolution and added a new contentiousness of class, race and privilege to the interplay of tribal strife was a catastrophe for which Fate alone can be justly arraigned. The Anglo-Norman invasion, soon after the middle of the twelfth century, introduced into Ireland a body of conquerors and settlers who, while sharing the religion of the natives, differed from them in speech, in tem-

perament, in racial characteristics and in the fundamental cast of their civilization. Feudalism from that moment confronted tribalism, an English interest the Irish people, the Teuton the Celt. Thus early in the history of Anglo-Irish relations the three cleavages of land, race and a favored faction, backed by a foreign Power and seeking to impose its rule over the native population, began to show themselves. Thus early, too, appeared the lack of definiteness which has marked from that day to this England's Irish policy. No attempt was made to effect a thorough conquest of Ireland. The Anglo-Norman settlement was never probably effective over more than a third of the Irish soil, the Normans establishing themselves in the rural parts north and south of Dublin and the English in the seacoast towns. England's interest in her colony was weak and fitful. She would neither rule it nor rule through it. Between the settlers and the tribes ensued three centuries of such border warfare as the English in America were afterwards to wage with the Red Indians. The conquest of the Celts by the settlers, the expulsion of the settlers by the Celts, were alike impossible. Inherent disunion made the attacks of the tribes spasmodic; lack of sufficient force and the barrier of river, bog and forest kept the Pale restricted to defence. Without the cement of kingship, drawn upon for the purposes of the Scottish and French wars, weakened by absenteeism and a foreign education, and harassed incessantly by the tribes, it began to dwindle and disintegrate. Edward Bruce's invasion nearly drove it to the sea. The Norman landowners in the rural districts of the settlement became gradually Celticized, while the English traders in the towns maintained their nationality intact. Feudalism and tribalism formed a patchwork fringe to a country two-thirds of which remained purely Celtic. The beginning of the sixteenth century found Ireland turned into a political dependency of England, but a dependency in which English authority hardly covered a fourth of the island. It found, too, tribalism modified but still predominant, feudalism vital but losing rather than gaining ground, and both systems already survivals of an order of things that in England and on the Continent had been left behind. But for the decisive interposition of a great historical event the Anglo-Norman settlement of Ireland would probably have been sapped or stormed.

That event was, of course, the Reformation. The English and

Anglo-Norman colonists in town and country, and the native Celts, all professed the Catholic religion, but they maintained separate churches and a separate clergy, and each regarded the other as outside the pale of Christianity. Both races, however, were at one in rejecting the new faith. "To the Catholic lords of the Pale the Elizabethan religion was alien; to the native Celts it was not only alien, but utterly abhorred. It presented itself, not as the religion of Ireland, but as the religion of the conqueror." The warm and imaginative Celtic temperament, which has never yet found a resting-place between Rome and Geneva, revolted from the measured formalism of the Anglican creed. A people pre-eminently devoted to ceremonial rites and emblems, to sacerdotalism and to the monastic life, had no single instinct of sympathy for a movement which chose these features of their faith for its special attack. Politically, intellectually, and socially it appealed as little to their minds and to their conceptions of life and society as its spiritual essence and formulas appealed to their emotions. The ground in Ireland had never been prepared for such a revolution, nor was there the smallest impulse to welcome it when it came. The suppression of the Irish monasteries, the defacement and destruction of the hallowed shrines, statues and relics, were followed by the masses with boundless resentment. Himself a Celt, Henry VIII had initiated in Ireland a policy of secular conciliation. He approached the tribal chieftains in a shrewd and friendly spirit, hoping to form among them a native nobility, to invest them with a grant direct from the Crown of their tribe-lands, to receive in return an acknowledgment of his supremacy in Church and State, and so to establish throughout the country centres of authority from which English laws, customs and civilization might gradually radiate. But he fell into the fundamental error of ignoring the differences between feudal and tribal tenure. He treated the chiefs as the absolute owners of the land, in their share of which the tribal system allowed them no more than a life interest. The personal pledges and undertakings of a chief could bind neither the heads of the septs nor the free tribesmen who elected his successor; and the chiefs who made submission to the Crown and agreed to become the King's tenants were without the power, when once beyond the narrow range of his effective rulership, to force the compact on their tribal kinsmen. Yet if it were vio-

lated, the Crown, by English and feudal law, claimed and exercised the right to confiscate the whole of the tribe-lands.

Thus the policy of conciliation split on the eternal rocks of religion and land. Yet it was essential for England's security that her faith and civilization should be imposed upon Ireland. As the conflict between Protestantism and Catholicism broadened out into a vast European struggle, Ireland, which hitherto had been merely England's disgrace, now became England's danger. A Catholic Ireland, acknowledging Papal, but not English, sovereignty, was a formidable weapon in the hands of the anti-Protestant coalition and an insufferable menace to the concentration of England's power. The conquest of Ireland, the conversion and Anglicization of Ireland, had become political necessities. Only the effective supremacy of England over all parts of the country could forestall or at least diminish the peril that Ireland might furnish the spear-head of the shaft aimed by the Catholic Powers at England's heart. It fell to Elizabeth, who would willingly have shrunk from it, to achieve the task. Her excommunication and deposition by Papal bull forced it on her. Three great Irish rebellions, waged and suppressed with mutual and unsurpassable cruelties, filled her reign. When it closed Celtic Ireland had ceased to be; the country lay crushed, desolate and starving at England's feet. Vast forfeitures and confiscations followed, and English colonies began to be systematically planted. Protestantism was enthroned as the state religion, and conformity to it was prescribed rather than enforced; but there was, at first, no penal laws and little persecution. Protestant administrators and officials, imported from England, superseded the English of the Pale, most of whom, while not becoming rebels, had remained Catholic. But it was in the spheres of law and land and government rather than in that of religion that the fruits of the Elizabethan conquest most plainly appeared. "Ireland, conquered, now became shire land, at least in contemplation of law. The law of England, in the eyes of its professors the consummation of human wisdom, ousted the Brehon law. The feudal system of land tenure supplanted the tribal system. Freehold and leasehold, primogeniture and entail, took the place of tribal ownership and tenantry. Justice was henceforth to be administered in English courts, and judges were to go circuit as in England. . . . The whole machinery of government, as well as law and the ju-

diciary, was at the same time assimilated, formally at least, to the English model." Throughout the seventeenth century the process of Anglicization went bloodily on. Huge grants of land were made under James I to English and Scotch settlers in Ulster and elsewhere. By seizure and escheat, by indefensible acts of legal chicanery and bad faith, the Catholic landowners, whether Celtic or Anglo-Norman, were steadily dispossessed. Protestantism, veering towards Puritanism, increased the stringency of its enactments. All the animosities of race and religion were precipitated into a fight for the land. Twice the natives rose and massacred and achieved a brief ascendency, only to see it twice torn from them. Rebellion was answered by wars of extermination, defeat by wholesale confiscations. Neither Rome nor France availed to arrest the final triumph of English power. Devastation and evictions, slaughterings, banishment, forfeitures and emigration, Cromwell and William III, numberless grants of land to individual adventurers and a systematic policy of colonization by Scotch and English settlers, made an end of the Catholic proprietors. Under a common proscription and defeat the descendants of the old Celtic chieftains and tribesmen and the descendants of the old Anglo-Norman nobility sunk their feuds, and though still speaking different languages, came to acknowledge in their misfortunes, their Catholicism and their detestation of Puritanism, a real bond of unity. Religion overrode race and nationality in the daily speech. Men spoke of Catholics when they meant the Irish, of Presbyterians when they referred to the Scotch settlers in the north, and of members of the State Church when they wished to designate the new English colonists. Five centuries of Anglo-Irish history had destroyed the native civilization, had dispossessed the people of their holdings, had marshalled on either side of the agrarian struggle the bitterest antagonisms of racial and religious strife, and had vested in a small minority of alien speech, temperament and creed practically all political power, and all the privileges of a legal, social and territorial ascendency.

For nearly a century and against inconceivable odds this minority, though divided within itself, showed the resolution of the stock from which it sprang by maintaining its supremacy unimpaired. It was a domination of Protestants, but the Protestants were not united. Half of them were Presbyterians, excluded by

law from public offices, forced to pay tithes to a Church that they abhorred only less than they abhorred Catholicism, and separated from their co-religionists by the economic rivalries of manufacturers with landowners. Virtually all authority was in the hands of the Episcopalians. They trod the Catholic population under heel, reducing it by the ingenious iniquity of the Penal Code to a status of outlawry. They ruled the Presbyterians with a rigid and masterful pertinacity; and while dependent for their security and privileges, and indeed for their very existence, upon the power of England, they had to defend their interests against a Parliament that would grant them neither union nor independence, and that jealously repressed every promise of Irish competition with the commerce and industries of the mother country. Against this converging onset of difficulties they stood their ground for the better part of the eighteenth century with a phenomenal tenacity. Under their rule Ireland had unwonted, if artificial, peace. The country was opened up by roads and canals; civilization, the arts and humanities spread; Dublin became the second city of the Empire; and the colonists developed a new type of character that still charms by its happy union of Celtic vivacity, sensitiveness and grace with Saxon hardihood and practicality. But the abnormality of their position could only be maintained by repression and persecution on the one side and an intricate balancing of hostilities on the other. The Catholics were crushed into subjection. They were shut out from all public appointments, from Parliament, from the franchise, from the jury-box, from the police force, from the legal and learned professions. Education either at home or abroad or in a university was forbidden them. They could not keep arms or own a horse worth more than five pounds. A determined effort was made to stamp out their religion. Archbishops and bishops, monks and friars were banished. Marriage between a Protestant and a Catholic was prohibited. Catholics were not allowed to buy land or hold mortgages on it or lease it except for a short time and with limited profits or to bequeath it by will. The equal testamentary division of such estates as still remained to Catholics was made compulsory. These and similar provisions of the Penal Code attained some at least of their ends. They finally crushed the Catholic gentry of the upper and middle classes. Great numbers of them emigrated and rose to honor in the service of foreign

Powers. Nearly all ceased to own land. But persecution failed as usual to make converts. The people clung with unconquerable firmness to their ancient faith, and the unique authority which the priesthood wields in the Ireland of to-day dates unquestionably from the enforcement of the penal laws.

The masses throughout the eighteenth century remained meanwhile in a deplorable condition, cowed but unreconciled. A liberal commercial policy might have helped them, but English statesmanship was bound to the theory that a colony was an estate whose usefulness began and ended with serving the industrial and agricultural interests of the mother country. The colonial system that induced the American Revolution was applied to Ireland with a thoroughness from which distance saved the New England settlements. Whatever industry Ireland turned to, from wool to cotton, from glass to brewing, from gloves to linen, was deliberately ruined or crippled by English legislation. The masses were flung back upon the land and the land impaled them. A fearful competition grew up among a starving and congested peasantry for the privilege of leasing from their Protestant masters, at rents that could only be paid by a progressive lowering of every social standard, a few acres of the soil that once was their own by tribal right. From their landlords they were separated by speech and creed and the memories of ferocious wars. No tie of immemorial usage sanctified or humanized the new relations of proprietor and tenant. Evictions which were unknown under the tribal and feudal systems became the common incidents of a tenure based on a one-sided contract. Many of the landlords were absentees, and their place was taken by extortionate, rack-renting middlemen. The great change from tillage to pasture that marked the early years of the century brought in the grazing speculator with his writs of ejectment. The potato became the chief, almost the sole, dietary of the peasant serfs, and the frequent failures of the crop, under their primeval methods of cultivation, entailed famine and pestilence. The tithe proctor levied his toll on their wretched earnings in support of a Church which they detested as the apostate emblem of ascendency. Of education they had none except what the priest brought them at peril of his life. Deprived of their secular leaders by the decimation of the Catholic gentry they turned to the ministers of their religion with more than the fervor of devotion they had formerly

offered their tribal chiefs. The consolations of religion derived a new potency from their miseries on earth. Under a systematized stigma of subjection their instinct of indolence, inherited from tribal days, came to be penetrated with the lethargy of fatalism. Their character took on the virtues and failings that are the common product of oppression. The spirit of neighborly helpfulness, always a Celtic trait, developed progressively with their afflictions. But they acquired, too, a less pleasing but not less natural command of all the artifices which are the invariable defence of a weak and quick-witted race in its struggle against government by force. Dissimulation and deceit, a profound capacity for concealing their real opinions, an extreme facility in feigning agreement, became rooted in their minds as virtues. Self-reliance, a quality which the form of Celtic society, with its radical suppression of the individual, had never favored, was completely crushed by an accumulation of adversities. The habit of secret conspiracy and organization, of forming retaliatory leagues and brotherhoods of vengeance—a habit which has also its clear associations with the tribal past—grew as the possibility of legal remedies became more remote. Outlaws in fact, they became outlaws in spirit and in deed. Chained to ignorance, they nourished their warm and fanciful minds on the legends and superstitions of their fathers. Though sunk in an appalling poverty, which was aggravated by rapid reproduction, they preserved something of their happy racial carelessness and their old delight in games, the dance and minstrelsy; and strangely passive as they remained throughout the greater part of the century, two fierce agrarian wars and the multiplication of secret societies were omens of what was to come.

But the Catholic peasantry were not alone in their grievances. The Presbyterians in the north chafed bitterly under the ascendency of the Established Church, the exactions of the tithe-collector, and the religious tests that excluded them from office and from the army, disputed the validity of their marriages, and interfered with their worship and education. As manufacturers they were all but ruined by the commercial restrictions and the navigation laws. As farmers they not only had to meet the competition of the Celtic peasants, who habitually starved themselves to pay higher rents, but equally with their rivals they suffered from evictions, the extension of pasture, and the pressure of an

unscrupulous landlordism. Discontent broke out in agrarian uprisings and outrages, and finally took the form of steady emigration to the American colonies, where the Presbyterian refugees from Ulster were to prove the backbone of the Revolution. And both Presbyterians and Episcopalians protested against the price which England forced them to pay for the protection and privileges they enjoyed. They had few or none of the rights of Englishmen. Their Parliament, overrun by placemen from England, was absolutely under the control of the English Privy Council. It met only once in two years, and in George II's reign it lasted for thirty-three years without renewal. "There was no Habeas Corpus. There were large sinecures, instruments of corruption in the hands of the Government. The pension list, swollen beyond bounds, was a privy fund for kings' mistresses and for jobs too dirty for the English list." All the high offices of state, judicial, administrative and ecclesiastical, were filled by Englishmen. Ireland, in short, was treated as the American colonies were treated, but with far greater strictness, propinquity making the task of supervision easier and more thorough; and it was the American colonies that wrought her partial deliverance. A patriot party rose in the Irish Parliament, proclaiming Irish wrongs. The American Revolution denuded the country of troops. Forty thousand volunteers were enrolled ostensibly for the protection of Ireland against a French invasion. But the Presbyterians, who formed the majority of the rank and file of the force, joined with the Episcopalians in using it as an instrument for the redress of Irish grievances. Harassed and all but prostrated, England had no option but to yield. The tests were abolished; the commercial restrictions were swept away; the legislative and judicial independence of Ireland was completely and formally acknowledged. There ensued for a little while one of the brightest periods in Irish history. The Parliament, though wholly Protestant, representing not more than a fourth of the population, and largely controlled by the British Government through its ownership of pensions, places and nomination boroughs, accomplished much for Ireland. It repealed the worst enactments of the Penal Code, which had, however, long before this fallen very largely into desuetude; it passed a Habeas Corpus Act; it fostered tillage, remodelled the Pension List, and gave a great impetus to industries and material development. But it did nothing for the

peasantry, and while it extended the franchise to Catholic holders of forty-shilling freeholds, it failed to secure their admission to Parliament. Beneath the surface Ireland was as disunited, and the Irish Parliament as much a stronghold of Protestant ascendency, as ever. The Catholic upper and middle classes boldly pressed their claims for representation in Parliament. The Presbyterians, clamorous for the abolition of tithes and Parliamentary reform, were also deeply infected with the democratic spirit of the French Revolution. Communicated to the peasantry, the new ideas of liberty assumed the inevitable form of an agrarian revolt. The Presbyterians, who aimed at first at an Irish Republic to be established by French aid, were driven over by the uprising of the peasants to the side of Protestantism and repression; and the country was plunged once more into a murderous conflict of class and creed. In 1783 the Irish Protestants had turned the embarrassments of England to their own profit. In 1798 England repaid them in their own coin. The experiment of an independent Irish Parliament, partly, no doubt, because it was never fully tried, had led to a civil war of atrocious virulence. Legislative union was now resolved upon. The Catholic priesthood and gentry, buoyed up with the hope that it would be followed by their political emancipation, state provision for the clergy and a settlement of the tithe question, favored it. The Catholic masses remained passive. The Episcopalians accepted it as inevitable. The Presbyterians made no sign, and only the citizens of Dublin and the Orangemen in the north can be said to have strongly opposed it. The Irish House of Commons fought, indeed, for its life and its privileges with the tenacity both of patriots and of hucksters, but its resistance was overborne by a lavish creation of peerages and liberal compensation to the patrons of pocket-boroughs. Pitt "bought the fee-simple of Irish corruption," and the Union of Great Britain and Ireland became again a fact.

The eighteenth century established in Ireland the social, religious, territorial and political ascendency of an alien minority; the nineteenth century demolished it piece by piece and transferred its powers and privileges to the native masses. The Union, by drawing Ireland into the stream of English progress and Irishmen into the arena of English politics, doomed oligarchy to extinction. The country acquired a leverage on English opinion

that she had never before possessed and that her representatives in the House of Commons were to prove supremely capable of utilizing. In the last hundred years nearly every emblem of the old régime has disappeared. After an agitation which for the first time brought the Irish priesthood into politics and instilled into the masses a real consciousness of unity, O'Connell wrested Catholic Emancipation from the British Government under a threat of civil war. Seven years of agrarian rebellion, marked by many outrages and comprising among its agencies of intimidation the terrible weapon of the boycott, forced an abolition of the tithes. A system of national primary education was established a generation before England herself received it. A Poor Law was passed to cope with the appalling growth of mendicancy and distress. Irish Catholics began to be appointed to high office under the British Crown. The municipalities were reformed and their administration passed for the most part into Catholic hands. The disestablishment of the Irish Protestant Church did much to assuage sectarian bitterness. The franchise was greatly extended. Local government in town and country was handed over to popularly elected bodies and ceased to be the preserve and plaything of an exclusive class. By these measures the dominant Protestantism of the old order was stripped of much of its social and of nearly all its political and religious authority. But the true seat of power lay in the ownership of the land, and from that, too, the party of ascendency has by now been all but completely ejected. The Union at first seemed rather to aggravate than relieve the agrarian problem. When London became, and Dublin ceased to be, the capital of Ireland, large numbers of the gentry were attracted across the Channel, absenteeism increased, and the Irish landlord became more than ever a mere rent-extractor. But the true causes of the misery of rural Ireland had nothing to do with, and could neither be intensified nor removed by, an Act of Union. The peasants, always within arm's reach of famine, dependent for their subsistence upon a single precarious root, encouraged by their priests to contract early marriages, paying competitive rents and recklessly subdividing and subletting their land, multiplied with fearful rapidity. The fall in prices after the Napoleonic wars redoubled their wretchedness. The landlords who had created many small holdings in order to control the votes that went with them began consolidating their

farms directly the forty-shilling freeholders were disfranchised, and many thousands of tenants were evicted in the process. A vast number of agricultural laborers grew up without regular employment. Ireland became "a rabbit-warren of paupers and beggars." It only needed a failure of the potato crop to precipitate the inevitable calamity, and the potato crop failed not once, but in three successive seasons. Famine swooped upon the land, bringing pestilence in her train. A million people died in a few years from starvation and disease, and a million and a half more emigrated to the New World.

Henceforward a new impulse, fed from the fierce anger of the exiles in America, was to permeate Irish agitation and bring home to England that the Irish question was of more than domestic concern. A larger Ireland than Great Britain rules over grew up across the Atlantic to embitter and complicate Anglo-American relations, to offer a refuge to Irish misery, and to furnish the Irish struggle with sympathy, guidance and funds. In more ways than one the catastrophe of the famine proved the birth-throe of a new era. It killed for a while the demand for a repeal of the Union that O'Connell had carried to the last limit of peaceable agitation. It touched the conscience and humanity as much as it humiliated the pride of the English people. It was the means of concentrating upon Great Britain and the British connection much of the animosity that had hitherto been directed against the ascendency class in Ireland. It fomented every agrarian disorder to a degree that at last awakened British statesmanship to the chief source of Irish ills. The famine ruined a third of the Irish landlords. The sale of their bankrupt estates brought in a new type of speculative proprietors with no other interest than that of dragging from the land its last farthing of rent. At the same time the abolition of the corn laws destroyed the position that Ireland had held for seventy years as "England's granary," and threw the people back upon pasture. From these two causes alone tens of thousands of evictions took place, bloodily revenged by murders, spasmodic outrages and at length by the Irish-American conspiracy of Fenianism. It was not until democracy was installed in England that the Irish tenant found in the mingled fears and fair-mindedness of the English masses his best hope of justice. Forty years ago his status was still one of infamous subjection. None of the traditional amenities that mel-

lowed the relationship of landlord and tenant in England obtained in Ireland. On the one side tyranny, born of racial and religious contempt, and nurtured on a long, untrammelled use of power; on the other side, the bitterness of dispossession, groaning under a mass of calculated injustice; and on both sides the memories of centuries of ferocious strife—prevented all true reciprocities of sympathy. Outside of Ulster the tenant, while carrying out at his own expense and by his own labor all the improvements on the land he leased, erecting the dwelling-house and out-offices, building the farm roads, draining and fencing the estate, could yet be evicted at any moment and without a penny of compensation. So great a scandal could not permanently endure when once its existence became realized by the English democracy. First by decreeing that compensation should be paid to an outgoing tenant, both for improvements and in the event of his eviction for any cause but the non-payment of a reasonable rent; secondly, by legalizing a dual ownership in the land—a landlord's interest and a tenant's interest—by appointing a judicial body to determine a fair rent, and by securing to the tenant fixity of tenure and the right of free sale of his interest; and thirdly, when it was clear that these expedients had broken down, by passing successive Acts that enabled the tenants through a free use of state credit to expropriate the landlords and become the absolute owners of the soil—the British Parliament in the last five-and-thirty years has struck Irish landlordism to the ground, and has changed the whole aspect of the agrarian problem. That history in the long run is justice was never better proved than in the tangled tale of Irish land tenure. Seven and a half centuries have reversed themselves in less than forty years, and the Celtic masses in another generation will be, as they were before the Anglo-Norman invasion, the occupiers and possessors of the Irish soil.

But this great evolution, now working itself out to its predestined end, was not wrought without a convulsion that for a while dislocated the whole framework of Irish society. Fearful outrages on man and beast, the terrorism of the Land League, repression on the one side and a many-linked confederacy of crime on the other, marked all but the final stage of its accomplishment, and penetrated the Irish mind with the conviction that England would yield to agitation what she would refuse to justice. Par-

nell gave to the hostility against British rule a fresh and formidable intensity by grafting the demand for autonomy on to the movement for agrarian reform. By a skilful use of obstruction he reduced the British House of Commons to anarchy. He converted the leader of a great English party to the justice and expediency of Home Rule, but he failed to convert the British people. It will be for the twentieth century to discover how far the Home-Rule movement, deprived of its agrarian backbone, has any real vitality and to settle the extent to which the principle of associating the Irish people with the conduct of their own affairs is to be carried. For the rest, the nineteenth century witnessed profound changes in the conditions of the Irish question. It saw the downfall of ascendency and the steady equalization of the two races and the two creeds. It raised the Catholic Church to a height of secular authority unsurpassed in history and fraught with consequences, both present and to come, of the most far-reaching character. It vastly increased the well-being of the people, presided over a triumphant extension of manufactures in the north, and, by the introduction of railways and the employment of state aid, promoted a general advance in material comfort and civilization. It is now only along portions of the Atlantic seaboard, in the barren and backward west, that one encounters traces of the old penury and squalor. Moreover, since the Union, Ireland, while never pacified, has been comparatively pacific. Distracted by incessant unrest, she has still escaped the devastating wars of the three preceding centuries. At the same time, four millions of her people have left her shores, and the condition of the majority of those who have remained behind, while unmistakably better than it was a hundred years ago, is still lamentably deficient. The soil has passed rapidly out of cultivation and the peasantry, baptized in agitation and played upon by the excitements of an all-pervading politics, face the responsibilities of ownership with hardly more than a minimum of capital, technical skill, application or industrial habits. While almost wholly Anglicized in speech, dress and customs, the masses of the people retain their instinctive repugnance to English government and their inherited dislike of British criminal law; while the landowning nobility and gentry, both Catholic and Protestant, have as steadily lost their old Irish character and feeling and are now perhaps more than ever regarded as an alien class, battling

with desperate tenacity for the last remnants of a supremacy once absolute and unchallenged. Taxation has enormously increased; government is wasteful and antipathetic to the mass of the people; education in all its grades is un-Irish, starved, misdirected and incomplete; the deep cleavages of class and creed are still painfully evident; a true sense of Irish nationality has yet to be born. Ireland remains as ever the land of paradoxes and problems. But a new spirit is stirring within her, and some new and potent forces are at work that hold within them the promise of a vast and beneficent transformation.

SYDNEY BROOKS.

(To be Continued.)

THE POET'S MIND.

BY MAX EASTMAN.

"You objects that call from diffusion my meanings and give them shape!"

"We realize the soul only by you, you faithful solids and fluids."

—*Walt Whitman.*

Upon most subjects the mystic and materialist are added together and a quotient is taken for wisdom. But upon the definition of poetry any mechanic, if he is wise in the love of it, will give you the mystic's answer. We search literature in vain for a clear formula; we find, for the most part, vague words and wonder. "Is not poetry to be referred to some previous state of sensation and existence?" "It is the breath and finer sense of all knowledge," "truth carried alive into the heart by passion." It is "word-painting," "the production of an illusion upon the imagination," a "fine frenzy." Saint Augustine called it "devil's wine." Lord Macaulay, who was sane even in error, declared poetry to be a form of insanity. Charles Lamb, who was better acquainted with both poetry and insanity, made a point of denying this. The poet gives us, he says, "by what subtle tracing of the mental process we are not philosopher enough to determine," a sound and rational vagary. Carlyle ventures beyond this paradox, and explains that "Poetry is musical thought." The condition of past literature upon the subject expresses the attitude of the average reflective mind. It appears that this mystery has escaped longer than any other the inroads of science.

It is ungrateful to try to explain a wonder. It is a task not to be undertaken unless for some good purpose. To my mind, a psychological analysis of the material of literary art furnishes the only sound basis for the study of it, and it is with this end in view that I approach the old question of the nature of poetry.

Perhaps an improved understanding of it would also help those who desire to produce that mysterious effect.

The attempt to confine the "Essence of Poetry," which is quicksilver, within the limits of a definition has been made in two ways—first, by describing its subject-matter, as the true, the beautiful, the sublime, the fanciful, the good; and, second, by describing its mode of expression, as metrical or measured language. A thousand efforts of the first kind have failed. They were generally put forth by poets, and each succeeded in defining, not poetry, but *his* poetry. Coleridge is the wisest of them, for he surprises you at the end of his argument with this statement: "Poetry of the highest kind can exist without metre and without the contradistinguishing objects of a poem." That irrational sentence was meant to admit the Hebrew prophets, but it also left a place for Walt Whitman, whose still contested title gives my argument a special reason for being. Whitman shows that the subject-matter of poetry is limited only by the power and enthusiasm of the poet; he demands that we should reconsider our definitions. Onward experience is the bugbear of philosophy. Great men do not make definitions but burst them. The little men are always mending their nets.

The second way of defining poetry has had more apparent success. "Metrical speech," we are told; the poet is one who never says his opinions straight out, but distorts them to fit a beautiful but irrelevant pattern. The Rhetoric and many people like it are satisfied with this. "Music, when combined with a pleasurable idea, is poetry"—this is Edgar Allan Poe; "music without the idea is simply music, the idea without the music is prose." We like such lucidity, and we like the terse and irreverent American who said it. But we think he was hardly big enough to evolve a philosophy of poetry; that he scarce knew his own genius, nor could fathom the hearts of which he has doubtless for moments become the mouthpiece. Mysticism, agnosticism, reverence, humility—whatever it is in us that is so precious—makes us recoil from his words. We love poetry because in it we find ourselves and the universe. We do not make the same treasure of mere verse and a pleasurable idea.

However, lest we fall out with the dictionary, it must be stated that the word "poetry" means metrical speech. In this meaning it is applied to those portions of our magazines in which

the printing does not run out to the margin. But poetry has another meaning, a more subtle one—a magic that can hardly be imputed to the arrangement of its syllables. Especially we use the words "poet" and "poetic," in a great and free sense, to describe types and attitudes of mind as well as uses of language. "My singing, be sure, is very husky, and is for the most part in prose," Emerson says. "Still, I am a poet in the sense of a perceiver and dear lover of the harmonies that are in the soul and in matter, and especially of the correspondences between these and those." And Tolstoy describes a man as "endowed with the faculty of vividly realizing his subject, which is the essence of the poetic gift." We have but the one word with two meanings, and it is the second meaning that is important.

Much poetry lives that is not musical, but all merely musical verses perish. We find in the midst of drear volumes a sudden life and intimateness, which makes us exclaim, "That was a *poetic* sentence!" And we have in our too meagre and prosaic intercourse electric moments where music is out of the question, and which we likewise call poetic. This charm which can swing down into the most wretched lives and circumstances is what makes poetry sacred. It is by this that the poets live, and are translated, and become universal. It is a secondary thing that they love tuneful language. Rhythm is only the child of poetry. Here are some lines which, robbed of their musical excellence, retain all the wonder:

> "Then I shall become the bride of grief."
> "The invisible skylark with its song is like an unbodied joy."

And the metre of this poem was born in the heart of the translator:

> "Though your sins be as scarlet,
> They shall be as white as snow;
> Though they be red like crimson,
> They shall be as wool."

That which gives wings to prose and soul to verse I call, rather than music, the poetic principle. It is related of the cowherd, Cædmon, who became the father of English poetry, that:

"when well advanced in years he had learned nothing of the art of verse, the alliterative jingle so popular among his fellows. Wherefore, being sometimes at feasts, when all agreed for glee's sake to sing in

turn, he no sooner saw the harp come towards him than he rose from the board and turned homeward.

"Once when he had done this, and gone from the feast to the stable where he had that night charge of the cattle, there appeared to him in his sleep one who said, greeting him by name, 'Sing, Cædmon, some song to me.' 'I cannot sing,' he answered; 'for this cause left I the feast and came hither.' He who talked with him answered, 'However that may be, you shall sing to me.' 'What shall I sing?' returned Cædmon. 'The beginning of created things,' replied he.

"In the morning, the cowherd stood before Hild and told his dream. Abbess and brethren alike concluded that that heavenly grace had been conferred on him by the Lord!"

With that story we can conclude our retrospect, for it suggests the new theme. The poet is not one who can make an alliterative jingle, but one who can go out into the barn and have a vision.

A deep-reaching division that we can make of human minds is this: those which contain vivid images and those which contain almost no images. There are persons who love concrete experience, nature, reverie, art for its own sake, and the present idea regardless of where it leads; and there are persons who love abstract thinking, affairs, statistics, art for its meaning, and the present idea only for its practical issue. The first are poetic, and the second are prosaic. The essence of poetry, in this human meaning, is imagined sense-experience. All language parts away on one side and the other before this principle. In prose you labor to apprehend a meaning; in poetry you enjoy a sensation which, perhaps, tells you a meaning. This universal difference is rooted in the origin of tongues, and branches in the highest apprehensions of metaphysics. Poetry is effective figure; practical language is non-figurative or disfigurative.

In order to grasp the distinction between these kinds of speech, you must discover in your own mind the difference between the logical meaning and the imaginative cargo of thought. In every process there is that skeleton logic, invisible, intangible, that your reason apprehends; but with every process there is also the figure, the garment, seen, heard, touched, apprehended (however vaguely) by the imagination. There is not a more purely logical process than counting from one to a hundred; yet who is without a picture of those numbers in space relations,—a winding and bending over a page, over a prairie, a slow ascent, an odd march of marionettes, or the simple succession of them at

his eye or ear? Never a man was put to sleep yet by the bare logical apprehension of successive numbers. You can remember, if you will, a hundred imaginative customs of your thought, which you compared with those of your sister and brother in childhood,—each depending probably upon the circumstances in which you first learned a meaning. Over every day and moment of mean occupation, and reason pottering in trivialities, there abides half-realized this float of emerging and receding visions—vistas straight into fairyland. The poet masters, clarifies, and gives to us in language the sensuous content of his thought, and *through* that we come at his meaning. It is the same in argument, exposition, narration, and description. For in the latter two he voices such details as will convey, not the knowledge of an event or object, but the sense-perception of it. "In the forest," says prose; "Where the deer's swift leap startles the wild bee from the foxglove bell," says poetry. "Last April," says prose; "When lilacs last in the dooryard bloomed," says poetry.

In this we have the corroboration of Oriental art. For in the Japanese Hokku, or poem of a single line, "significant imagery" is the aim and substance, there being no room for jingling accoutrements. Upon analysis, it appears that in each case the title of these poems is a practical statement, which the verse repeats in poetry. I quote an example from an English critic: "The subject had been a 'Spring Breeze,' and to understand the significance of the verse we must remember that in Japan carpenters plane their wood in the open air, and that the curling wood-shaving is the exact shape of the Japanese letter 'no.' Here is the poem:

> "'As I walked past the carpenter's, the no-letters chased me down the lane.'"

Figurative language is the primary mode of expression, prose the secondary. By "primary," I mean not only primitive but immediate and vital, conveying the actual content of one's thought to another. Let us grasp this again introspectively. A word that comes to my mind is "junction." Few minds will be content to present to themselves simply the appearance or the sound of that word for a substantive, and wait for its application in a particular instance. We are quick to form a vague picture of two things coming together, two undefined objects which shall represent the abstract conception. And if our mind is feverish

or electric with passion, the picture is more defined, there even appears a particular instance (perhaps the first in connection with which the word was understood), which stands for "junction" in the abstract, until a new concrete is given by the completion of the sentence. "Let there be a junction between your ideals and your daily life." But even here we are somewhat at a loss to attain an image. Something above reaches down upon something below, something light touches upon something drab-colored, or a vagueness from heaven swims over the picture of yourself in practical costume—the difference depending upon the circumstances under which you have learned and used the word "ideal," the word "junction," and the words "daily life." But, whatever form it takes, it is inevitably vague and un-emerging,—unsatisfying, because it leaves you all of the pictorial work to do. In short, it is prosaic. "Hitch your wagon to a star." That is poetic. That gleams into your mind, scorning all of the three words which were more or less incompatible with each other, and putting in their place one visual experience, which abides. It is genius perfecting the natural method of the mind. There is a poetic quality in all thought, but it is a muddled and dark and incongruous poetry that we create in our own minds as we read prose.

This difference between the logic of abstract words and their actual content in reverie is brought out whenever we are called upon to explain their meaning. Suppose we are questioned by a child. We flounder in definitions a while, and then we fall back upon some *picturesque* illustration or analogy, and we are understood. Children are poetic, as language is in its childhood. They are in the position of the metaphysicians, groping ever farther than the experience covered by their present vocabularies. Both can be good poets. Poetry is thought clothed in its own form; prose is thought clothed in the forms of words.

Creative thought advances by symbolism and analogy. Any scholar can convey to you in paragraphs a considerable observation upon the nature of the universe or of man; but a poet gives you one impassioned line, and not the line but the thought is there. This is the difference through all time between the literature of learning and the literature of genius. For creation is accompanied by a passion which will rarely relinquish the living form of its thought to a wordy garment. It will master words.

But, if poetry clothes thought in its natural form, why do we speak prose? How does thought come to be otherwise clothed? It is custom and the complexities of practical life that destroy poetry. Poetry is not altogether sociable, for it emphasizes the part of a man's thought which is peculiar to him. The image is individual, the meaning is common. So in the process of drawing together, and of hurrying to our ends, we forget the value of the unique moment. There is no time in a loquacious sentence to mind the consistency of one's figures, and words destroy each other. But look into the history of the birth of one word, and you will see visions. In the dictionary is the heart of the supreme poem, the first epic, the upbuilding of human thought. There, in the wide symbolism of language, it is seen under what forms we have beheld our outward universe, and by what subtle work of analogy we have blended that with the widening panorama of the spirit.

Language is poetry, and prose is withered language. Every poet who tries to write is made aware that language is always dying and being born again.* This makes the trouble about mixed figures. If a phrase has become so common as to have lost its pictorial quality, it may become the ingredient of a new and more comprehensive figure; but if it still conveys a picture of its own, then the union will be incongruous. Yet if we bear in mind those forgotten origins, all language is a mixture of figures. So long as we spoke simply, we spoke poetically; but when we became complex we had to mind our logic, and that primitive poetry died. But here and there grows a man whose thought is an elixir to language. By no means will he let his visions fall misfit into the patterns of old expression. Com-

* "Insult" means to "jump upon," but it has lost for us its picture-quality, it is merely a label which we apply to certain complex forms of conduct. But the true word, the poet's word, is revived in the growth of new language. In slang we denote all these complex forms of conduct by a single sense-experience, we say we "get jumped on."

An example of the death of poetic language through custom is found in our treatment of the Bible. Its phrases are reiterated until all the imagery is lost out of them. A symbol, like "The Lamb of God," becomes a title merely.

"Crown him with many crowns,
The Lamb upon his throne"—

we sing, in sleepy oblivion of the ridiculous picture. Thus the living forms of language become conventionalized, but without acquiring a new geometric grace like the lotus and the *fleur-de-lis*. There are a great many dead hymns.

bining these faded figures, he fashions a new language which bodies the thing in a form to be, not apprehended, but beheld; and we, beholding, think that we have found out our own thoughts at last, and we become his disciples.

It will be seen that the difference between poetic and practical language is a difference of degree rather than of kind. Much rhetoric is upon the border-line, and aims to combine the lucid coherence of prose with an occasional delay and excursion of poetry. It will also be seen that poetry is a universal possession and no parlor-art, though we call only him a "poet" whose eye is restive under the least restraint, and who will say nothing if he cannot show you the vivid paintings of his mind. Isaiah and Whitman are of the same mental temper, where they kindle us, as Milton and Shelley. Whether they hold ill or well to the steel rails of logic, in this they are alike, that their first loyalty is not to the roadbed, but to the harmonies of earth and heaven through which it leads. For that outward glance they are joined together as the seers of history, the poets, the makers of vision.

Milton said that poetry must be simple, sensuous and impassioned. "Sensuous" I take to be the defining attribute, and how simple or how impassioned is a matter for artistic judgment. That sensuousness is *ideal,* it is the work of restless imagination. But now there is a *real* element of sense in all language —the sound or appearance of the words. This real sensation often supplants the ideal part of your thinking. And if this real sensation can be made enjoyable, and if you have a feeble imagination, perhaps you will like it better than true poetry.

The word "Beauty" itself, for instance, has a certain wealth both of sound and figure, and verse-makers will tell you how to combine it with other words so as to increase that effect. Then you will let the written or spoken word replace the vision, as Plato did when he forswore personification and declared the contemplation of abstract qualities to be the true form of worship. Out of this has arisen the shallow art of writing prose in verse, and combining the words into a kind of watery languor that soothes the ear and perhaps purchases the attention. But the art of musical language should be an accessory of the greater art. We need music to usher in the successive visions of a poet, to give us the warmth of being smiled upon, even though what the poet has to say is difficult or bitter. All eloquence attests

the value of an urgent rhythm in poetry and in practical language. But why song is the special companion of poetry and of man, is a question that belongs to the theory of music. It belongs with the will, whereas poetry belongs with the idea. Poetry is the perfecting of the individual nature of an idea.

We consider such symbolic or visionary thinking to be very rare, and that a special star attends the birth of a poet. But no doubt these metaphors and mystic fancies play in the firmament of every mind. They are of the nature of mind. In childhood we heeded them, but in age our eyes are downward. Education reduces us to prose. We are told that we must get understanding, we must not linger and behold.

Yet the most logical thinker will sometimes discover the value of these early lightenings, and let them clarify his groundwork. Catching some fleeting metaphor or personification, he holds it before him, and reasonably enlarges it into a simile, a parable, an allegory; and these interpreted are poetry. Mythical story is a poem of this kind; it is the poem of the race. Mythology floats above the affairs of Greece, as fancy above the cares of your life, and illumines them. Out of myth, and so out of poetry, arises the religion of ideals. This mortal discontent with abstraction, this yearning back to the sensuous and concrete, has its highest fruition in the personification of our hopeful ideas. Religious faith is the culminating poem.

The same daring spirit that tells "unbodied joy" in the form of an invisible skylark singing, has told love in the unapproachable form of Venus, wisdom in the courageous figure of Minerva. It was not abstract ideas of health and beauty and lightness, but visible Apollo, who moulded Greek life. And when Apollo was gone, then Plato came and declared that the ideas were still there. Health and beauty and lightness—these abstract things exist in perfection and can be seen, not with the sensual eye, but with the eye of the mind. So his evening prayer was a prayer, not to the Deity, not to the beautiful and good, but to Beauty and Goodness. He substituted the image of a word with its meaning for the image of a god with his meaning. And so, if he had known it, he justified all their poetry and their religion. Not the definition but the existence of poetry is a mystery. Poetry marries the seen with the unseen world, but we have not guessed the nature of this union.

MAX EASTMAN.

PREFERENTIAL TARIFF WITHIN THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

BY SIR ALFRED MOLONEY, LATE GOVERNOR OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO, AND A VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE TARIFF REFORM LEAGUE.

THE cosmopolitan idea of Cobden, free trade, which first took root in the British Isles in 1846, was to effect, with a rush as he anticipated, by the influence of England's example, free intercourse between nations—in other words, a universal reciprocity. He succeeded, no doubt, after a septennial struggle in effecting the repeal of the Corn Laws. Yet, notwithstanding his personally conducted campaign on the Continent, not only did his dream of the universal adoption of his doctrine leave him to the end a visionary, but, as a practical result, walls of hostile tariffs have been built up against England with most prejudicial effect on the industries and employment of her people. Although he succeeded in 1860 in negotiating a ten years' commercial treaty with France on the lines of his fetish, it was only to see the complete denouncement of that treaty later on, and the return of France to protective tariffs, which have since been rigorously maintained, and are now of universal adoption everywhere except in the United Kingdom.

There lived no more hearty and sincere adherent of free trade, in its best and truest form, than that able and patriotic statesman, the late Marquis of Salisbury, but he strongly deprecated its being parodied by doctrinaires and converted into an object of fetish-worship. Whilst fully alive to the many obstacles that must present themselves, and will have to be overcome, in the transition stage, he doubtless favored England's preferential treatment of her Colonies by adjusting her duties in their favor. "This is to say, drawing our Colonies nearer to ourselves by abolishing, so far as may be, the Custom Houses that separate

the two." He demurred to the Mother Country's being forbidden the idea of differential duties in favor of the Colonies, as though it were an economical heresy. With free trade, Great Britain is simply playing the game of her fiscal enemies, who, whilst they one and all have rejected that policy, rejoice at seeing the British still so much under its influence. Well they may; for it secures to them the exclusive control of their markets for the benefit of their own people, while at the same time they have the British markets as dumping-grounds for their own overproduction, the result of which is seen in the contraction of British home industries, and the consequent addition to the roll of Great Britain's unemployed. "Under cover of this kind of fetish-worship of the set of doctrines which are called 'free trade,' you are excluded from legitimate acts of self-defence, and, so long as you are so excluded, you may sigh in vain for justice in fiscal matters at the hands of the other nations of the globe."

These opinions were expressed twenty years ago; but how much more forcibly do they apply at the present day, and how truly reflected were they in the views expressed in England during and since the Conference of the Premiers of the great self-governing States of the Empire. Lord Salisbury did not think it inconsistent with his principles, but viewed it on the contrary as within the national rights, that England should so manage her fiscal policy and regulate the duties in her own tariff as to enable her to pierce those Continental barriers with gates by means of which only shall she effect an entrée to the markets of other nations.

Such treatment would seem to harmonize with the conventions for reciprocal tariff concessions negotiated in the past between the United States and neighboring British Possessions, under the full cognizance and approval of the Home Government of the day, with a view to the improvement of the conditions of trade intercourse, and to the mutual advantage of both contracting parties.

Has the turn of the tide already begun? And is Great Britain about to witness the realization of the warning of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, that greatest and most patriotic advocate of closer commercial relations within the Empire, when he said, referring to the self-governing Colonies:

"We must either draw closer together or drift apart. Are we going

to lose the Colonial trade? This is the parting of the ways. You have to remember that if you do not take this opportunity now it will not recur."

"Now or never" is the pressing consideration for the people of the United Kingdom, for with them alone rests the decision whether they are to have a closer association or a fatal estrangement. The young States of the Empire are naturally ambitious of, and anxious about, their future; and they are fully alive to their own interest, as well as to that of the Mother Country. Preference for them is part of their constructive policy, and they mean to effect their purpose in whatever quarter they can do so; and, in the first instance, they offer Great Britain the refusal. The decision on this momentous question rests with the people themselves, and not with Governments which come and go, and are but temporary trustees of the interests of the enfranchised. The parting of the ways would be at once a national misfortune and a suicidal mistake, and would eventually spell disintegration of the grand area over which British sway extends. Nothing will more inevitably bring about British national degeneration, isolation, insignificance, and social unrest, than that England should turn a deaf ear to the offers of preference from her great self-governing Colonies, and allow them to take up with foreign nations, as in that case they assuredly will do.

The all-important and burning question of Fiscal Reform, and its preferential effect on the component parts of the Empire, as represented by the self-governing and practically independent States of Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand, will be the foremost plank at the next General Election, if it is not too late then for consideration. The results of recent by-elections, particularly in industrial areas where it has been made the main issue, have clearly indicated the trend of popular feeling and determination; and the electorates have spoken with no uncertain voice. In view of the Empire's many and various climates, its widespread though dormant assets, its enormous productivity, its capability and readiness for development to the extent of being self-containing, self-supporting, and able to meet its own commercial and industrial requirements, tariff reformation is bound to come, when the industrial classes have fully realized, as they are daily more and more doing, their true and permanent interests.

The movement in this direction is still young, and it is not

always easy to convince the workingman that Fiscal Reform is not for the exclusive benefit of the Colonies, but that it will, moreover, insure the prosperity of the lower and middle classes at home, by increasing the volume of trade, and establishing security of employment. Until comparatively recently, there has been no organization and little propaganda in favor of tariff reform; and until the late by-elections there has been no effort to educate the British masses on the subject which concerns not only their vital interests, but their actual right to existence. The Free Trade doctrine, once firmly established, has operated like the fumes of some powerful narcotic; and England has drowsily slumbered, while other countries have taken the opportunity to enrich themselves at her expense.

She may wake up too late to the fact that one day she will have to pay the price for the gift of cheapness with which she has been soothed and beguiled, in order that the robbery might more effectively take place. Her Fiscal enemies only require sufficient time to complete the strangulation of English and Scottish industries, and to starve out her workmen; and then the screw will be put on, and they will have to pay any price that may be asked for the actual necessaries of life. The net is gradually closing round England; and in case of war, with a coalition against her, she would be reduced to the verge of starvation as at the time of the Napoleonic wars, when the loaf stood at one shilling and eightpence, and with even more disastrous consequences than then.

No one can maintain that the United States and the German Empire are not flourishing communities, or that their financial system impedes the growth of industry. Yet the conditions of life in England do not differ so widely from theirs as to support the suggestion that what has tended to promote national prosperity in those countries would have a contrary effect in the British Isles.

In the United States the standard of the industrial classes is much higher than in Great Britain whether it be in wages, clothing, education or housing accommodation. All this is the fruit of protection, and it accounts for the attractions of emigration, the stream of which impoverishes England while it enriches America. In poor old England, competition between cheap foreign goods and domestic products and manufactures depreci-

ates the value of labor, and keeps on the border of starvation over twelve millions of the population.

The value of the general trade (merchandise) of the United Kingdom in 1906 aggregated £1,068,565,000—made up of £607,888,000 imports and £460,677,000 exports. Of this the trade from and to foreign countries was, respectively, £465,723,000 imports and £330,030,000 exports; that from and to British Possessions being £142,165,000 imports and £130,647,000 exports. In the same year, exports of British and Irish produce only (merchandise) from the United Kingdom amounted to £254,234,000 to foreign countries, and £121,341,000 to British Possessions, total £375,575,000 to all destinations. These figures are exclusive of exports of foreign and colonial merchandise (re-exports) which amounted in 1906 to £85,102,000.*

The last conference resulted in bringing us all—mother and children—into line, as component and autonomous units of one common Empire, of equal status and eventual responsibility. The aim and policy of the future are a fresh shuffle of the cards, in other words, a rearrangement of the assets belonging to the whole, with a view to promoting our domestic interests, diminishing foreign dependency, and facilitating and expanding traffic between the Imperial units. The value of the assets and the importance of the proposed deal are shown by the above figures.

The Act entitled "A Bill for the protection of American Industries," better known as the McKinley Act, was passed by the Republican party in 1890. The late Mr. McKinley was a stanch and consistent protectionist, and his Bill was appropriately described as the high-water mark of protection; it enacted increased duties on tin plates, certain raw products, wood, woollen and cotton manufactures, and granted a bounty to domestic-sugar producers. The most important feature, perhaps, was its reciprocity, in providing for the remission of duties on sugar, molasses, tea, coffee and hides from foreign countries which granted similar treatment to American products.

Under the Cleveland administration, it was repealed in 1894, and replaced by the Wilson Bill, "a tariff for revenue only," which was a step in the direction of "free trade" as the Democrats believed. It fell far short of the expectations of its promoters as a revenue-producer.

* See "Annual Statement of Trade" for 1906.

In 1897 the Republicans regained control of the Government, and, with the approval of President McKinley, the Dingley Bill, a strong protectionist measure, which has taxed British goods prohibitively, was substituted for the Wilson Bill.

In defence of the measure, Mr. McKinley very soundly and astutely observed that "the people of no nation have ever permanently prospered under a policy which sacrificed its home industries to build up and develop the resources and give employment to the labor of foreign States."

What has been the result of his policy as regards the protection and encouragement of home production? In the decade ended with 1900, an increase of 21½, 28½ and 34 per cent. in the employment of hands engaged in manufacturing, textile, iron and steel industries, respectively.

The late Lord Playfair, who was Chairman of Ways and Means, and Deputy Speaker of the House of Commons from 1880 to 1883, expressed in 1891 the following opinion of American fiscal policy: "If the Americans be right in principle, and if they be successful in practice, the whole policy of the United Kingdom is founded on a gigantic error, and must lead to our ruin as a commercial nation." No truer words were ever spoken. In his Presidential Message in December last to Congress, Mr. Roosevelt recognizes protection as an established institution, and that "any effort to uproot it would cause widespread industrial disaster." Why? It keeps the industries of the country going and profitable concerns, and secures enhanced wages and work for the "industrialists."

The Labor Party in England have determined upon a campaign in favor of a wholesale scheme of old-age pensions, without distinction of beneficiaries, or contribution on their part. For an object lesson we may look to the compulsory system of Workmen's Insurance established by the late Prince Bismarck in Germany, which it owes to its protective system, and which was given as a bribe to the opposing "industrialists," to secure their acceptance of so great a social revolution as compulsory insurance involved. The cost devolves not on the State, but on employers and employed, who are compensated with the higher prices and better wages resulting from protection.

Dependent as the British have thus been allowed to become on foreign sources, there is yet another sword of Damocles hung

over the heads of their credulous countrymen by the fetish-worshippers—the bread supply, and where it is to come from in case of international hostilities. Now, this very problem is an additional and a pressing factor in favor of Fiscal Reform in Great Britain, as, in consequence of the increasing growth of population, the home supply of wheat falls more and more short of the demand and foreign dependency correspondingly increases.

In the order of their yield, the chief sources of England's supply are the British Possessions, the United States, Russia, Argentina, Roumania and some other smaller countries.

Of wheat-producing countries, Canada, which contains some 125,000,000 acres suitable for tillage, should eventually be the great grain reserve of the United Kingdom, if only her capacities are encouraged and developed. Her neighbor, the United States, which sent us only 18,840,000 cwt. in 1904, as compared with 26,000,000 in 1875, will require before long all their own breadstuffs for domestic consumption; there the population is rapidly overtaking their resources both in grain and in timber, and those states will eventually have to rely for the latter on Canada, British Central America, West Africa and India, where the wood industry is practically dormant and the possibilities enormous.

The quantity of wheat annually required for home consumption by the United Kingdom approximates 200,000,000 bushels, of which one-fifth is now available at home. The remainder can easily be obtained from the Dominion by the cultivation there of some 15,000,000 additional acres, and when this is effected we shall see the United Kingdom independent of foreign contributions.

Free trade is practically confined to the British Islands, with their 121,000 square miles and population of 43,660,000; while the rest of the British Empire contains some 11,400,000 square miles, with 410,000,000 people. Here we have the possibilities of an enormous extension of real Free Trade embracing the largest and richest areas, which when their latent resources are adequately developed will be capable of being self-contained, and of rivalling in every sense the magnificent and enviable position now occupied by the United States. So far, the tail has wagged the dog, but the beast is at last realizing the mistake, and now manifests the inclination of reversing that procedure.

In Canada, protective measures are an integral part of her

fiscal system. In the case of imports into Canada of articles which are there also produced, an anti-dumping duty up to a maximum *ad valorem* of 15 per cent. is levied, equal to the difference between the selling price to the importer and the market value for home consumption. And, to safeguard the Australian market against foreign capture by under-cost importation, not only are anti-dumping charges included in the new tariff, allowing reduction in the rate of duty charged, but the manufacturers and industrial classes are further protected, both as to prices and wages, against the consequences of the employment of cheap alien labor—the sweating system—by the imposition of an excise duty on Australian manufactures, which is remitted when the goods have been the output of "fair and reasonable conditions of labor." This novel experiment will be watched with interest and doubtless followed in other parts of Greater Britain.

What does the new Australian Tariff aim at securing? Firstly, the interruption of the shrinkage of the Commonwealth revenue; secondly, encouragement of domestic industries and the appropriation to them of an appreciable share of the benefits anticipated; thirdly, the arrest of shrinkage of trade from the United Kingdom and the rest of the Empire, represented annually within the last three years by eight per cent. and ten per cent. respectively, in contrast to foreign imports which rose ten per cent.—notably from the United States and Germany. It is further claimed for the past decade that the preferential treatment of the Mother Country relieved the Canadian consumers of $28,000,000 of taxation, which they would have had to bear had the former rates of duty been maintained. How different in the old country!

The new Australian tariff undoubtedly gives in several cases a preferential rate to goods manufactured in the United Kingdom. It is even more protectionist than the one it has replaced, and pessimistic grumblers in England of course declare that the preference is illusory, as the higher sale prices necessitated will be beyond the means of former customers, who will be obliged to confine their purchases to articles of purely Australian origin. These people anticipate that the effect of the new tariff will be to reduce the exports from the Mother Country, as in many instances the customs charges will prove so prohibitive that merchants will not be able to continue to ship certain goods with

any prospect of making a profit. Pessimists and Cobdenites seem hard to please!

Where the imports from foreign countries are large and consequently established, a preference to the United Kingdom, as an initial basis for consideration, has been given, averaging thirteen per cent., which represents a concession to British goods of some £1,500,000 a year, that being the approximate difference between the general tariff and the preferential one.

Whatever the duties, it will be impossible for the Australian people for many years to come to "confine their purchases to articles of purely Australian origin." It will be years before native Australian industries can supply anything more than a small part of the goods wanted in the Australian market; and, whatever the duties may be, the Australian people will be obliged to continue buying many things from other countries. Here is the point where preference comes in. Are they to buy what they want and must have from foreign countries, or from the Mother Country? The preferential advantage given to the Mother Country by Australia in such circumstances must, and will, make it easier to sell British goods in the Australian market than to sell foreign. Moreover, the argument that the preference is illusory ignores the great advantage given to British merchants by the United Kingdom free list, under which goods to the value of something like £3,000,000 are admitted into Australia absolutely free of duty, while the same goods are made dutiable by Australia when they come from foreign countries.

Great Britain has, practically, an annual gift of something approaching £5,000,000 of money. What has been the acknowledgment for this. Most brusquely and unwisely the Sister States were told that the United Kingdom had nothing to offer them in return. For the time preferential treatment received the cold douche at a very low temperature, but it is an essential part of Turkish-bath treatment to prevent chill and to promote later a healthy reaction.

The free-trade fetish which is ruining British manufactures, and yearly throwing out of employment thousands of workingmen, is largely responsible for the tremendous strides that Socialism has been making of late in the British Isles. Mr. Arnold Foster, in an able and sympathetic article in the "Standard" of October 7th, writes:

"Socialists are not produced by the arguments of doctrinaire teachers, they are produced by the inexorable pressure of life as many have to live it. The dangerous policy of pure competition, without regard to the fate or fortune of the individual who is sacrificed in the race, has done much harm. The great congestion in the towns, the destruction of country life, the degradation of national physique, all of which we owe principally to the extremists of the Manchester School, have put the drag on the wheel of progress."

The destruction of country life consequent on the ruin of agriculture is largely responsible for the increase of emigration, which enriches the United States with hundreds and thousands of able-bodied and skilled workers, who yearly leave the shores of Great Britain.

Meanwhile, in the country, thousands of acres of corn-growing and other crop-yielding lands are derelict, and articles of consumption, such as bacon, meat, butter, cheese, poultry, eggs and potatoes, which used to be produced at home, are obtained from abroad.

The Royal Commission on Agriculture, in 1882, proved by the testimony of the majority of witnesses that foreign competition was the chief cause of the embarrassments of the agricultural community. "It is but just to recall," says the report, "that the pressure of the competition is now found to be greatly in excess of the anticipations of the supporters, and of the apprehensions of the opponents, of the repeal of the Corn Laws."

Again in 1897 a similar Commission reported that "so far as the maintenance of this competition involves the continued depreciation of agricultural values, we must look forward to a further reduction of the area of British land susceptible of profitable arable cultivation, together with a corresponding contraction of our productions and a diminution of our rural population." Of what use, then, is the endeavor of the present Government to effect the establishment of small holdings, and so bring back the people to the land, if the markets are so cheapened and contracted that it becomes an impossibility for any one to make a living out of farming on a small scale?

It is curious how little the fanatical opponents of tariff reform seem to realize that, even if all they predict of the consequences of imposing a moderate duty upon certain articles coming from abroad were true, there would still remain, all the time, an evil of much more serious character, and which is doing far more to pauperize the lower and lower middle classes than any protective

tariff could possibly do. The pressure of rates in England is a real and crying injustice at the present time, and one which tends more surely to take the bread out of the mouths of the poor than any system of protection could ever effect. Yet little attention is paid to this state of things by those whose range of political economy seems bounded by the hollow and misguiding fetish of the big loaf, or cheap food for the people. The big loaf and the cheap food are admirable things *per se,* but a greater and more desirable thing is the possession of money to acquire them with.

The rates, however, intercept a large amount of the wages or salary which would enable the recipient to purchase the big loaf and cheap food, and are sucking the very life-blood out of the industrial classes. The following case, unfortunately a typical one, was reported in the "Daily Express" of October 12th, under the heading, "The Crime of Poverty":

"Mr. Frederick Gather-Cole, age sixty-eight, a Euston Road photographer, was committed to Brixton Prison for non-payment of rates. He died there on Tuesday last from an apoplectic seizure. At the inquest yesterday a son stated that his father had been a rate-payer for forty years, but his business became stagnant and recently he had no means. A policeman testified that after he had arrested Mr. Gather-Cole, the latter went to three different places to try and obtain the money, but failed. 'Do you have many of these cases?' asked the coroner. 'Yes,' was the reply. 'I have had more this half-year than ever before.' A verdict of 'death from natural causes' was returned."

The case needs no comment.

It can be easily demonstrated that, by the imposition of even a moderate tax on products from foreign countries, sufficient money would be raised to enable the Government to lessen the burden of direct taxation. The heavy pressure of the rates has been the means of closing many factories, the latest example of which is the experience of an old-established boot-manufacturer in the South of London, who was recently obliged in consequence to shut up his premises, and throw some eleven hundred people out of employment! This in its way is a typical example of the evil of the present fiscal system; for, the buildings being assessed at £4,000, the rates and other charges came to over ten shillings in the pound, involving the payment of a sum considerably over £2,000 *per annum.* The Northampton boot and other domestic industries are literally struggling for existence against the crushing competition of the American, French and Austrian manufac-

turing invaders, who flood the British markets with cheap and often worthless goods. Without scheduling here the many examples of the industrial decadence of British industries, brief reference may also be made to the depression in the furniture trade which has forced hundreds to the margin of starvation. This is explained by the fact that, whilst the annual import of furniture is valued at £1,200,000, the export has been only worth £200,000, meaning that the British are parties to subsidizing foreign industries and workmen to the tune of a million sterling which should be kept in the country and appropriated to the employment and maintenance of their own. The imposition of a duty so trifling as to be imperceptible to the buyer would save not only those industries, but many others as well, which are in the same plight; but the present Government, like Gallio, cares for none of these things. What does anything matter if the big loaf is to be got cheap?

Beyond and above all other questions in Great Britain, that of preferential trade within the Empire is looming, not in the distance, but in the near future. To Canada as the pioneer of the policy must be given the credit of the popular movement. The people of the Dominion made it the cardinal feature of their tariff in 1897, which gave to imports from the United Kingdom a preference of thirty-three and one-third per cent., with the result of arresting the decline of British trade, and doubling in six years our sales to Canada. From South Africa the Mother Country has had a preference of twenty-five per cent., from New Zealand ten per cent., and now from the Commonwealth thirteen per cent.

The policy of Canada was publicly announced in April last, at the Albert Hall, by that grand old man of the Empire, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in these words:

> "If it so pleased the British people to meet them on that policy, and to grant them Preference for Preference, they were ready to meet the British people with concession for concession; that offer stood to-day as it stood ten years ago. It was for the British people to say whether they would accept it or not."

That offer was echoed unanimously, and in the most cordial terms, by the Representatives of every one of the Sister Nations. What an effective reply to those who have had the audacity to declare that no offer of preference had ever come from the

Colonies! We feel inclined to wonder whether these people have ever read the official memorandum of the Canadian Ministers at the Colonial Conference of 1902, in which also appeared a warning that should be seriously considered by the people of England:

"If, after using every effort to bring about such a readjustment of the fiscal policy of the Empire, the Canadian Government should find that the principle of preferential trade was not acceptable to the Colonies generally or the Mother Country, then Canada should be free to take such action as might be deemed necessary in the presence of such conditions."

So far as the British Government is concerned, the warning has fallen on deaf ears, and the new Canadian tariff now contains an intermediate tariff for purposes of negotiation with foreign countries, to enable their goods to be admitted to preferential treatment. The firstfruits have been the Franco-Canadian Commercial Treaty, which has naturally caused no small uneasiness to the Mother Country. Fear of Imperial Preference excites keen and jealous apprehension in Germany, where it is already recognized that it will be in the interests of the Fatherland to come to a direct understanding with the Commonwealth, in order to facilitate the importation into that Empire, not only of raw material for manufacturing industry, but foodstuffs as well.

A resolution to this effect was recently passed by the Hamburg Chamber of Commerce; and the "*Frankfürter Zeitung*," one of the leading journals of the Empire, has strongly urged the Government to protest against the granting of preferential tariffs in favor of British productions, and so avert the danger threatening German trade. The Germans are now realizing the consequences of their retaliatory war against Canada, waged to counteract the British preference from the Dominion, and the countersurtax placed by Canada on German goods.

There need be no insuperable difficulty in arriving at a common Imperial understanding on the basis of a mutual reciprocity, by making concession for concession.

To arrive at a common Imperial Customs Tariff would, it is now generally admitted, be impracticable. Each State of the Empire, whether self-governing or Crown Colony, can best regulate and administer its own fiscal policy, with due regard to differential duties in favor of Sister States, receiving in return equivalent consideration.

The Mother Country, or rather a small part of it, which is wedded to prehistoric times, still repeats a fetish shibboleth which has long ceased to have any definite meaning, but the younger States mean to force the pace, unscared by banshees which her timidity has aroused. If an Imperial reciprocal understanding be not arrived at, they will look outside of the Empire to effect the policy of "give and take," which they now desire to see established between the different parts of the British Empire. It will be a fatal mistake if such a move be forced.

In 1887, at the first Colonial Conference, to which he was a delegate from the Cape, Mr. Hofmeyr made a memorable speech advocating a closer union between the various parts of the British Empire by means of an Imperial Customs Tariff. Twenty years have passed by, and the feeling has intensified. If those States which now unanimously advocate it are driven to look to alien markets, the consequences will be deplorable. Of such a possibility what said Mr. Hofmeyr? "When one's loyalty and one's attachment to the Empire are thus divided against one's self-interest, it is only reasonable to expect that one's attachment to the Empire is very likely to suffer." In other words, affection will be transferred where means of support are to be found.

International Free Trade has been, and always will be, a dream. Imperial Free Trade, or Reciprocity if it be preferred, which is a very different matter, is the goal of the Empire's ambition.

On this subject I may fittingly recall the views of the late Lord Salisbury:*

> "The drawing nearer of the Colonies of this country is the policy to which English patriots must look, who desire to give effect in the Councils of the world to the real strength of the English nation, and who desire to draw all the advantages that can be drawn from that marvellous cluster of dependencies which distinguishes our Empire above any other Empire which ancient or modern times record."

The time has arrived when more than sentiment is required to bring Great Britain nearer to Greater Britain. The self-interests of the parts, and the common interests of the whole, can only be satisfied by mutual reciprocity on the basis of concession for concession.

ALFRED MOLONEY.

* His celebrated speech at Newport, Monmouthshire, October 7th, 1885.

INVESTMENT SECURITIES.—IV.

BY FINANCIER.

Prior Lien Bonds.—The lien of bonds of this class, as their name indicates, is superior to that of some other issue. They may or may not be first-mortgage bonds.

The Erie Railroad Prior Lien Four Per Cent. Bonds of 1996 are so called because they take precedence over the General Mortgage Bonds. There are, however, six issues secured by liens on a substantial portion of the main line of the system to which the Prior Lien Bonds are junior.

The Northern Pacific Railroad Prior Lien Four Per Cent. Bonds of 1997 are secured by a first mortgage on substantially the entire property of the Northern Pacific Railroad, and are therefore regarded as very conservative bonds.

The Baltimore and Ohio Prior Lien Three and a half Per Cent. Bonds of 1925 are secured by a lien, which is practically tantamount to a first mortgage, on a considerable portion of the main line of the road. These bonds are, therefore, favorably regarded among investment securities.

Divisional Mortgage Bonds.—Bonds characterized as Divisional Mortgage Bonds are usually the obligations of a large road, and further secured by a lien on a particular Division. The merit of this class of bonds, therefore, depends upon the strength of the issuing corporation and the importance of the Division. The Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad, Illinois Division, Three and a half Per Cent. and Four Per Cent. Bonds are justly regarded as gilt-edged securities. The issuing company, the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad, enjoys the highest credit, and the Illinois Division, upon which these bonds are secured, comprises the main line and branches of the road lying in the rich and populous northeastern quarter of Illinois. The

Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway likewise has a number of Divisional Mortgage Bonds, all of which are classed as high-grade investments.

Branch Mortgage Bonds.—Branch Mortgage Bonds are very similar in character to many Divisional Mortgage Bonds. A Branch, however, obviously cannot well be a part of the main line of a system, whereas a Division may be. Few securities designated as Branch Mortgage Bonds have been issued during the past decade. The Missouri Pacific Railroad has outstanding an issue of bonds of this character; they are known as the Pacific Railroad of Missouri, Carondolet Branch, Four and a half Per Cent. Bonds of 1938.

Guaranteed and Assumed Bonds.—When a large system absorbs a small road, it frequently buys the stock of the latter and guarantees its bonded indebtedness. The Guarantee is endorsed on the bonds of the subsidiary company and signed by the proper officials of the parent corporation. A Guarantee is strictly construed, and it should be as simple and brief as possible. The Guarantee of the Union Pacific Railroad appearing upon the Refunding Mortgage Bonds of the Oregon Short Line, due in 1929, is worded as follows:

"For Value Received, Union Pacific Railroad Company unconditionally guarantees to the owner of the within bond the punctual payment of the principal and interest thereof as the same mature, and agrees itself punctually to pay the said principal and interest if default in the payment thereof be made by the Oregon Short Line Railroad Company."

When one railroad leases the property of another, it is frequently provided in the lease that the lessee corporation shall become responsible for all the obligations of the lessor corporation. It is almost necessary for the proper protection of the bondholders of the lessor, when the property by a pledge of which their bonds are secured is taken over and operated by another corporation, that their bonds should become practically a part of the indebtedness of the larger corporation. Especially is this so if the earnings of the smaller road are not kept separately, but are included in those of the lessee.

There may appear no intimation on the bonds of the subsidiary corporation that they have been assumed by another corporation. To inform himself of the terms and conditions upon which his bonds are assumed, the holder must turn to the lease.

Leases of this character usually run for a very long period. Their term should, of course, be greater than that of the bonds assumed. The Rome, Watertown and Ogdensburg Railroad is leased for the period of its corporate existence by the New York Central Railroad, which assumes all of the former's indebtedness. Many leases run for 999 years.

A few leases provide that their terms may be altered, or that the leases themselves may be terminated by the mutual agreement of both corporations. As far as the bondholder is concerned, a provision of this sort reduces the value of the assumption.

The worth of guaranteed and assumed bonds depends upon two considerations,—the value of the property upon which they are a lien, and the credit of the corporation guaranteeing or assuming the bonds.

Debentures.—Debentures, or Debenture Bonds, are not secured by a mortgage or by a lien on any specific property of the issuing corporation. For this reason, they are sometimes called "Plain Bonds." They are similar to the unsecured notes of an individual or corporation. In Europe, there are issued Debentures which are secured by the pledge of stocks or bonds as collateral, and, formerly, in the United States the word "Debenture" was not used to denote exclusively unsecured bonds. Now, however, the classification of plain bonds, not specially secured, as Debentures, is, in this country at least, pretty well established.

Some Debentures are issued by railroad corporations without the formality of entering into an agreement with a trustee for the benefit of the bondholders. Under such circumstances, the bond itself is the only instrument bearing upon the corporation's obligation.

The interest of a Debenture holder, however, is better protected when the railroad company enters into an agreement with a trustee, in which are set out in full the covenants of the railroad. An indenture of this kind usually shows that the issue has been properly authorized, and provides for certification by the trustee in order that the bonds may be properly authenticated, and in order that no more than the authorized amount may at any time be outstanding. The advantage to a Debenture holder in having his rights protected by an agreement or indenture lies, also, in the fact that, in case of violation of any of the covenants by the railroad, the trustee, as a representative of the bondholders,

is in a position to take whatever steps may be proper to protect their interests.

While Debenture Bonds are not secured by a lien on any specific property of the company, there is frequently inserted in the indenture, covering the rights of the bondholders, a provision that, so long as any of the Debenture Bonds are outstanding and unpaid, the railroad company will not make any new mortgage upon its railroad without also thereby including therein every bond issued under the indenture equally and ratably with other bonds issued under and secured by any such mortgage. The Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway Company has two issues of Debentures outstanding, and in each instance the indenture provides against further issues of mortgage bonds without including the outstanding Debentures.

Only railroads of the first class can sell their unsecured bonds or Debentures at fair prices. Debentures rank inferior, of course, to all the mortgage securities of a road. Debenture holders are, however, creditors of the corporation, and their claim for both principal and interest must be satisfied before any distribution of dividends or assets of the corporation can be made to the stockholders; in other words, all classes of stock of a corporation are inferior as securities to the Debentures.

Convertible Bonds.—Bonds of this class may, on certain terms, be converted by their owners into the capital stock of the issuing corporation. In respect to security, Convertible Bonds are usually Debentures, *i. e.,* they are not secured by any lien or mortgage. Some convertible issues likewise are protected by an agreement on the part of the issuing road not to place any new mortgage on its property without including therein the convertible issue. The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Convertible Four Per Cents. of 1955 and Convertible Five Per Cents. of 1917 are so protected.

The terms upon which the bonds may be converted into stock vary greatly. Some bonds are convertible into stock at par. Others are exchangeable for stock below par, and still others for stock above par. The Pennsylvania Railroad Convertible Three and a half Per Cent. Bonds of 1915 are convertible into stock at 150 per cent. of their par value; that is, bonds to the face value of $15,000 are convertible into stock to the face value of $10,000. The Union Pacific Four Per Cent. Convertibles are exchangeable for Common Stock of the company at $175 per

share; expressed differently, the bonds represent a "call" upon Union Pacific Common at 175.

If Convertible Bonds are purchased at a quotation under par, it follows that they represent a call upon the stock at a price below the exchange rate named in the bond.

Most Convertible Bonds may be called for payment by the issuing company upon giving proper notice. The price at which they are redeemable is, however, usually well above the issue price, and an opportunity is always to be given to the holder to convert his bonds into stock prior to the date on which they are to be redeemed, should he so elect.

The period during which the bonds are convertible may be deferred for several years after the date of issue of the bonds, or may be limited to a portion only of their term.

The New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad has recently authorized an issue of bonds which will not become convertible into the stock of the company until 1923. The bonds bear six per cent. interest, and, while this rate is regarded as very high for a corporation enjoying first-rate credit, yet the cost to the company of the money borrowed by means of these bonds will be less than it would have been had the money been raised by issuing stock at par, and should the company continue to pay eight per cent. dividends on its stock.

Large amounts of money have heretofore been borrowed by various roads on Convertible Bonds bearing three and a half per cent. and four per cent. interest. A convertible issue offers several advantages to the issuing company. The road anticipates that in the course of time, after the improvements, the cost of which was raised by the bond issue, have been completed and begin to produce or to increase income, the bonds will be converted into stock. Pending their conversion, they bear a comparatively low rate of interest. When the bonds are finally converted, the fixed interest charges will be reduced, and the credit and borrowing power of the road will stand unimpaired.

Convertible Bonds appeal to the investor who desires a moderately conservative security which likewise enjoys the speculative possibility of a material enhancement in market value, should a decided rise occur in the Stock Exchange quotations for the shares into which the bonds may be converted.

FINANCIER.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED.

BY LOUISE COLLIER WILLCOX, JOSEPH HORNOR COATES AND CHRISTIAN GAUSS.

"THE ANCIENT LAW."*

A FITTING phrase for the theme of Ellen Glasgow's new novel might be applied from a very ancient writing: "Man-soul . . . becometh an understanding dream and fareth beyond this world." It is the inner life of Daniel Ordway that Miss Glasgow presents us, his struggles, his sufferings, his days of discouragement, his reactions in the teeth of calamity, his silent ponderings and inner growth, his progressive power of renunciation, and, finally, out of these, the enlarging of consciousness, the flowering of the fruits of the spirit.

When we recall that Miss Glasgow, with seven largely constructed novels behind her, is still on the earthward side of thirty-five, and when we see how steadily and surely her art has grown from "The Descendant" to "The Ancient Law," we realize that we have a born novelist to cope with; not, as one might have feared from the emotional intensity of "The Descendant" and "Phases of an Inferior Planet," merely a writer of one strong imaginative impulse, like Olive Schreiner, or a cultured craftsman looking about for a story to tell, like Mrs. Wharton. Miss Glasgow is a story-teller, first and foremost, with a keen insight into life; a mind still plastic, broadening and growing in ability to note the detail of life and to fathom meanings and relations and weave them into a whole.

Nor is it a common thing to find a born novelist. Poets and musicians are born, but novelists usually grow. The ability to depict life as it is freely and fully is usually the outgrowth of

* "The Ancient Law." By Ellen Glasgow. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. 1908.

experience and of long practice; but Ellen Glasgow wrote "The Descendant" when she was eighteen years old, and it was a baffling performance. The reviewers, so long as the book maintained its anonymity, attributed it to various well-known writers and felt distinctly flouted when it turned out to be by a retiring little Southern girl. "Phases of an Inferior Planet," which followed the first book in less than two years, was somewhat crude in theory of life, but it contained chapters of as fine writing as Miss Glasgow has ever done. The following three stories, which established Miss Glasgow's rank among serious novelists—"The Voice of the People," "The Battleground" and "The Deliverance"—were all placed on the author's native soil, and dealt with the romantic period of Virginia history during the war and the time of the reconstruction, the painful rearing of a commercial democracy on the foundations of an agricultural aristocracy. The force of Balzac, it has been said, lay in representing the innumerable actual facts of the French civilization of his day. It is the same sort of service that Miss Glasgow has rendered to a smaller civilization. She has preserved in their integrity the types and the history of her native State during the last century.

"The Wheel of Life" had a change of setting, and only the subtler reviewers noted in the book Miss Glasgow's more mystical conception of life, her firmer grasp of the moral problem, her sense of the quiet at the heart of things, the centre round which the hours and days, with their events and changes, wheel. The hero of this novel already forecasts Daniel Ordway.

The Law is, indeed, that familiar, but still so little realized, law that he who loseth his life shall find it. "The Wheel of Life" treated this subject negatively; "The Ancient Law" starts from the same point and treats it affirmatively. In the early book, the things of the body, the lust of the eye, the glory of the flesh are weighed and found wanting; in the new book, the things of the spirit live triumphantly. In "The Ancient Law," we see that not man-made judgments, but love, mean goodness; not cutting off, but building up; not dissensions and distinctions and creeds that divide and destroy, but mercy and love and sacrifice, the underlying qualities which are universal; these win the soul's release.

Daniel Ordway learns that he only conquers life who lays down his life for others, not only in the little daily sacrifices of love and

service, but to the last jot of self-protection. Ordway, who as penance practises this morality, is shown to great advantage against his uncle Richard, a character who never makes an impulsive mistake, who keeps always well within the bounds of legality, but who remains selfish, cold, self-centred and self-exalting, who oppresses the poor and helpless and escapes all the pains and penalties, as well as the joys, of a growth of spiritual perception. The two characters, set side by side, make one understand anew the Christ's condemnation of the Pharisee and his reiterated dictum: "I come to call sinners, not the righteous," etc.

Less than in any of the earlier novels does the all-pervading question of love and marriage play part here. A thread of emotional interest there undoubtedly is between Emily and Daniel; but both natures seem by suffering and discipline too detached to let passion become a compelling motive. Mr. James says somewhere that it is characteristic of the feminine hand, as distinguished from the masculine hand, that in any portrait of a corner of human affairs the love-story will be the dominant theme. This does not hold good in any of Miss Glasgow's novels; but this one is a drama of repentance, reparation and regeneration.

If it should seem from this analysis that the book is wholly introspective, I am giving a false impression. Philosophy of life is there and serious moral purpose, a distinct drawing of the line between seeming and real goodness; but there are also the constant play of life, the warm, sunny, often sordid atmosphere of that part of Virginia known as the "South-Side," and characters that range in the social scale from Mrs. Twine and her six scrubbed, screaming offspring to the passive and beautiful Lydia, who had inherited from a long line of ancestors of leisure an innate dislike to the emotions and the events of life.

There are many fine and haunting passages, and among them the first and last chapters stand out as being not only, in themselves, beautiful, but as sounding the key-note of the spiritual portent of the book and summing up the lesson of Daniel Ordway's life: "Then his vision broadened and he saw that, though the body of love is one, the members of it are infinite; and it was made plain to him at last that the love of Emily, the love of Alice and the love of Bank were but different revelations of the same immortality."

LOUISE COLLIER WILLCOX.

THE EASTERN DANGER FROM A BRITISH VIEW-POINT.*

MR. EVERARD COTES, an English journalist resident for a long time in India, shows in his new book a breadth and depth of insight, a calmly dispassionate and judicial attitude of mind and a culture of style which will indicate to American readers, to whom his name is doubtless chiefly familiar through the charming books which his wife has written, that he has unusual training. The volume itself is the fruit of an extended journey through China, Manchuria, Korea and Japan in the summer of 1906. He says: "Events of to-day in the Far East are posters for to-morrow"; and he gives the reader "some of the inscriptions which these posters bear." He is convinced "the new situation, so immediate and dramatic," plainly threatens "Anglo-Saxon interests"; but he is by no means an alarmist. The dangers he sees are economic, and those which grow out of the influence upon industrial development of the political and racial changes now transpiring in the Far East, or in inception. He writes for British readers, and in the final outcome his view is that "the potentialities of India as the coadjutor of Great Britain in the future of the Far East can hardly be overestimated"; but what he has to say possesses a timely and thoroughly practical interest for us in America as well. Current events, and those which may be anticipated in the next few years, both political and industrial, remind us once more that we shall be foolish to try to shut our eyes to the new "Eastern Question"; and this, not because the Philippines and Hawaii are part of the United States, but that year by year the whole world is being knit together closer and closer by indissoluble bonds with a rapidity which, most likely, we utterly fail to appreciate. The Tartar Wall is long ago obsolete in China; the political wall which the founders of the American Republic thought had been set up to isolate their country from the rest of the world is being breached in its foundations in the inevitable march of events. A hundred years ago it was both easy and obviously of advantage to "avoid entangling alliances"; the ease of it has apparently gone, the propriety of it in the future may not be so obvious. We can

* "Signs and Portents in the Far East." By Everard Cotes. With thirty-five illustrations. London: Methuen & Co. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

"The Asiatic Danger in the Colonies." By L. E. Neame. London: George Routledge & Sons, Limited. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

hardly yet have begun to realize the enormous potentiality of racial intermingling and change which is inherent in the rapid development of transportation and communication due to steam and electricity. Looking back for fifty years we may get a perspective, but even then no assured vantage-ground from which to look certainly into the changes of the coming half-century in which the harvest of the recent past is to be reaped. At all events, if we in America do not set ourselves to realize that we are more surely, year by year, in the world and of the world, we shall at last have our eyes opened with pain and tribulation. To us, therefore, as well as to Mr. Cotes's fellow countrymen, there is much in the book of timely and weighty significance.

Through these far-Eastern countries, that are now for the first time looming so largely on the horizon of Western lands, he has travelled with keenly observant eyes, a thoroughly trained mind to assimilate and draw conclusions from what he sees, and a very unusual power of sympathy for the view-point of alien races. The treatment of his subject is conspicuously, and convincingly, temperate.

In China he notes that development along modern lines has been in progress for five years past, and makes many suggestive comments. About a year ago a highly intelligent officer in the Imperial Chinese army said to the writer of this review, "The modern movement has been going on for the last five years. If the Emperor can have his way, you will see China make more rapid progress than Japan has ever done." Mr. Cotes, however, does not think Western ideas have as yet taken a grip of the Chinese imagination; but that "the point of assimilation in methods, and even in morals, will no doubt some day come, and when it does we may look for a tremendous accompaniment." He saw a number of government factories turning out effective modern weapons, and noticeable drilling of troops; he says "power only, not will, is lacking for the complete expulsion of the European," but does not appear to anticipate any considerable increase of military strength in the near future. The hostile feeling is extending to the Japanese as well, "his failure to hand back Korea to China is confirming his old unpopularity"; and many things are noted which quite clearly indicate a significant waning of Japan's prestige and a reaction of Chinese racial pride to the old-time hostility towards the little Islanders.

As to Korea: "To-day, however, the Korean hates the Japanese far more bitterly than he ever hated the other invader"—the Russian. The Koreans complain of injustice, oppression, brutality and inequality before the law, at the hands of their new masters. "At the moment, Korea is in a critical position. . . . The Japanese have made a most unfortunate start with their administration of the country." And this appears to be abundantly confirmed from all sources, and will recall, to the readers of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, Mr. William T. Ellis's picturesque details in his very interesting paper in the October issue of last year.

As to Japan itself, Mr. Cotes thinks the period of rapid development has for the time being culminated. "Japan has made her grand national effort, and must now rest to refit and recuperate. . . . Ten years of peace and careful economy are essential . . . everywhere there is a sharply defined need of money." He finds much to admire, but after all reaches the conclusion that the Japanese "must pursue the road of progress a very great deal further before he can overtake the white man at his best." It seems reasonably clear that the Western world need not greatly fear military aggression in the near future; Japan will not be in any good position to wage war for the next decade, and by that time if the comb of the Japanese cock needs cutting it is something more than possible that China may be relied on to do it—and take back the Shantung Peninsula, Manchuria and Korea! As for industrial aggression, it seems to concern Europe far more than America at this time. In the end, of course, those countries best fitted to produce will win out, whether East or West.

There is, to be sure, an ominous plenitude of good and extraordinarily cheap labor in the Far East awaiting modern conditions and opportunities of employment, and standing as a menace to Western industrial supremacy. It seems likely—perhaps inevitable, and no doubt desirable from the standpoint of the world's welfare, however different the Western view may be—that the East in increasing measure will supply its own wants by its own labor; and the effect of that will be, as always, to stimulate the demands of labor for a better wage and a higher standard of living. In the end, perhaps not very remotely, we may doubtless look for trades-unions or similar organization

of the proletariat of the teeming East, bringing in their train the domestic economic disturbance which adds so heavily to the cost of production and reduces the power of aggressive competition with the outside world. Whether it be trades-unionism or some other expression of the advancing demands of labor, it can probably be relied on eventually to adjust the economic disparity with which the Orient now threatens Occidental races. And meantime, increasingly profitable home employment for Oriental workmen minimizes the danger to other countries of an industrial invasion by ill-paid Eastern proletaries. On the whole, we need have no fears, unless the white race is inferior to the yellow; if that be so, we must grow better or go under.

Apropos of recent manifestations of Japanese sensitiveness regarding infraction of treaty rights at San Francisco, the following passages are the more significant coming from one who is looking at the Japanese with a friendly eye:

"Japan is accused of breaking faith" in Korea "and in Manchuria with the European Powers. By treaty she is bound to respect local autonomy, and to give foreigners the same opportunity . . . as her own subjects enjoy. I have been told by men whose honesty cannot be doubted that this is not being done. European and American merchants and mining engineers find their operations hampered in many ways."

"Japan is . . . no place for the European who has to make his living. I refer not so much to European experts in Japanese employ, who are rapidly disappearing, but to the European merchants who do business on their own account. . . . Ostensibly, they are protected by treaty and given absolute equality of opportunity with their Japanese competitors. Practically, they are hampered upon all sides. They find the Japanese official in league with the Japanese merchant to undersell them. Regulations are rigidly enforced when they operate to the foreigner's disadvantage, but are read in an altogether different spirit where Japanese merchants are concerned."

"Complaints are loud-voiced. Japanese traders have been allowed to import their goods into Manchuria *viâ* Dalny, where they have paid no duty, for a full year, during which Europeans could only enter *viâ* Neuchwang, where import duties had to be paid. This appears to be now under rectification; but the rates upon the railways in the new territory, which are all in Japanese hands, are still complained of as designed to favor the Japanese at the expense of the foreigner. . . . Difficulty is not confined to Manchuria and Korea. The European resents the position to which he finds himself relegated in Japan, where he is welcome only if he is a tourist with money to spend in the country, and is hampered at every point if he tries to make a living for himself."

In view of this sort of evidence from a friend of Japan, one

wonders whether the wrongs of a few school-children, a few keepers of intelligence-offices and restaurants, in the turbulent city of our Pacific coast, are not greatly overbalanced by what has been taking place for some time past in Korea, Manchuria and Japan itself; and whether our friends of the Island Kingdom are not a little disposed to view treaty obligations on the turkey-and-buzzard principle.

"Signs and Portents in the Far East" is so fair-minded and broad-minded, so acute in its observation and so well informed in its treatment of the subject, that it is of special value to American readers at the present time.

Mr. Neame's modest little volume deals with the commercial danger of allowing Asiatics to engage in trade in South Africa or Australasia because they are better fitted to survive competition than the white trader and undersell him in his own field. "The Asiatic invariably obtains a grip of the country he enters. . . . The Asiatic immigrant is . . . driving out the white trader." That is the burden of the Colonial complaint which is making all sorts of trouble for the Home Government. The Colonies want Asiatic labor, but strictly under time contracts which will oblige the coolie to be deported after his time expires; they will not allow him to remain because he will beat the white man at his own trade. They want the principle of "high protection" carried to its ultimate and final extreme. Perhaps they are right; but meantime Mr. Neame's book shows that the white rulers of South Africa are imposing far more rigorous and unjust conditions of trade upon resident Asiatic traders than Japan is accused of. And these Asiatics, thus forced to compete under laws expressly designed to "hamper" and even to oppress them, are not all foreigners, but chiefly fellow subjects of the British Empire from India. The embarrassment already brought upon British rule in India by this state of affairs is readily conceivable and is likely to increase.

Altogether, the affairs of the Far East in the years lying just ahead of us seem destined to play a very interesting and possibly an exciting part. It is not inconceivable that world changes, as yet quite unforeseen, may grow out of them; and there is no probability that we in America shall be able to hold ourselves entirely aloof.

JOSEPH HORNOR COATES.

PAUL VERLAINE.*

Of all the poets, from Waring to Ernest Dowson, who have lost themselves in the nineteenth century, the most pitiable, the most pathetic, because in a sense the most helpless, is Paul Verlaine, the Pauvre Lélian of his own "*Poëtes Maudits.*" As François Coppée said at his funeral, he had remained a child to the end. He had only too often done the things which he ought not to have done, but he did them always suddenly, impulsively, driven on by one of those compelling whims which had so frequently led him to garrets, to hospital cots, and had thrice marked him with the brand of the criminal. Yet he believed in them still; at least, he followed them. Like Rabelais, he seemed to think that happiness lay at their end, *Bon espoir y gist au fond:* but he never found it and he was to be forever disappointed. Yet having yielded and having fallen, he would be overcome by the need of confession, and he would tell you all, ingenuously, naïvely, like a child. The unaccustomed silence of his room, a sheet of white paper and his pencil, and he would start his *peccavi:* a new-found friend and a little absinthe, and the sad story would have to be recounted. The café table became his confessional, the café blotter often his confessor.

This is the secret of his work, of his characteristic verse from "Saturnian Poems" to "*Œuvres Posthumes,*" of his prose which he could not help making autobiographical, as witness the "Confessions," "My Hospitals," "My Prisons," "The Memoirs of a Widower," even of his one volume of criticism, in which he could not refrain, *mutato nomine,* from passing judgment on himself. He was pent up in his own immediate experience, hedged in by his own horizon. The noises of the world came to die at the threshold of his cell, and like the squirrel in the cage he turned forever the illusive wheel of confession. Illusive,—for aside from its bringing him an occasional much-needed five-franc piece from his publisher, Vanier, and providing that catharsis for excess of sorrow which even so sane an artist as Goethe knew, his written confessions in poetry and his many unwritten ones in prose availed him nothing. Sincere as he was when he made them, and contrite as he momentarily felt, his *confiteor* ended, the late penitent was as willing and as ready to

* "*Paul Verlaine, Sa Vie,—Son Œuvre.*" By Edmond Lepelletier. Paris: Société du Mercure de France.

sin as before. His poetry can therefore best be considered as the long, broken but sincere confession of a rather sorry sinner.

So let us not attempt the impossible and try to whitewash Verlaine. Far as that process has gone and much as it has included, Verlaine remains still beyond it. This literary Ethiopian will not change his skin for all the kind offices of biographers. Like Villon, he was frankly, avowedly, a very poor citizen. Besides being a very excellent poet, there are many other valid reasons which would have excluded him from any ideal republic. We may as well, as does his latest biographer, begin by admitting these faults, accept them as premises, and with the poems as conclusions consider the interesting process of their creation.

Most English readers have been content to believe that Verlaine was essentially a Latin Quarter product, that he spent his youth and manhood on the *Boul' Mich,* and that his vision of the world was seen only through the opalescence of absinthe. That idea has been strengthened by the excellent, if partial, appreciation of Arthur Symons, who, in his treatment of the French Symbolists, inclines to the interesting but rather dangerous view that the best literature is the reflection of the worst life; and the unpleasant, unsympathetic and totally unfair account of a visit to the poet by George Moore, the same Moore who had won a courted notoriety by the publication of the "Confessions of a Young Man," and certain novels, not distinguished for moral tone, like "A Mummer's Wife" and "Spring Days." It is not astonishing that so robust and masculine an intelligence as George Moore's should have failed to appreciate a talent as delicate as was, after all, Verlaine's; it is, however, extraordinary to find him in the study in question writing like a Puritan. He had gone to see Verlaine at a time when the poet, already afflicted by the hereditary malady which had carried off his father, was lying penniless and infirm in a dingy, and, we may well believe, dirty, little room off the Cour St.-François. He was in disgrace with fortune and men's eyes, had but recently lost through process of law the last of his patrimony, he was not yet the King of the Poets and the demigod of the Quarter, but without funds and with his constitutional incapacity for regular employment was waiting to be carried to one of the hospitals which were, from this time forth, so frequently to be his retreats. The circumstances might very well have inspired some pity.

M. Lepelletier gives us a completer and a saner view. He and Verlaine had known each other from childhood, and it is no slight tribute to the poet that he should have kept such a friend through life. The two young men had begun their struggle together. They had been associated in the Parnassian movement, and had kept in touch to the last, as numerous letters here quoted will show. M. Lepelletier outgrew the earlier Bohemianism, has become a distinguished editor and novelist, and it is plain that in the closing years of the poet's life he looked upon him as the moral and physical invalid that he was. To him Verlaine had intrusted the making of his biography, and it has here been M. Lepelletier's intention to report Verlaine and his cause aright. It is a franker, fuller study of his character and temperament than the previous works of Morice and Donos. He admits the damaging quality of much of the evidence, and only in regard to the Rimbaud affair does he stop to combat what he considers uncharitable interpretations. He does not apologize; Verlaine's poems are his exculpation: he feels that one could forgive the author of "*Sagesse*" almost anything; and, after all, there is little to forgive. He harbored no malice, he could injure no one: he had wrecked his own happiness and the life teaches its own lesson. He was restless and impulsive. Like Waring and Dowson, like Jules Laforgue and Villiers de l'Isle Adam, he did not fit into that nook and cranny of the world into which he had been born. Hence it was that he was forever wandering. Like Baudelaire, he was afflicted with that poignant, unassuageable nostalgia for the places where he had not been. He lacked balance and poise, and it is this particularly that his enemies hold up against him. It is precisely this, however, that makes his poetry. To him life was instant and momentary; he had no philosophy, any more than Sappho and Catullus.

For him there was no pause, no station, no rest. For some years after his imprisonment at Mons, where he had seen the light on his road to Damascus, he seemed to have found it in the church, in the faith of his childhood, and he gave us the greatest religious poems of his century, perhaps the greatest since Dante. Released at last, he flees from temptation to England, where he teaches for a time in a quiet little boarding-school, and learns to love the English meadows and the sea, the sea which to him is "more beautiful than cathedrals," and which few of

his country's poets save Hugo have learned to understand. Then he comes back to France again, and is accepted as professor of French literature in the strictly Catholic seminary at Rethel. It was a strange asylum for him who had been to Brussels with Arthur Rimbaud. But the priests loved this modest little man of many sorrows, and he lived for a time peacefully. Yet it could not be. Suddenly, inexplicably, the old longing, the need of changing his bed in this world's hospital comes over him again, and so without farewell, without a word, he leaves his sure retreat, the quiet college and his cell and the priests who did not know him. For a time he would live in the country and commune with nature, but the hand of the lutanist could hardly hold the plough; he was more interested in watching sunset and moonrise than in calculating seed-time and harvest, and so the experiment failed, as they all did. Then he drifts to Paris, and, being still unknown, he sinks to the depths in which George Moore found him. He was not really to reconquer himself again, and the remainder of his life was to be spent largely in the Quarter. His work was to lose its earlier directness and variety; he was fumbling in the strings. He had had a way of identifying himself with things seen; his descriptions were purely subjective, for to him, as to Amiel and Corot, a landscape was merely an *état d'âme*. He had, too, the *hântise* of the "far countrie." Yet his was not, if we dare use the word, the muscular impatience of inaction of an Odysseus or an Elizabethan voyager. It was the nervous unease of a sick child of his century, a younger and weaker, and yet assuredly a spiritual, brother of de Musset and Heine and Leopardi. He spent his life in conjuring with insubstantial "Beams" and shadows. He attempted to eternalize the fleeting moment, and through the necromancy of his words and the magic of his rhythms he has often succeeded. His is the poetry of immediate unrationalized experience; he could render sensation more convincingly than any singer of his time, and his life as here set forth by his biographer was a broken mosaic of such uncoordinated experiences. The story is frankly told by M. Lepelletier, and it is not in any sense an edifying one; yet it will be found most interesting by those who are concerned with that "new poetry" which his disciples believed Verlaine had invented.

CHRISTIAN GAUSS.

WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON: ST. PETERSBURG: BERLIN.

LONDON, *February, 1908.*

PARLIAMENT reassembled on January 29th for what every one feels to be a momentous session—momentous not merely for this party or for that, but for the Kingdom itself. But before I attempt to elucidate its significance it is necessary to touch on two events that preceded it. On January 18th the result of the by-election in Mid-Devon was declared. Mid-Devon thitherto had been considered one of the safest Liberal seats in the country. It had never returned any one but a Liberal to Parliament. Even in the dark days of 1900, when the country was swept by a tornado of Jingoism and a Liberal suspected of pro-Boer sympathies was scarcely allowed to open his mouth in public, Mid-Devon stood by its colors. Nobody on either side suspected that at the recent by-election it would change its allegiance. The Liberal candidate, though a stranger to the constituency, was an able representative of an extremely able family, long associated with the service of the State. The Conservative candidate declared himself a convinced Tariff Reformer of the Balfourian school, put the fiscal question in the very forefront of his campaign, and made none of the too familiar efforts to face three ways at once. In these conditions a Liberal victory was everywhere looked upon as a foregone conclusion. But in politics there are no certainties. The Unionist was returned. Innumerable explanations, as usual, have been forthcoming to account for a result that no one expected. The "literature" employed on the Unionist side fixed upon the Government the responsibility for the general rise in prices that has taken place in the last eighteen months. Some believe that the issue was really determined by this audacious manœuvre. Others found in it a proof that the Tariff Reform propa-

ganda, which is being pushed just now with renewed vigor all over the country, is at last beginning to tell. Others, again, maintained that the defeat of the Liberal was owing more than anything else to the hostility of the brewers, who are united to a man against the Government's licensing proposals. Others, however, argued that the Mid-Devon electors are still Free Traders and at a general election would sweep aside every minor issue in order to vote for the Free Trade candidate, but that they utilized the by-election to register their dissatisfaction with the Government's Socialistic leanings, with its alleged failure to maintain order in Ireland, with its too hasty onslaught on the House of Lords, and, above all, with its programme of old-age pensions. There is one other explanation I will mention. It is that the Mid-Devon farmers turned against the Government because of the Small-Holdings Bill, which has started its career with every omen of success, which promises already to become the Magna Charta of the agricultural laborers, and which must therefore impinge upon the farmers' social and economic ascendency. All of these explanations, in their several degrees, may be correct, but it is not easy to extract from them any comprehensive moral.

Of far more significance than the Mid-Devon election were the proceedings of the Labor Party, which began a five days' Conference at Hull in the third week of January. It adopted two resolutions in regard to old-age pensions and the problem of unemployment, and another, and an infinitely more important, one in regard to Socialism. It demanded a universal non-contributory pension scheme beginning at the age of sixty-five and financed by taxing the incomes of the rich. Such a scheme, it is estimated, would cost from $150,000,000 to $200,000,000 a year, and would assuredly land this or any other Free Trade country that adopted it in Protection. The remedy for unemployment that appealed to the Labor Conference was the unlimited provision of work by public authorities. On this, too, I need at present say nothing. Far more startling was its action in regard to Socialism. A resolution to commit the Labor Party to Socialism is one of the hardy annuals of the Labor Conference. Hitherto it has been always shelved or defeated. At Hull it reappeared in the form of an amendment to the constitution of the Labor Party. The declared object of the party at present is "to organize and maintain a Parliamentary Labor Party with its own whips and policy."

The amendment proposed that for the future the Labor Party should formally define its ultimate aims as "the obtaining for the workers of the full results of their labor by the overthrow of the present competitive system of capitalism, and the institution of a system of public ownership and control of all the means of life." In other words, the Labor Party was asked to declare itself a Socialist organization. The amendment was defeated by 951,000 votes to 91,000, and among those who opposed it most strongly were the Socialists themselves. They opposed it from considerations of expediency. To have pressed it home, to have carried it, would have meant running the almost certain risk of a rupture with the trade-unionists.

That was on Tuesday, January 21st. On the following day the delegates turned a complete somersault. A motion came before them declaring that "the time has arrived when the Labor Party should have as a definite object the Socialization of the means of production and distribution and exchange, to be controlled by a democratic State in the interests of the entire community, and the complete emancipation of labor from the domination of capitalism and landlordism, with the establishment of social and economic equality between the sexes." This resolution was carried by 510,000 votes to 469,000. What is the meaning of a *volte face* so amazingly sudden and complete? According to many of the Labor men themselves, the explanation is very simple. Tuesday's amendment sought to change the constitutional basis of the Labor Party. If it had been adopted, no one in future could join the Party who was not prepared to pledge himself to the Socialist programme. But Wednesday's resolution was of a very different character. It merely declared that "the time has arrived" when the Labor Party should adopt Socialism "as a definite object." It was nothing more than a pious expression of opinion, intended to be entered on the minutes of the Conference, and of no practical significance. It does not exclude any one from the ranks of the Party; it does not prevent any one, even the most determined opponent of Socialism, from throwing in his lot with the Party. But I am bound to say that these casuistical distinctions, so far from convincing the country, disgust it. The average man cannot go to the trouble of distinguishing between the "constitution" of the Labor Party and its "object." What he sees is that the red flag has been

hoisted and that the Labor Party has been captured by the Socialists, and he regards it as a very serious development. That certainly is how the Socialists themselves interpret the voting at Hull, and naturally they are jubilant. The trade-unionists, on the other hand, either minimize the resolution as "academic" or deny that the delegates were expressing anything but their personal opinions, or else admit the gravity of the crisis that has arisen and contemplate the possibility of secession from the ranks of the Labor Party. If the trade-unionists of the country were fairly polled, I have little doubt they would declare decisively against Socialism. As a rule, they are more interested in the provident and industrial than in the political side of their organizations. The officials they have chosen, however, are for the most part Socialists, and tend with an increasing celerity to emphasize their political character at the expense of their legitimate functions as trade-union leaders. What I believe to be happening is that an active Socialist minority is rapidly acquiring control of the political interests of English trade-unionism, in spite of the fact that the great majority of trade-unionists are anything but Socialists. After the Hull Conference the danger which threatens nearly every trade-union in the country can no longer be disguised, and it will be a matter full of moment for the industrial and political future of Labor to see whether the rank and file of the trade-unionists will continue to place their funds, prestige and interests at the disposal of the Socialists.

The commitment of Labor to the extreme formula of Socialism introduces a new and irritating element into the relations between Labor and Liberalism; it threatens to weaken, if not to destroy, the forces of progress; and it supplies the party of Toryism and reaction with an unequalled excuse for coming forward as the champions of property, individualism and the Constitution. "With a Labor Party on a trade-union basis," says the "Daily Chronicle," "Liberals could always work in sympathy, although they could not go the whole way with them. With a Labor Party which has become the instrument of revolutionary Socialist propaganda they could have nothing to do. They will oppose it to the utmost; they will oppose it in the interests of commerce and industry, and in the interests of the people themselves." Matters, of course, have not reached that pitch yet; they may never reach it. But it is certain that so

long as the Hull resolution stands, and so long as the Labor Party and the Liberals continue to act more or less in concert, the implication of Socialism will to some degree attach to Liberalism, and that the Tories will be the only ones to benefit by it. I may add that the proceedings of the Conference have not increased the national respect for the Labor leaders' generalship. It is universally regarded as irresolute, flaccid and insincere, and the suspicion obtains that a Party, even though it may call itself Labor, which imposes no labor test, which is open to men of all classes, and which is largely directed by Socialists who are not working-men, is not necessarily a true exponent of the views of the "proletariat." But the raising of the Socialist bogey in this menacing form, on the morrow of the defeat in Mid-Devon, has unquestionably perturbed the Liberals and filled their opponents with anticipatory glee.

The King's Speech held no surprises for those who had followed the speeches of Ministers during the autumn campaign. It contains as formidable a programme as has ever been submitted to Parliament. The post of honor, which is also the post of danger, is held by the Government's Licensing Bill. The fight at this point will be desperate and prolonged. With the details of the Government's proposals I am not acquainted; but their essence is to enable the State to resume control of the liquor traffic by fixing a time-limit after which all payment of compensation on the non-renewal of a license shall cease and the license itself shall revert to the State, to be reissued, if at all, only on the basis of its full monopoly value—that is, on the basis of the additional value which a license confers on the premises to which it is attached. One need know very little of England to be sure that any scheme on these lines will be fiercely assailed. "The trade" is the most militant, the wealthiest, the best organized and the most pervasive business interest in the country, and it is prepared to put up the fight of its life, a fight that will ultimately determine whether it or the State is the stronger. The country is being bombarded with its appeals and protestations. It buys up whole pages in the newspapers for the purpose of setting forth its case. Every post seems to rain circulars in which the iniquity of the Government and the confiscatory nature of its proposals are painted in the blackest and most terrifying colors, mingled with sentimental references to the

widows and orphans whose incomes are derived from brewery debentures. But the Government is equally resolute. Warned by a somewhat painful experience, it will decline to go as far as the Temperance extremists would like it to go. But towards its main goal of reasserting the supremacy of the State over "the trade" it will press, unless I am greatly mistaken, unwaveringly.

Another measure that was mentioned in the King's Speech and that will assuredly be embodied in legislation—a measure that marks a critical turning-point in the history of this country's social development and financial policy—is the Old-Age Pensions Bill. Mr. Asquith, it may be remembered, set aside from last year's surplus a sum of $11,250,000 as a nucleus for an old-age pension fund. This year he proposes to go a step further, and to outline a definite scheme. Here again the country has been pretty amply informed of the direction in which the Ministerial mind is working. The Government's plan, unlike the German plan, will be non-contributory, or contributory only in the indirect sense that, so far as the cost of the pensions falls upon the taxes, all classes of the community will bear their share in shouldering the burden. It will probably start at the age of sixty-five, and some attempt will be made to exclude those who either do not need or do not deserve State relief in their old age. The Government's policy is to proceed by stages, and for this year, at all events, to do no more than make a beginning. But it is a beginning of which no man can see the end, and though both the historic Parties have long been committed to the principle of old-age pensions, and though the Labor group especially is bent upon getting them, there are very few men who contemplate the decisive plunge without a certain dismay, who are not obsessed by doubts as to its ultimate effects upon the *morale* of the people and the national finances, who are quite confident that it will not involve a revolution of the fiscal system, or who look forward with entire tranquillity to the conversion of the State into a vast money-making machine controlled by politicians on the hunt for votes. A third measure, not so important, but far more controversial, will be Mr. McKenna's Education Bill. Its aim, it is understood, will be to reproduce the substance of Mr. Birrell's Bill of 1906, which was done to death in the House of Lords in a shorter and less complicated form. That means that the

rabid sectarian squabble, into which all English discussions of elementary education quickly degenerate, is to be renewed with all, and more than all, its old bitterness. Mr. Birrell has given notice of two Irish Bills which also, if the past is any guide to the future, will be fought clause by clause and line by line. One deals with the old and thorny problem of a Catholic university in Ireland, and the other with the compulsory purchase of untenanted land for the purpose of relieving congestion in the western counties. There are several other measures promised by this insatiable Government which are concerned with minor, but not necessarily less contentious, projects of social and industrial reform—measures, for instance, providing an eight-hour day for coal miners, amending the laws relating to the housing of the working-classes, regulating the laying out of land needed for the development of growing towns, amending the valuation system, establishing a new authority for controlling the Port of London and improving the Acts relating to the protection of children and to the treatment of juvenile offenders. It is a courageous, a huge, I fear an unwieldy, programme. And vast and complex as it is, it is dominated by a yet greater problem—the problem of the House of Lords. The two Bills relating to Scottish Land and to the Scottish valuation system, which the Lords last year prevented from becoming law, are to be reintroduced in the House of Commons this session, passed rapidly through all their stages, and sent up again to the Upper Chamber. The campaign against the Lords, on which the Government has staked its existence and which will in all probability be the dominating issue of the next election, thus passes into a new and more stringent phase. The Government, in short, is nearing the decisive moment of its career, and great resolution and foresight among the leaders, inflexible loyalty among the rank and file, and a high degree of Parliamentary strategy will be needed if it is to emerge with credit and success.

ST. PETERSBURG, *February, 1908.*

IT is a matter of common knowledge that since M. Stolypin took over the reins of power the Tsar has given him a pretty free hand. In details he has differed from his Premier now and again and has carried his point, but in the only two cases

of which the public has cognizance he was apparently right. He has also been known to disagree with M. Stolypin, yet to give way in the end; and in at least one instance of this it would have been better—many say—had he stood firm and carried his point. However this may be, the Tsar's greatest sin in the eyes of all parties at the present moment is his slowness to act on his own convictions lest he should spoil the work of his official advisers. But it is only fair to add that the Cabinet is guilty of an analogous offence. It acts as though it entertained no faith in itself or in anybody else.

Undoubtedly the mistakes of the Cabinet are endangering the existence of the third Duma. Already people are discounting the impending dissolution, and speculation is rife as to what will come after. It is taken for granted that the resignation or dismissal of the Premier will usher in this momentous change. The proximate cause of the break-up, politicians affirm, will be the refusal of the deputies to approve the naval programme of the Government and to sanction the cost of carrying it out. But in the structure of this argument too much is taken for granted. If the Government insists on receiving the sum requisite —about $150,000,000—for the rebuilding of the Navy, and if the Duma withholds its assent on the ground that the money, if entrusted to the present staff of officials, would be ill spent, then perhaps the door would be open to fateful consequences. But the facts of the case do not compel one to accept these postulates.

The Marine Department holds that a fleet above the water, as well as a flotilla below the water, is a prime necessity for Russia; and in order to acquire the requisite vessels asks for a credit amounting to the sum already mentioned. How the political parties will act when they find themselves at the ballot-boxes one cannot say, but at present they angrily refuse to entertain the notion. Nor is it only Socialists and Constitutional Democrats who object. The Octobrist party, which enjoys the goodwill of the Premier, and even the members of the Monarchist Right are equally emphatic in their condemnation of the reconstruction scheme. The grounds for this attitude are various. Some allege that Russia cannot afford such a vast sum for battleships during her present straitened financial circumstances, which do not allow her to spend more than $25,000,000 yearly for educational purposes. They further urge that, whatever the sum

at first asked for, it would not be final; but it would entail the payment of further sums every year for the upkeep of the ships, and would thus help to cripple the material growth of the nation. Moreover, these deputies maintain that a powerful fleet is superfluous because Russia possesses no merchant navy worth such a costly method of defence, and no coast likely to be attacked except Vladivostok, which could be defended cheaply and efficiently by creating a first-class stronghold there.

Other deputies, mainly members of the Monarchical parties, admit the need of a powerful Navy and are willing to pay for it. All that they ask is that the money shall be spent to good purpose, but they are convinced that this will not be the case until a clean sweep is made of the officials who now run the department. "We want honest men in the first place and clever men afterwards," one prominent Monarchist remarked; "and if we give the present corrupt bureaucrats the spending of the nation's money a large part of it will stick to their pockets, and with the remainder they will build ships that will turn turtle in a storm or spring a leak on a long trip." And they adduce facts in support of their thesis. During the war the Canet-Lafettes on which the ships' guns lie often broke, and at the Vladivostok engagements these mishaps handicapped the Russians. Hence the Canet-Lafettes were condemned. Yet they are still used on board all the vessels that have come out of the war unscathed. The Russian type of armed cruisers was also shown by the war to be dangerously defective, and only one of these ships behaved well in action. That was the "Bayan," and it differed from the others only in having an uncommonly good commander. Yet the Ministry of Marine, heedless of this fact, has recently ordered three more cruisers of that same type. Among the parliamentary opponents of the Government Bill are some whose chief or only objection is that an up-to-date powerful Navy cannot be built in Russia, and they find it impossible to favor the spending of hundreds of millions of dollars in support of foreign ship-building and to the ruin of their own. Lastly many deputies declare that, even if the battle-ships were built, Russia has not suitable seamen and bluejackets to man them.

Members of the Cabinet and prominent deputies have already informally exchanged views on the subject, and the result is not encouraging to the Government. Neither side shows any willing-

ness to give way. The Ministry of Marine is resolved to abate nothing of its demands, and the parties are minded to veto them at all costs. Gount Uvaroff, a distinguished member of the Octobrist party, has let it be known that, in the course of the informal negotiations, undue pressure was brought to bear upon them in the guise of a contingent threat to dissolve the Duma. He went on to say, however, that threats would have no effect on himself nor, he believed, on his party. They consider that the interests of the nation will be best served by saying "No" to the Government, and they will accordingly say "No" with due emphasis. It should not be forgotten, however, that the Duma's refusal would not entail the abandonment by the Government of its reconstruction scheme. For the legislative assembly cannot effectively veto expenses for the Army or the Navy.

Contemporary history teaches us that neither parties nor Cabinets eat their soup as hot as it is cooked. They generally give it ample time to cool. To-day the excitement in both camps is, so to say, at the boiling-point; but by the time the debates have come on and the Duma gets ready to vote—say in a month or six weeks—the cooling process will have made satisfactory progress. And as the deputies' adverse vote cannot take effect, neither will the Government's threats be carried out. Nobody with power or influence, neither Tsar nor Premier nor any constitutional party, wants the third Duma to be broken up. For if that goes much else will go too, and the chances are considerable that no legislative body of the same type will meet again in Russia. The belief is deep-rooted and wide-spread that if the third Duma proves a failure a new kind of assembly will be created, which many bureaucrats and some politicians think better suited to Russia than the Duma is. It would consist of fewer members, who would be elected not directly by the people, but by such elective corporations as urban municipalities and rural zemstvos, would sit about four months in the year, and would elect a permanent committee to prepare the materials, draft the bills and keep the machinery working smoothly. Whether this scheme will ever be realized is very doubtful, but it is not likely to be entertained unless the third Duma breaks down. And there are no good grounds for assuming that the vote on the naval estimates will prove the rock on which it will go to pieces.

On the whole, however, it cannot be gainsaid that the third

Duma falls far short of even moderate expectations. It moves at snail's pace and busies itself with the veriest trifles. Having worked seventeen days out of seventy before Christmas, it adjourned for a three weeks' rest. Yet, when legislative business was resumed on January 21st, there was hardly a quorum of a third of the members present. The Speaker, M. Khomiakoff, complained to a journalist lately that many deputies appear to have forgotten the existence of the Duma and of the Tavrida Palace, seeing that they have not once put in an appearance there since their arrival in the capital. He looks with disfavor on the practice of choosing for treatment petty questions that are devoid of interest and unlikely to arouse discussion — such as whether a certain sum should be given for the rent of a house for the guardians of the orphans of noblemen in the city of Perm, or whether the nuns of a certain convent in the south of Russia shall have their coughs and colds cured at the expense of the Crown or at their own. The result is that whereas the first Duma, which existed only for seventy days, drew up house rules for itself and also passed a public administrative law, the third Duma did less during the seventy days of its existence. The Speaker further explained that it is not in his power to expedite matters or even to sift the important from the unimportant bills —only the Chairmen of the Committees can do this. At present, he said, there are no urgent bills ready. No project can yet be laid before the upper chamber, although the Duma has dealt with eleven, "because the drafting committee has not once come together. And the very same thing is happening with other committees. . . . In Russia everything is fleeting. Thus there was a time when the zemstvos aroused intense interest; afterwards they were clean forgotten. . . . In the community no real genuine interest for anything is noticeable. If there be any it is artificial; this is true even of the interest shown in the Duma."

When the Speaker himself passes such a severe judgment on the Duma there must be something very defective somewhere.

But turn to whatever institution you may and you will find that the defects, not the qualities, are making themselves felt, and painfully felt, just now. The railway departments, the general staff of the Army, the Admiralty, the Ministry of Public Instruction, even the Most Holy Synod itself, are all sinning, or said to be sinning, against the interests of the nation. Take

the Most Holy Synod. That is a body of high ecclesiastical dignitaries, including the several Metropolitan Archbishops, which governs the Church instead of the patriarch, whose office was abolished by Peter the Great. This year the Emperor, exercising his legal right, himself appointed the several members of the higher clergy who are to take part in the labors of this session. And they have begun by disapproving those legislative bills which are grounded upon the scheme of religious toleration that was unfolded in the Imperial ukase of Easter, 1905. For example, it used to be a punishable offence in Russia for the members of any creed, except the established Orthodox Church, to seek to make proselytes. This law was then modified, and nobody was liable to punishment for converting or perverting a member of the Orthodox faith unless it could be shown that among the means employed there was an abuse of authority, compulsion, guile or a promise of recompense. Now the Most Holy Synod has given utterance to the view that the right of freely spreading its tenets belongs only to the Orthodox Church. As a corollary of this theory, the Synod asks that the prohibitions which formerly kept the members of rival creeds from enticing away sheep of the true fold shall be left in vigor. The liberal press is greatly indignant at this refusal of the prelates of the Church to dance to the piping of the latter-day tunes. But to the mere onlooker the danger seems unreal. For, after all, the Most Holy Synod represents one of the oldest Christian Churches in existence. It boasts that it has not changed since the death of Christ, and that it possesses the only true saving doctrine. Consequently, it would be unfair to upbraid the Most Holy Synod for wishing to spread the only true doctrine and for not altering with the times. Change may be good, desirable, urgent. But it is not in the Orthodox Church that one would naturally look for it. Another tranquillizing consideration is that the Most Holy Synod has the right of expostulating and recommending, but not of giving, laws to the Russian Empire. And until the principle of intolerance has been embodied in the penal code it is too early to complain.

There can be no doubt that the Orthodox Church has been sorely tried since the revolutionary movement began. Scores, nay, hundreds, of thousands of her nominal children have quitted the fold and gone over to the adversary, while many of those

who remain behind are openly fighting against the dogmas or the traditions of Orthodoxy. And now, whenever a prominent ecclesiastic is about to be severely punished, he generally escapes to the enemy's camp. It was thus that quite recently the Archimandrite, Michael, when on the point of being rigorously dealt with, announced that he had, as a Hibernian once put it, abandoned the errors of the Orthodox and embraced those of the Old Believers' Church. And now another ecclesiastical light has become a firebrand. Father Petroff, an esteemed popular preacher, falsely denounced by a brother clergyman, was recently called to account by his ecclesiastical superiors. Refusing to answer their questions, he has now written a letter to the Metropolitan Archbishop of St. Petersburg expounding his politico-religious views. And in this confession he reveals himself as a Socialist, a Utopist and a severe judge of Russian Autocracy and Orthodoxy.

Father Petroff affirms that, after nineteen centuries of Gospel preaching, there is no Christian form of government; that there is neither a Christian society nor a Christian State. "Kings take their realms for their estates, and look upon their people as their herds. In lieu of serving the nation, they want the nation to serve them. . . . '*Sacred* property' the highest classes term what they have wrested by violence or acquired by guile. When they owned slaves they bestowed upon them, too, the name of '*sacred* property.' . . . If the well-to-do could but seize the sky, the air, the ocean and the stars, they would declare all this their *sacred* property. They would let them at exorbitant rents and turn them into a source of unearned income."

Father Petroff stigmatizes war as scientifically arranged massacre, condemns capital punishment which is now an every-day occurrence in Russia, and makes the Monarch and his Ministers personally responsible for it. Nay, he bestows on them the name and the attributes of executioners. "The hangman is just such an instrument of punishment as are the gallows and the noose. It is a higher executioner who strangulates—viz., the judge who utters the death sentence. Aye, he who executes is the administrator who ratifies the sentence. He who strangulates is the Minister who erects gallows all over the country, and looks upon the gallows as his mainstay and his force. The hangman of the condemned is that supreme authority that sanctions the introduction of the gallows by the Minister."

The view taken by Father Petroff of the Church, of which until a few weeks back he was regarded as an ornament, is gloomy in the extreme, and will probably provoke his suspension as a clergyman and possibly his excommunication as well. The following passage from his unpublished letter to the Metropolitan Archbishop contains the gist of it: "The governing monks with their cold, lifeless, bony fingers have throttled the whole Russian Church, stifling its creative spirit; they have manacled the very Gospel and sold the Church as a mercenary to serve the ruling power. Pobiedonostseff's synodal department has made the Church, this bride of Christ's, the concubine of the State. There is no manner of violence, no sort of crime, no misdeed of the State-governing power which the Church-governing monks have not covered with their ecclesiastical mantle, have not hallowed."

Probably by the time this letter is in the hands of the readers of the REVIEW Father Gregory Petroff will have ceased to be a clergyman of the Russian Orthodox Church.

One of the gravest mistakes made by the present Cabinet is the postponement of departmental reform. Almost every Ministry is an Augean stable abounding in abuses which have done more to discredit the *régime* than all the arbitrary acts of the administration. The corruption of certain classes of officials, especially those who come in contact with foreign joint-stock companies and those who take the delivery of war-ships, etc., is proverbial. It might, of course, be equally great if Russia were a republic. But, as a matter of habit, everybody associates the *régime* with these abuses and makes the monarchy responsible for them. It is thus that the *régime* suffers from the odium that attaches to the Minister of Marine, although if it depended on the court these abuses would probably be swept away in a few months. It would, therefore, be a clear gain if the Cabinet purged the departments, raised salaries, penalized bribery and took efficacious means to have the law observed.

The law court at which the defenders of Port Arthur are being tried is another mud volcano. Daily it bespatters men who theretofore stood fairly well with their fellow citizens; General Kuropatkin is one of these. He deposed at the trial that Port Arthur was not, and could not be, a first-class fortress because it was built in two years, and no formidable stronghold could be constructed in that time. Moreover, the city of Dalny, which was "erected

by Witte unknown to Kuropatkin," annihilated the value of Port Arthur as a citadel. Kuropatkin swore to this deliberately. Then it was proven that his memory had played him false, that he had known all along of the scheme to build Dalny, approved it orally and in writing, and even proposed three names for the new city, none of which the Emperor accepted. It has also been shown that, when the Tsar sent him as War Minister to examine the state of Port Arthur about six months before the outbreak of the war, he reported to the monarch that "we may now be easy in mind about the fortress of Port Arthur. The fortifications of Port Arthur are coming to an end, and will render it, when adequately governed and victualled, impregnable by sea and by land. . . . At present there is no ground for alarm even if the greatest part of the Japanese army should attack Port Arthur. We have the force and the means of defending it alone against ten to fifteen enemies. . . . Now, therefore, we need not be anxious." As these two statements are contradictory, say the organs of the liberal press, it is fair to ask whether Kuropatkin was telling an untruth when he assured the Tsar before the war that Port Arthur was impregnable, or lately at Stoessel's trial when he informed the court that Port Arthur was a wretched makeshift of a stronghold and could not be otherwise. And the newspapers are now clamoring for his trial.

BERLIN, *February, 1908.*

ALTHOUGH the effects of the great financial crisis in America last November are gradually being overcome in Germany, as elsewhere, there are various more or less permanent factors in German and Prussian finance which, in view of the susceptibility of the Berlin Bourse to Wall Street influence, possess a more than purely Continental interest. Financial and commercial developments in the United States are followed with close attention in this country, and recent events in this sphere in America have been made the subject of repeated discussion in the Reichstag, as well as in the reports of Chambers of Commerce and other trade associations.

With regard to the crisis itself there is a wide-spread popular disposition to ascribe its origin to President Roosevelt's campaign against the Trusts, and it is felt that any attempt to impair the financial activity of the Trusts must, of necessity, react upon

the whole economic life of America. Due importance is attached to the President's view that the greater the crisis the sooner it will be overcome; but, in agreement with opinions which have already been expressed in the American Senate, it is held that the challenge to the Trusts has come too late. In other quarters it has been suggested that the whole crisis has been the result of a speculative attempt to influence prices on the international stock and money market. But, whatever the cause of the crisis may have been, its effects, as far as Germany is concerned, have been unmistakable. According to the official estimates of the Statistical Department, the fight for gold in America resulted in the export, during November alone, of nearly $40,000,000 of German gold, and the withdrawal of close upon $8,000,000 worth of gold from the Imperial Bank during the first week of that fateful month resulted in an increase of the official discount rate to seven and one-half per cent. It is not without a certain uneasiness that in agrarian circles, for example, it has been noted that on an average American exports to this country annually exceed in value German exports to the United States by some $125,000,000. In 1906 the excess was estimated at as much as $150,000,000. The American returns, it is true, estimate this excess at under $100,000,000. The discrepancy is admitted in this country, but it is maintained that for practical purposes there is no reason why raw materials, such as copper and cotton, which are destined for re-export in the form of manufactured goods, should not be included. But, whichever estimate is accepted, there undoubtedly remains a wide margin against Germany which is not covered by the earnings of the large shipping companies, like the North German Lloyd and the Hamburg American Line, or by the interest on American securities in German hands. In addition, there is the enormous sum of $75,000,000 for which German insurance companies have admitted liability in connection with the San Francisco earthquake.

In the mean time Germany is continually liable to have to submit to the withdrawal of large quantities of gold with calamitous results. The makeshift weapon of defence at the disposal of the Imperial Bank is an increase of the official discount rate to a prohibitive figure. A bank rate of seven per cent. at the beginning of 1907 and one of seven and one-half per cent. at the beginning of this year is a phenomenon which calls for remark,

and it is well to remember that, as far as Germany is concerned, quite apart from recent American requirements, these increases have been due to the overwhelming excess of demand over supply on the capital-market rather than to developments on the money market. Thus, according to the estimates of the "Cologne Gazette," at the close of the year 1906 the thirteen largest German banks had granted credits to the amount of considerably over $1,000,000,000; and although the figures for 1907 are not yet available, it is probable that this sum has been increased by anything from $200,000,000 to $250,000,000. This enormous increase in the demand for capital in its turn has been the result of a universal rise of prices and of the extraordinary growth of production. Side by side with these developments there has been an appreciable lessening of consumption and demand. Dearer credit has reacted upon the building industry, and the partial paralysis of this trade has in turn reacted upon the iron and steel industry, with the result that in a number of important centres production has been reduced or temporarily suspended. In January there were 30,000 unemployed in Berlin alone.

And yet, notwithstanding this array of eminently unfavorable factors, the recent crisis has shown the essential solidity of the foundations upon which German commerce and industry are based. The crisis came to a head at a moment when over-production and over-speculation had tied down large sums of capital in industrial undertakings. But thanks to the effective resistance of German industry and to the process of amalgamation which has been going on in an increasing number of its branches, the force of the blow was broken, and the German financial system has emerged from the ordeal shaken, but not discredited. If conditions in America exhibit any genuine signs of permanently settling down there is likely to be a corresponding return of confidence in this country.

But, as has already been indicated, there are unmistakable symptoms of the imminence of an industrial crisis in Germany, and although it is not yet possible to predict the proportions which it will assume, there is reason to fear that a second trying ordeal is in store. There can be no reasonable doubt that German industry, commerce and finance will survive this fresh trial, but the prospect of a repetition even on a small scale of the industrial collapse of 1900 has a depressing influence on trade.

The depression of trade, the increased cost of living and the prospect of still more unfavorable economic developments have been followed by a wave of political discontent. Quite apart from these factors, the period of comparative tranquillity in German foreign affairs which has succeeded the alarms of the last two or three years has given the German people leisure to inquire into their domestic affairs, and dissatisfaction with prevailing economic conditions has been transferred to the political sphere at home. In observant quarters it has long been felt that the artificiality of certain aspects of German *Weltpolitik* was, perhaps, not altogether unconnected with a desire to distract public attention from various domestic problems which the Government felt it inconvenient to approach. This policy of procrastination will now have to contend with an opposition which, once popular feelings have been aroused, it will be difficult to silence.

Engendered by discontent, and encouraged by the example of Austria last year, the agitation for a reform of the Prussian franchise, with its class system of suffrage, which even Bismarck was wont to describe as the worst in Europe, is in full swing, and although it would be hazardous to predict its chances of success, the Radicals and some of the Liberal elements, as well as the Social Democrats, have adopted this question as one of the integral planks in their platform. Like the Socialists, the Radicals have long made the Prussian franchise the subject of criticism in season and out of season. But while the former have elected to make street demonstrations their chief means of propaganda, the Radicals are minded to pursue the end in view in a more Parliamentary fashion. For the present, moreover, the Radicals are still sufficiently jealous of their position in the *Bloc* not to renounce their allegiance to Prince von Bülow, notwithstanding the fact that the Imperial Chancellor in his capacity as Prussian Minister-President is the strongest pillar of the conservative and reactionary *régime* in Prussia. The forthcoming campaign in connection with the elections to the Prussian Chamber is likely to make it plain what attitude the rank and file of the Radical party throughout the country are likely to compel their representatives to adopt. Theoretically and practically the course which the Social Democrats have chosen in transferring their agitation to the streets, and in trying the patience of the authorities by a series of more or less violent

demonstrations, is to be condemned. To render the principal thoroughfares of Berlin and other large towns unsafe for ordinary traffic is a proceeding which no political motives, however pardonable and natural in themselves, can excuse. Morally, however, the Socialists may claim in justification of their action that, debarred as they are for want of Parliamentary representation from stating their grievances in the Chamber, they have no other means of calling attention to the disabilities of the Prussian working-classes. And, indeed, it is a curious anomaly that, although in Prussia the Socialists poll almost as many votes as the Conservatives, who constitute nearly one-half of the whole Prussian Chamber, they have not a single representative in that House. The same voters, moreover, who as Prussians are debarred by the indirect suffrage system from returning a single deputy to the Lower House of the Prussian Diet, in their capacity as Germans, and under the universal, equal and direct suffrage which governs elections to the Reichstag, have been able to return as many as eighty members to the Diet of the Empire. The Conservatives alone feel it to be in their interest to maintain this Gilbertian situation which ascribes to one and the same person a higher or lower degree of political intelligence according as he is a German or a Prussian. The Prussian franchise as now constituted is the cornerstone of the whole reactionary edifice. But street demonstrations are worse than useless against Prussian Conservatism fighting with its back to the wall. The Government has already proclaimed its intention of dealing more severely with each successive demonstration as it takes place. The Socialist leaders would be ill-advised if they allowed the masses to get out of hand and to provoke the intervention of the military. The conditions of street warfare have changed since 1848, and the mob which should try to stand up to barricade itself against modern weapons of precision would soon be reduced to reason. The Government has accordingly shifted all responsibility for future developments in this direction on to the shoulders of the Social Democracy. As a matter of fact, the association of the Socialists with the franchise agitation is likely to make it unpopular, and to retard reform. A striking illustration of this political antipathy is to be found in the ultimate failure of the Socialists to defeat the Tariff in 1902-3, when their tactics ranged the opponents of the Tariff on the Government's side.

THE EDITOR'S DIARY.

We Make Reply to a Critic.

WE have received the following letter from Grand Rapids, Michigan:

"*To the Editor of The North American Review:*

"SIR,—I have been for more than a score of years a regular reader of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. There have been in the REVIEW from time to time through all of these years articles which I have felt to be more or less incorrect, but I have had no fault to find with the REVIEW because I have not approved of all that was in it. Its policy of neutrality, or of presenting both sides, in some of the most important matters of political and religious opinion I have held in high respect, although there have been times when the neutrality has seemed to be poorly maintained. But the REVIEW has been characterized by its very many valuable and able articles on a wide range of topics secured from many of the ablest men of this country and of other lands. I have generally looked to its coming with much interest and anticipation and have not often been much disappointed.

"For the last year or more I have found my appreciation of the REVIEW very much changed. It has indeed contained valuable articles,—the last number, that for December, 1907—notably so. But with these valuable articles there have been so many of so little value to very many, and I believe the large majority, of its readers, and with those so much of *editorial misstatement and misrepresentation*, that the perusal of the REVIEW has given me more of dissatisfaction than satisfaction. Without mentioning much of which I have disapproved, I wish to say that the personal attacks in the early part of the year upon President Roosevelt and Secretary Root in the Editor's Diary were, as it seemed to me, so unfair and misleading as to be outrageous. Nobody unless a very few extremists for 'States' rights,' such as the editor of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW has shown himself to be, has had at any time any fears or thoughts that the Constitutional rights of the States were in danger of being subverted by the President or his Cabinet. The *animus* of the editor's persistent misrepresentations was shown in the statement in the REVIEW for December, 1906, page 1325: '*In spite of the fact that the Union was and is no more than a compact for mutual protection and helpfulness of sovereign bodies politic.*' That statement is an *anachronism*—unworthy of a place

in any respectable publication of this century. It is the doctrine of Calhoun restated. It was precisely that doctrine that was responsible for secession and the terrible and prolonged civil war.

"The war finally settled forever that pernicious fallacy, and it is not creditable to the *intelligence*, much less to the *patriotism*, of any man in this century to exhume and attempt to revive that *long buried political heresy*. According to that doctrine, this country *is not now a nation*, but only a union by compact of sovereign States, notwithstanding that the *Constitution of the United States* begins: '*We the people of the United States*'—not we the several *sovereign States* of the United States—'do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.'

"I looked for months for an article in the REVIEW replying to the false position and misrepresentations of its Editor's Diary, but I have seen nothing. In the absence of any such reply, I regard it as only fair to a representative reader of the REVIEW and to its publishers and to the truth of history and the sentiment of the country—not to say to the President of the United States and his Secretary of State—that this *dissent* and *protest* shall be sent to you.

"I will add to the above that the screed in the Editor's Diary of the last number of the REVIEW, 'A Plea on Behalf of Satan,' is a piece of *tomfoolery* barren of humor as well as of sense, unworthy of the REVIEW.

"THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW has an honored history and prestige. It has been a medium of the discussion of great themes. Its readers have been people who could appreciate mature thoughts of the best minds on the great questions of the passing years. As a reader of the REVIEW I appeal to the publishers to maintain its prestige and increase rather than fritter away its value. Keep it worth the reading of the thoughtful and intelligent people, and it will not lack for readers. Fill it with worthless articles and let its editorial space be occupied with nonsense and with extinct or false political theories, and its influence will rapidly dwindle and its years be few.

"(*Sgd.*) THEO. D. MARSH.

The reverend gentleman who writes this letter is professionally, and doubtless personally, concerned in furthering the moral welfare of men, including, as it seems, our own. That we have some virtues he has attested, and thanks are due to him for his generous recognition of them; for, when a man is angry with his neighbor, it costs him usually an added pain to pause in his denunciatory speech, and to admit that the object of what he deems his righteous wrath is not wholly worthy of condemnation. It is true that our stern judge does not extend his mercy promiscuously, for he excludes from it the Diary; but such is his apparent love of justice that we are tempted to make an effort to show him that he is not warranted in his feeling.

What is this woful anathema against the playful "plea in behalf of Satan"? The subject is not taboo; indeed, better men than we have sported with it. Of course, there was no sense in the little piece if it was, indeed, "a piece of tomfoolery," nor yet could any man of wholesome sense be rid of his occasional fooleries without injury to his own nature. "Foolery, sir," said the clown to Viola, "does walk about the orb like the sun; it shines everywhere." And Horatius Flaccus sang his conviction that it is wholesome on occasion to indulge in foolery. So Shakespeare and Horace, who could be grave enough, possessed also their humor and were grateful for it. Neither they nor we admit that "tomfoolery" is necessarily without humor. We would be sorry to offend any of the cherished prejudices or wound the sensibilities of an admirer of our grave contributors, but it is clear from the context of this letter that its writer was in no mood to enjoy humor or even to recognize its presence. That, however, is a matter of slight importance compared with our correspondent's animadversions upon our criticism of the President and some of his policies.

If we may be permitted to say so without being accused of undue irreverence, those who are partisans of our present President are, like him, almost inevitably the victims of desultory tempests of passion whenever he, or his "policies," are criticised. These victims of wrath seem to lose their hold upon the "vantage-ground of truth." They deny what is. They assert what is not. They will contradict the evidence of their senses. Here, for example, is our correspondent asserting that we are guilty of "editorial misstatement and misrepresentation," and charging us with making "personal attacks" upon the President and Secretary Root that are "so unfair and misleading as to be outrageous," his specification being that we have pretended to fear that the "constitutional rights of the States were in danger of being subverted by the President or his Cabinet." What can such sweeping assertions indicate but that, in the imaginations of some men, one cannot differ with Mr. Roosevelt without making a "personal attack" upon him? If Mr. Roosevelt should contend that the markings upon Mars were lines of troops eager to pounce upon this unready earth, and if the gentle Lowell should insist that they were merely peaceable canals, such persons would condemn the astronomer, and hector him for his "personal abuse" of the

President. It should not be necessary to remind any of our readers that there is no "personal attack" involved in merely differing with the President, but we fear it would be useless to attempt to explain the matter to those who think that there is.

For the rest, there is set forth in the very article for which the Rev. Dr. Marsh condemns us abundant proof, in Secretary Root's own quoted words, that it has been, and is, the purpose of the President—his purpose having been expressed by the Secretary of State and by himself—that the Federal Government shall hold itself ready in certain contingencies to usurp, by the indirect and indefensible method of "constructions" of the Constitution, powers that constitutionally belong to the States. Here is one of the Secretary's pronouncements, quoted in the condemned article, on the occasion of the celebrated Pennsylvania dinner: "New projects of national control are mooted; control of insurance, uniform divorce laws, child-labor laws, and many others affecting matters formerly entirely within the cognizance of the States are proposed." And then this direful threat is made: "If the States fail to provide it [the control which they have the power to exercise] in due measure, sooner or later constructions of the Constitution will be found to vest the power where it will be exercised—in the National Government."

That, in our criticism of Mr. Roosevelt, we did not "misstate and misrepresent" his belief—to the effect that many of the most important, the vital, powers of the States should be taken from them by the Federal Government for its own use, and that by unlawful constructions, or by usurpation, and not by orderly legal amendment—there is proof to be found in this speech of Mr. Root's and in a number of speeches by the President himself: as we have said, there was, indeed, proof of it in the very article in his strictures upon which Dr. Marsh denies, with explanatory heat, the truth of our criticism.

As to the remarks upon the constitutional propriety of the phrase touching the character of the Federal Government ("the Union was and is no more than a compact for mutual protection and helpfulness of sovereign bodies politic") there is need to say little. The phrase had no such meaning as is attributed to it in this letter. The fallacy in the old "compact" theory which, as Dr. Marsh says, the "war finally settled" was that the compact between the States was dissoluble, but that theory

is now so long obsolete that no one refers to it even by indirection. The war certainly, however, did not destroy the sovereignty of the States. All government is an agent for the general welfare, while our Federal Union is also an agent for the States, which, in their spheres, as all the judges of the Supreme Court have always said, are as completely sovereign as is the Federal Government in its sphere. Dr. Marsh is led a good way by his feelings—as is illustrated by his apparent condemnation of the notion that ours is a union of sovereign States. He cannot mean this—although he seems to; for the Union is, indeed, a union of this character, as the Supreme Court has again declared in two cases decided within the year. And one word more; he who insists most strongly upon the rights of the States is he, as a rule, who will also insist most soundly, for he will discriminate accurately, upon the powers of the Federal Government.

LA SENTENCOJ DE SALOMONO.*

(El la Biblio.)

EL LA ORIGINALO TRADUKIS, L. L. ZAMENHOF.

ĈAPITRO VIII.

(1) Ĉu ne vokas la saĝo kaj ĉu la prudento ne aŭdigas sian voĉon? (2) Ĝi staras sur la pinto de altaĵoj, apud la vojo, ĉe la vojkruciĝoj. (3) Apud la pordegoj, ĉe la eniro en la urbon, ĉe la eniro tra la pordoj ŝi kantas: (4) Al vi, ho viroj, mi vokas, kaj mia voĉo sin turnas al la homoj: (5) Komprenu, malsaĝuloj, la prudenton, kaj sensprituloj prenu en la koron. (6) Aŭskultu, ĉar mi parolos gravaĵon kaj ĝustaĵo eliros el mia buŝo. (7) Ĉar mia lango parolos veron, kaj malpiaĵon abomenas miaj ipoj. (8) Justaj estas ĉiuj paroloj de mia buŝo, ili ne enhavas falson kaj malicon. (9) Ĉiuj ili estas ĝustaj por tiu, kiu ilin komprenas, kaj justaj por tiuj, kiuj akiris scion. (10) Prenu mian instruon, kaj ne arĝenton, kaj la scion ŝatu pli, ol plej puran oron. (11) Ĉar saĝo estas pli bona ol multekostaj ŝtonoj, kaj nenio, kion oni povas deziri, povas esti egala al ĝi. (12) Mi, saĝo, loĝas kun la sprito, kaj mi trovas prudentajn konsilojn. (13) Timo antaŭ Dio malamas malbonon, fieron, malhumilon kaj malbonan vojon; malsinceran buŝon mi malamas. (14) De mi venas konsilo kaj bonarangxo; mi estas prudento, al mi apartenas forto. (15) Per mi regas la reĝoj kaj la estroj donas leĝojn de justeco. (16) Per mi regas la princoj kaj la potenculoj kaj ĉiuj juĝantoj sur la tero. (17) Mi amas miajn amantojn, kaj miaj serĉantoj

* Dr. Zamenhof has made this translation of Proverbs from the original text especially for THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. The first chapter appeared in the December, 1907, issue. The subsequent chapters will be published during 1908.

min trovos. (18) Riĉo kaj gloro estas ĉe mi, daŭra havo kaj justo. (19) Mia frukto estas pli bona ol oro kaj ol plej pura oro, kaj la rikolto de mi estas pli bona, ol elektita arĝento. (20) Laŭ la vojo de vero mi iras, laŭ la vojstreko de la justo. (21) Por heredigi al miaj amantoj esencan bonon kaj plenigi iliajn trezorejojn. (22) Dio min havis en la komenco de sia vojo, antaŭ Siaj kreitaĵoj, tre antikve. (23) Antaŭ eterno Li sanktoleis min, en la komenco, antaŭ la kreo de la tero. (24) Kiam ne ekzistis ankoraŭ la abismoj, mi estis jam naskita, kiam ne ekzistis ankoraŭ fontoj, ŝprucigantaj akvon; (25) antaŭ ol la montoj estis starigitaj, antaŭ la altaĵoj mi estis kreita; (26) kiam la tero ne estis ankoraŭ farita, nek la ebenaĵoj, nek la komencaj polveroj de la mondo. (27) Dum Li firmigis la ĉielojn, mi jam estis tie; dum Li desegnis limojn sur la supraĵo de la abismo. (28) Dum Li fortikigis la nubojn supre, dum Li firmigis la fontojn de la abismo; (29) dum Li donis Sian leĝon al la maro, por ke la akvoj ne transpaŝu siajn bordojn, kaj dum Li leĝigis la fundamentojn de la tero: (30) tiam mi estis ĉe Li konstruanto, mi estis la ĝojo de ĉiuj tagoj, ludante antaŭ Li ĉiutempe. (31) Mi ludas sur Lia mondo-tero, kaj mia ĝojo estas inter la homidoj. (32) Kaj nun, infanoj, aŭskultu min, kaj feliĉaj estos tiuj, kiuj iras laŭ miaj vojoj. (33) Aŭskultu instruon kaj saĝiĝu kaj ne forĵetu ĝin. (34) Feliĉa estas la homo, kiu min aŭskultas, kiu maldormas ĉiutage ĉe miaj pordoj, kiu staras garde ĉe la fostoj de miaj pordegoj. (35) Ĉar kiu min trovis, trovis vivon kaj akiros favoron de Dio. (36) Sed kiu pekas kontraŭ mi, difektas sian animon; ĉiuj, kiuj min malamas, amas la morton.

ĈAPITRO IX.

(1) La saĝo konstruis sian domon, ĉarpentis ĝiajn sep kolonojn. (2) Ĝi buĉis sian bruton, versis sian vinon kaj pretigis sian tablon. (3) Ĝi sendis siajn servantinojn, por anonci sur la pintoj de la altaĵoj de la urbo: (4) kiu estas malsaĝa, tiu sin turnu ĉi tien! al la senspritulo ĝi diris: (5) venu, manĝu de mia pano kaj trinku el la vino, kiun mi enversis. (6) Forlasu la malsaĝaĵon kaj vivu kaj iru laŭ la vojo de la prudento. (7) Kiu instruas blasfemiston, prenas sur sin malhonoron, kaj kiu penas ĝustigi malpiulon, estas mokata. (8) Ne penu ĝustigi blasfemanton, ke li vin ne malamu; penu ĝustigi saĝulon, kaj

li vin amos. (9) Donu al saĝulo, kaj li ankoraŭ pli saĝiĝos; instruu justulon, kaj li lernos pli. (10) La komenco de la saĝo estas timo antaŭ Dio, kaj ekkono de sanktaj aferoj estas prudento. (11) Ĉar per mi plimultiĝos viaj tagoj kaj aldoniĝos al vi jaroj de vivo. (12) Se vi saĝiĝis, vi saĝiĝis por vi, kaj se vi blasfemas, vi sola suferos. (13) Virino malsaĝa, bruema, sensprita kaj nenion scianta (14) sidas ĉe la pordo de sia domo sur seĝo sur altaĵo de la urbo; (15) por voki la pasantojn, kiuj iras sian ĝustan vojon: (16) kiu estas malsaĝa, tiu sin turnu ĉi tien! kaj al la senspritulo ŝi diris: (17) akvoj ŝtelitaj estas dolĉaj, kaj pano kaŝita estas agrabla. (18) Kaj li ne scias, ke tie estas mortintoj kaj ŝiaj invititoj estas en la profunda infero.

ĈAPITRO X.

(1) Sentencoj de Salomono. Saĝa filo estas ĝojo por sia patro, kaj filo malsaĝa estas malĝojo por sia patrino. (2) Maljustaj trezoroj ne donas utilon, sed bonfaremo savas de morto. (3) Dio ne malsatigos animon de piulo, sed la avidon de malpiulo Li forpuŝas. (4) Maldiligenta mano malriĉigas, sed mano de diligentuloj riĉigas. (5) Kiu kolektas dum la somero, estas filo saĝa, sed kiu dormas en la tempo de rikolto, estas filo hontinda. (6) Beno estas sur la kapo de piulo, sed la buŝo de malpiulo estas plena de krimo. (7) La memoro de piulo estas benata, sed la nomo de malpiuloj forputros. (8) Kiu havas saĝan koron, tiu akceptos moralordonojn, sed kiu havas malsaĝan buŝon, tiu estos batita. (9) Kiu iras en senkulpeco, iras sendanĝere, sed kiu kurbigas siajn vojojn, estos punita. (10) Kiu grimacas per la okulo, kaŭzos suferon, kaj kiu havas malsaĝan buŝon, tiu estos batita. (11) La buŝo de piulo estas fonto de vivo, sed la buŝo de malpiulo estas plena de krimo. (12) Malamo kaŭzas malpacon, sed amo kovras ĉiujn pekojn. (13) Sur la lipoj de prudentulo troviĝas saĝo, sed vergo apartenas al la dorso de sensaĝulo. (14) Saĝuloj konservas la scion, sed la buŝo de malsaĝulo estas proksima al la pereo. (15) La havo de riĉulo estas lia fortika urbo, sed pereo por la malriĉuloj estas ilia malriĉo. (16) La faroj de piulo estas por la vivo, la enspezoj de malpiulo estas por peko. (17) Kiu konservas la instruon, iras al vivo, sed kiu forĵetas atentigon, restas en eraro. (18) Kiu kaŝas malamon, tiu havas falseman buŝon, kaj kiu elirigas kalumnion, tiu estas malsaĝulo. (19) Ĉe multo da vortoj ne

evitebla estas peko, sed kiu retenas siajn lipojn, estas saĝa. (20) La lango de piulo estas plej bonspeca arĝento, la koro de malpiuloj estas kiel nenio. (21) La lipoj de piulo gvidas multajn, sed malsaĝuloj mortas pro manko de saĝo. (22) La beno de Dio riĉigas, kaj malĝojo ne aliĝas al ĝi. (23) Por malsaĝulo estas ĝojo fari malbonon, kaj saĝo—por saĝulo. (24) Kio timigas malpiulon, tio trafos lin, kaj kion deziras piuloj, tio estos donita al ili. (25) Kiel pasanta ventego, tiel malpiulo rapide malaperas. Sed piulo havas eternan fundamenton. (26) Kiel la vinagro por la dentoj kaj la fumo por la okuloj, tiel la maldiligentulo estas por tiuj, kiuj lin sendis. (27) La timo antaŭ Dio multigas la tagojn, sed la jaroj de malpiuloj estos mallongigitaj. (28) La atendo de piuloj fariĝos ĝojo, sed la espero de malpiuloj pereos. (29) La vojo de Dio estas defendo por la senpekulo kaj pereo por la malbonfarantoj. (30) Piulo neniam falpuŝiĝos, sed la malpiuloj ne restos sur la tero. (31) La buŝo de piulo eligas saĝon, sed lango falsema estos ekstermita. (32) La lipoj de piulo anoncas favorajon, kaj la buŝo de malpiuloj—malicajon.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER.

Oscar S. Straus,

Secretary of Commerce and Labor, was born in Otterberg, Rhenish Bavaria, in 1850, and came to the United States with his parents in 1854. He graduated at Columbia University in 1871. He was appointed United States Minister to Turkey by President Cleveland in 1887, and by President McKinley in 1898. Mr. Straus is a prominent and active member of several important boards and associations. He is the author of a number of volumes of a historical character, and was appointed a member of the permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of ex-President Harrison.

The Most Rev. John Ireland,

a distinguished prelate of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States who is held in high honor by his fellow citizens of all parties and creeds, was born in Ireland in 1838, and came to the United States in his boyhood. He was educated at the Cathedral School, St. Paul, Minnesota, and at the Petit Seminaire, Meximeux, France; and he studied theology at the Grand Seminaire, Hyeres, France. He was ordained to the priesthood in 1861, and served as Chaplain to the Fifth Minnesota Regiment during the Civil War. Thereafter, he was, successively, rector of the St. Paul Cathedral, and coadjutor to Bishop Grace of that diocese. In May, 1888, he became Archbishop of St. Paul.

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graduated at West Point in 1870. He forthwith joined the Third Cavalry as second lieutenant, was shortly transferred to the Seventh Cavalry, and was engaged in reconstruction duty with his regiment in the South from 1871 to 1873. He was a member of the Stanley expedition against the Sioux Indians, and took part in the engagement of the Big

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is a native of Italy, and came to this country in his childhood. For years he has held a prominent position in the Italian colony in New York City. In 1904 he was appointed by Mayor McClellan Deputy Chief of the Bureau of Licenses for the boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx. He received special recognition from the Italian Government for writing two articles entitled "The Truth about the Italian Immigrant" and "A Defence of the Italians in America."

JOSEPH B. FORAKER

has for many years taken a distinguished part in public affairs. After graduating at Cornell in 1869, he was admitted to the bar, and in 1879 he was elevated to the bench as Judge of the Superior Court of Cincinnati. He was elected Governor of Ohio in 1885 and 1887. He was chairman of the Republican Conventions in Ohio on several occasions, and six times he has been sent to the National Republican Convention as delegate-at-large from Ohio. He presented the name of William McKinley to the Conventions of 1896 and 1900. He was elected to the Senate in 1897.

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was admitted to the bar of the District of Columbia in 1886 and of the United States Supreme Court in 1889.

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Charles Johnston

was born at Ballykilbeg, County Down, Ireland, in 1867, and educated at Trinity College, Dublin. For several years he was Assistant, and, later, Deputy Magistrate at Murshidabad, in Lower Bengal, and afterwards at Cuttack, in the District of Orissa. In 1891 he returned to England from India, and spent the subsequent four years on the Continent, travelling in Belgium, Holland, Germany, Russia, Austria and France. Since 1896 he has resided in the United States.

Julius Chambers,

journalist and author, graduated from Cornell University in 1870. He studied law in the office of United States Attorney-General Brewster in Philadelphia, and in the Columbia College Law School. He was managing-editor of the New York "Herald" from 1886 to 1889, and of the New York "World" from 1899 to 1891.

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THE SPIRIT AND LETTER OF EXCLUSION.

BY OSCAR S. STRAUS, SECRETARY OF COMMERCE AND LABOR.

THE question of immigration has been of great importance to the United States since the beginning of our history. It has changed materially in many respects with the growth and development of the country, but with the changes that have taken place the question itself has steadily increased in vital importance. In the beginning, we depended wholly upon the migrations from older nations of the world to this continent; but even then the migrations differed essentially from the migrations of earlier ages. The latter were due to different causes, and were for different purposes from those which impelled the migrations to our part of the continent. Formerly migrations were *en masse,* not individualistic. They were undertaken for the benefit of the state from which the migrants came. In all considerations of the question as it pertains to the United States, a clear line of distinction must be drawn between that form of migration and this, which is individualistic.

Up to the close of the Civil War all of our laws upon this subject were framed with a view to encouraging immigration. From that time on, legislation was directed toward the elimination of undesirable immigration. First, it pertained principally to criminals and paupers, who did not come to us of their own

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volition, but because their governments desired to be rid of them. Later, the laws which have been passed on the subject, while in no way hostile to immigration as such, have proceeded upon the general policy of selection, thereby excluding more and more individuals coming under the general designation of "undesirable classes."

The profound importance of the subject as a whole appears in the fact that the total number of aliens admitted during the past year was 1,285,349, which exceeded that of the fiscal year of 1906 by 184,614, and that of the fiscal year of 1905 by 258,850. The external impelling causes are, generally, religious oppression and economic pressure. The internal causes are commercial prosperity and the opportunities and advantages that are afforded for better conditions in our free, democratic country; so that our immigration, at large, is really an index of our prosperity.

The legislative regulation of immigration also presents an increasingly complex problem as the jurisdiction of the United States expands. It would be relatively simple if the nation were small and compact, with industrial operations so generally alike as to be susceptible of a uniform system. But the industries and occupations of the people of the United States are greatly diversified and are carried on under widely varying conditions. Moreover, instead of being confined to a single, contracted area, the jurisdiction of the nation extends to such distant and far-separated possessions as Alaska, Panama, Porto Rico, Hawaii, Guam and the Philippines.

These outlying possessions not only differ from the body of the continental territory as to their position and needs with regard to labor and immigration, but they differ likewise among themselves. A particular policy of restriction, in the matter of immigration, expressly designed to meet the situation on the mainland, cannot be perfectly adapted to the needs of insular communities, each of which has its own industrial problems to solve.

The need of differentiation in the regulation of immigration was brought home to me with great force during the past summer, when, besides actually viewing the administration of immigration laws along the borders of Canada and on the Pacific coast, I personally visited the Hawaiian Islands, and saw for myself something of the effect of these laws upon the occupations of the people. As the result of this experience and of the best consid-

eration I have been able to give the subject, I believe that special attention should be directed to the question of immigration into the insular possessions of the United States. The conditions peculiar to these several possessions should be taken into account and provided for.

The significance of the term "Undesirable Classes," when applied to immigrants with a view to elimination by exclusion, may differ materially according to the needs of the locality in question. In the East, the main objection to the greatly increased immigration during the past decade arises from the congestion and consequent evils caused thereby in our large Atlantic seaport cities. In the West, the question of Chinese immigration presents a problem of long standing.

The present policy of the United States toward Chinese immigration has existed for nearly a generation. A governmental policy so long pursued is not to be lightly changed, nor is it the present purpose to suggest any change, so far as the spirit of the policy is concerned. What I would urge is not only based on a full recognition of the fixed character of the present policy, but is entirely in furtherance of it. It is only suggested that the letter of the law, as expressed and enforced to-day, may not be so effectively and harmoniously in accord with the spirit of the policy as it might be. It is not the policy of the Government with reference to Chinese immigration, but the manner in which it is, of necessity, carried out, by reason of the way in which the laws are framed, that causes constant friction and dissatisfaction.

It has been the policy of this Government, as would appear from its laws and treaties, to exclude persons of the Chinese race merely because they are Chinese, regardless of the class to which they belong, and without reference to their age, sex, culture, or occupation, or the object of their coming to this country, or the length of their stay in it. The real purpose of the Government's policy is to exclude a particular and well-defined class, leaving other classes of Chinese—except as they, in common with all other foreigners, may be included within the prohibitions of the general immigration laws—as free to come and go as the citizens or subjects of any other nation.

As the laws are framed, however, it would appear as if the purpose were rigidly to exclude persons of the Chinese race in general, and to admit only such persons of the race as fall within

certain expressly stated exemptions. I regard this feature of the present laws as unnecessary and fraught with irritating consequences. In the administration of the laws as framed, no matter what care is taken to treat with courtesy and consideration persons of the Chinese race who are lawfully entitled to admission, it is impossible that those who have to endure the formalities required of them should fail to take offence and to resent as a humiliation the manner in which by law they are distinguished from natives of other countries. Laws so framed can only be regarded as involving a discrimination on account of race, though discriminations on account of race, color, previous condition or religion, are alike opposed to the principles of the Republic and to the spirit of its institutions.

It is not surprising, therefore, that both the Chinese Government and the Chinese people should feel aggrieved, and should in various ways manifest their resentment and their displeasure. The attitude of the Chinese Government may be inferred from the fact that in 1904, after the convention of 1894 had been in force ten years, China availed herself of her reserved right and formally denounced the treaty, refusing longer to be a party to an arrangement which, as carried into effect, was offensive to her national pride.

The understanding in China, her officials contended, was that the object both of the treaty and of the laws was to exclude laborers; not that the enumeration of certain exempt classes should operate as an exclusion of all other classes and of laborers besides; while the interpretation of our laws on the subject was declared to be not only that those Chinese shall be excluded who are expressly forbidden entrance—namely, laborers—but that only those may be admitted who are expressly allowed.

For proof of the feeling of the Chinese people it is only necessary to refer to the boycott of American goods, inaugurated by various trade guilds and business and commercial associations of the Empire during the summer of 1905. At that time China held first rank among Oriental countries as a consumer of American products. In that year, her total commerce amounted to $497,000,000, of which $329,000,000 were imports; $57,000,000, or more than seventeen per cent., being supplied by the United States. The exports from the United States to China had grown to these proportions by rapid strides. They were less than $3,-

000,000 in the seventies. They only reached $7,500,000 in 1886, $12,000,000 in 1897, $15,000,000 in 1900, $24,000,000 in 1902, $57,000,000 in 1905. It was reasonable to believe that American trade would continue to progress in something like the same ratio, and a larger and larger share of the foreign trade of China accrue to the United States. Instead of that, the exports of the United States to China, according to our statistics, fell to $44,000,000 in 1906, and to $26,000,000 in 1907.

It is not necessary to attribute the decline wholly to the boycott of 1905, but a drop in our exportations to that country of fifty per cent. in two years is sufficiently startling to challenge attention. But on higher grounds than those of mere commercial interest should the frame of the laws be changed. The relations between China and the United States have always been most friendly. It is not only the right but the duty of this Government, for its own protection and for the security and welfare of its citizens, to exclude foreigners from its territory whenever public interests so require. But to so exercise that right as to needlessly offend the *amour propre* of a friendly nation, or unnecessarily to humiliate a whole people when only a particular class is to be reached, cannot be the action intended.

I would not suggest a change in the established policy of rigidly excluding Chinese laborers of every description, both skilled and unskilled. The policy has been and will continue to be as effectively enforced as circumstances will permit. But, at a time when this policy of exclusion has been so thoroughly applied that there remain in the United States only about 70,000 Chinese—less than one-tenth of one per cent. of our population—little danger need be apprehended from a full and fair reconsideration of the subject and a recasting of the laws upon a juster basis. Indeed, a more opportune moment than the present can hardly be desired for reaching a better understanding with China on the subject of Chinese immigration, and for adjusting the letter to the spirit of our national policy of exclusion.

By making admission the rule, and exclusion the exception, we could easily preserve the present policy in all its integrity, and even strengthen the real prohibitory features thereof, at the same time entirely removing a material cause of friction, dissatisfaction and unnecessary humiliation to the people of a friendly nation.

OSCAR S. STRAUS.

THE DOGMATIC AUTHORITY OF THE PAPACY.

THE ENCYCLICAL ON MODERNISM.

BY THE MOST REVEREND JOHN IRELAND, ARCHBISHOP OF ST. PAUL.

THE article in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for last December, from the pen of Mr. Charles Johnston, "The Catholic Reformation and the Papacy," covers much ground, nearly the whole history of the Papacy. Lest I be unreasonably lengthy in my reply, I will confine myself to what I take to be the main point at issue, "the dogmatic despotism of the Papacy," with particular reference to the recent Encyclical on Modernism.

The term "despotism" is too violent to be accepted, without due reservation, even for argument's sake: it is, at first encounter at least, too redolent of arbitrariness and of assumed power to suit my Catholic taste. I should prefer the term "authority," and to say, instead of the dogmatic despotism, the dogmatic authority of the Papacy. But with this remark I let the matter pass.

According to Mr. Johnston the Papacy is wrong when, at any time, it undertakes to be dogmatic, to teach, to impose upon the human intellect dogmas of religion: it is estopped, he maintains, from doing so by the example of Christ and the Apostles, by the fact that Christianity is not a religion of dogmas or creeds, but, instead, a life, a hope, an inspiration. Mr. Johnston adopts as his own the words of the Milanese Review, "*Il Rinnovamento*":

> "Christianity is life: it is unquenchable aspiration; it is hope; it is a striving of the whole being towards that which in life partakes of the eternal. . . . It is in vain that we try to enclose Christianity in intellectual systems and definite expressions of development. . . . And if we deem possible a new Christian civilization it is on one condition: that the spirit of Christ signifies the spirit of liberation, no

one seeking to confine it to his own theories, hypotheses or systems; but each one feeling it as an imminent command in his heart to uplift his life in all its activities."

Doubtless, if religion is merely "life," dogmas and creeds are doomed: a teacher of positive, objective doctrine is at once ruled out of court. And this, I may be allowed to note, is the popular religion of the day. To-day the cry is: "No dogma, no creed! Only the life of the spirit, the good man following out in daily practice the rulings of conscience." But is this creedless, undogmatic religion the Christian religion? "*Il Rinnovamento,*" again quoted approvingly by Mr. Johnston, continues:

"Where do we find Jesus claiming despotic authority over men's intellects, and demanding that they shall renounce their convictions? . . . Jesus does not say: 'Whoever dares to talk otherwise than I, let him be anathema.' He does say: 'Come unto Me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.' . . . Jesus does not say: 'Whosoever does depart from the orthodox faith, let him die the death.' He does say: 'He that hath My commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth Me.'"

Unhappily for Mr. Johnston and "*Il Rinnovamento,*" and also for the popular religion of the day, what is given as not said by Christ is precisely what Christ did say. The commission to the Apostles was: "Go ye into the whole world, and preach the Gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved: but he that believeth not shall be condemned"; or, as King James's version reads, "shall be damned." The Apostles are bidden to preach, to teach: to their preaching and teaching intellectual assent must be given: where such assent is refused, "anathema" is pronounced, damnation is threatened.

The religion put forth by Christ was a dogmatic religion—a series of facts and principles, to which, under severest penalty, absolute submission of mind must be accorded. Christ was the teacher, the bearer of a message, to which the mind of the hearer was to be set in unison, and, afterwards, under the influence of the mind, the other faculties of the soul. The faith required from disciples was, before all else, an assent of the intellect. "To this end was I born and for this came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth." "If ye continue in My words, then ye are My disciples, and ye shall know the truth." Christ taught His personal rank and dignity, His Mes-

siahship, His divine sonship, His oneness with the Father: He taught His right to revise and reinterpret the Mosaic Law, His power to forgive sins: He taught the establishment of His Church, the giving of His flesh to eat and of His blood to drink, the coming of the Holy Spirit, the communication of His own mission to the Apostles. We need not now discuss the precise meaning of those several preachings of Christ: but a meaning to them there surely was, and that meaning, such as He intended it, was to be accepted, believed, even though, as in the Sixth Chapter of John, the announcement was "a hard saying," from which the multitude had turned in scorn. The faith Christ called for was belief in His words, submission to His authority as Master and Teacher.

The Apostles knew of none other than a dogmatic religion; they allowed none other to their disciples. Theirs was a religion of faith—of faith that came from hearing: "Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of Christ." The purpose of the Apostolic preaching was to destroy "every height that exalted itself against the knowledge of God," and to bring "into captivity every understanding unto the obedience of Christ." What the Apostles taught was the "deposit," a substantial doctrine, no mere aspiration of the soul: it was "the faithful word which is according to doctrine." It was "the sound doctrine" by which the gainsayers were to be convinced; it was "the form of sound words." The disciples were exhorted to walk "confirmed in the faith" as they had "learned it," not cheated "by philosophy or vain deceits," not carried about "by every wind of doctrine." Whenever necessary, they were to be rebuked sharply, "that they may be sound in the faith." Were any one to teach differently from what had been once declared, were he a very angel from heaven, he is accursed. Whoever departs from the faith, "who continueth not in the doctrine of Christ," is to be avoided, not even noticed with a friendly salute. And "the faith" was "once for aye delivered to the saints": it was to be transmitted to others with most sacred care. "Keep the good deposit committed to thy trust," wrote Paul; "O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding the profane novelties of words and oppositions of knowledge falsely so called."

Plainly, the religion preached by the Apostles was a dogmatic religion, having a well-defined creed, a "faithful word," a "form

of sound words"; and the prime duty imposed upon succeeding Christian teachers was to guard well this "faithful word," this "form of sound words," to hold it unsullied "by vain philosophies and profane novelties of words." What else, we may say, is Pius X doing in his Encyclical but obeying those solemn injunctions? Paul speaks; Pius X follows out his injunctions.

Christ, indeed, was "the life": He came to beget in humanity a new life, arousing it from sinfulness and lethargy, lifting it towards the skies, quickening it into the very life of the Godhead. But before Christ was the life, He was the truth: "I am the way, the truth and the life." He first addresses the intellect, laying before it the principles and truths, through which the heart and the will are to be moved into life and action. Any other course of evangelization were a lowering of human dignity, a treatment of man as if man were merely a creature of sense and emotion: and it were, also, a mere beating of the air, necessarily void of substantial and enduring effect. Of itself, the will is blind: it requires illumination and guidance from the intellect. A mere call to regeneration is sterile sound. There is no real moral elevation that is not based upon principles; there is no life-giving religion that is not endowed with a fertilizing creed.

In teaching a dogmatic religion, Pius X has fullest warrant from Christ and the Apostles. Indeed, did he not teach, did he not raise aloud the cry of alarm when peril is nigh, he would be faithless to his trust, heedless to his commission: "Teach all nations." The hour came to the Papacy when speech was an imperative duty: the Encyclical on Modernism followed.

The Encyclical is not, as some have imagined who judged it from its title without a glance through its contents, a condemnation of the Twentieth Century—of the material and social progress which is the proud boast of the age. Far from this: the Encyclical applauds our material and social achievements. Quoting the words of his predecessor, Pius X writes:

> "Apply yourselves energetically to the study of natural sciences: the brilliant discoveries and the bold and useful applications made of them in our times, which have won such applause from our contemporaries, will be an object of perpetual praise to those that come after us."

Nor in any sense is the Encyclical what Mr. Johnston asserts it to be—a repulse of intellectual life:

"It is both interesting and ominous to find the Vatican seeking thus to stem the tide of intellectual life, and ordering the combating of error even to the shedding of blood."

If Mr. Johnston has in mind the tide of intellectual life outside the region of divine revelation, he may lay down his fears. Divine revelation alone enters into the province of Papal vigilance. Other branches of knowledge the Church leaves to their own methods and their own ambitions. Whenever it is found in contact with them, it is only for the purpose of stimulating them to more fruitful growth: and how beneficial in this regard its co-operation has been history bears ample testimony. True, in the Syllabus of Errors, given out by a Roman Congregation shortly before the appearance of the Encyclical, a condemned proposition reads as follows: "Under no respect does it appertain to the Church to pass judgment concerning the assertions of human sciences." But Mr. Johnston misreads the proposition when he renders it into this general form, "The Church has the right to pass judgment on natural sciences." Upon the rigid, well-ascertained discoveries and conclusions of science the Church passes no judgment; what it arraigns before its tribunal, and with plenary right on its part, are "the assertions" of certain scientists, in contradiction with the teachings of revelation, whose sayings, far from being well-established conclusions, are simply, as the Encyclical calls them, "opinions" and "vagaries."

The Encyclical is a defence of religious truth against certain vital errors that have come into vogue, inside and outside the Catholic Church, in these modern times. Against those errors it declares a relentless war, in which, however, the arms brought into use will be those of reason and of revelation—not those of human blood, as Mr. Johnston has been tempted to imagine. The words that have frightened my esteemed friend—"Even unto the shedding of blood"—were spoken by the Pope during an allocution to a gathering of French bishops, a year or so ago, in the Palace of the Vatican. But the blood which the good Pope called for, in case blood were to be at any time the order of the day in France, was that of the bishops themselves, whom he fain would have imbued with the spirit of martyrdom. It was not in the intention of the Pope, we may be quite sure, to invoke a war of extermination against the enemies of the Church

seated in power upon the banks of the Seine, or against heretics and unbelievers elsewhere in the world.

The Encyclical condemns the "New Theology," as it is called in England, where the Protestant R. J. Campbell and the Catholic George Tyrrell have been its leading protagonists. The same theory of religion had found utterance in Continental countries of Europe under varied names—"The Religion of Immanence," "The Religion of Action," "The New Apologetics." Who, specifically, the writers are whose teachings are placed under censure, and to what degree each one has given cause for condemnation, the Pope does not say. It is quite possible that the one or the other may not have held to all the errors now gathered together and mutually interconnected in the Encyclical under the name of Modernism. But that with the one or with the other the errors, as rehearsed, did come to the front, none will deny who has at all kept himself *au courant* with the religious literature of recent times.

The starting-point of Modernism is the assumption that, of itself, human reason is powerless to establish either the existence of God as a transcendent reality, or the divinity of the mission and the person of Christ. With some, the cause of this mental attitude is an adherence to the Kantian system of Philosophy, which teaches that human reason does not reach beyond "phenomena" or appearances of things, that "noumena," or realities back of appearances, totally escape its grasp of vision. With others, it is what they term the weakness and insufficiency of intellectual proofs, available in favor either of natural religion or of Christian revelation. In both cases the conclusion is the same: intellectualism is abandoned as a basis of religion. Another basis must be sought: it is found in the inner sense and experience of the soul, in its cravings for life, in its motives of action. Feeling is substituted for reason: subjective emotion for intellectual assent.

To the new theology, God is unknown and unknowable. On this score it accepts the teachings of Comte, Hamilton and Spencer. But must we, it asks, overlook on this account God as a non-existent being or as one in whom we have no concern, towards whom we have no duties? No conclusion of this kind is allowed. Conscience, the Kantists say, clamors for the Supreme Legislator: therefore He is; therefore we accept Him.

The idea of God is chief among "the values" of life, say the Ritschlians of Germany, the Pragmatists of England and of America: God, as "a value," enters, of necessity, into the thoughts and the movements of the soul, and must therefore be taken as a reality. The throbbings of the heart, the thirstings of the soul, say the apostles of "Immanence" and of "Action," imperiously tend towards the Infinite, who therefore must be and is a reality. Indeed, continue the latter, the deep experiences of the soul are such vivid revelations of God that they must be and are the very voice of God—God "immanent" in us, the source within us of life and of action.

In those several views and theories we may see partial truths, that need by no means be brushed aside, when we are seeking to prove the transcendent reality of the Infinite. Conscience calls for a judge, who ought to be God: the exigencies of the soul clamor for satiety, which can come only from the Infinite. Facts those are that dispose the mind to search for an Almighty Being, transcending the soul of man, transcending the whole external universe, and beforehand prepare us to hold earnestly to Him, when once we have caught a glimpse of His glory. Serviceable they are as a starting-point for argument: but of themselves and in themselves they are not an argument to compel conviction. Emotions and experiences do not reach out into the objective; they do not establish the existence of a reality independent of the human soul. This the intellect alone can do. The radical mistake of Modernism and of its methods of apologetics is that it excludes or, at least, minimizes overmuch the functions of the intellect, thereby unduly reducing its theodicy to sentiment—to mere subjectivism. Against this subjectivism Pius X appeals to the reasoning faculty in man, to the intellect, whose rights and convincing force he valiantly defends: he exhibits before us the Eternal and the All Powerful, as discovered by the intellect—the Supreme Being whom reason points out, above and beyond all contingent existences, whom, consequently, rational man can and must worship as Lord and Master. Pius X teaches as the Royal Prophet taught, as the Apostle Paul taught. "The heavens show forth the glory of God, and the firmament declareth the work of His hands." "For the invisible things of Him, from whom the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made; His eternal

power also and His divinity; so that they are inexcusable, because when they knew God, they have not glorified Him as God, or given thanks." The Encyclical of Pius is the defence of God in the heavens and at the same time of the intellect in man.

The "New Theology" brings its philosophy to bear upon supernatural revelation and the person of Christ—with a similar denial of the powers of the human intellect, and, in effect, with a similar effacement of the divine in revelation and in Christ. The divine is not denied; rather its defence, we are told, is the purpose of the "New Theology." But history, and reason working upon history, we are again told, do not, cannot, there discover the divine. So far as history speaks, what is called supernatural revelation is naught but the outpouring of the spiritual emotions and the experiences of certain souls rich and exuberant above the ordinary human soul: it is the gift to humanity, from favored sons of the race, of the plenitude of their conscious and subconscious store of sentiment and truth. Those favored ones were the prophets and the sages of the ages. Jesus is one of them—the highest, indeed, and the greatest: none other so perfect as Jesus was ever seen, none other is likely to be seen. Still, so far as history teaches, the voice of Jesus, as that of other prophets, is the voice of man—the divine is not manifest. Miracles may be quoted: but they are of no avail on the pages of history, they are merely extraordinary occurrences and extraordinary manifestations of inherent, though unknown, forces of nature: the divine is not manifest. What, then, of the divine heretofore believed to belong to prophets and to Christ? What of the divine person of Christ? Must His divinity be denied, accounted a vain fancy of His followers? By no means, replies the "New Theology": let us fall back upon "Immanence," and all is made right. The divine within us recognizes the divine in the prophets of the race—especially so in Jesus. Our own spiritual emotions and experiences are not only in unison with the emotions and the experiences expressed in their teachings, but are, truly, enriched and glorified to a degree most wondrous. The divine within us is the touchstone of the divine in others: it speaks, it teaches: the prophets become men of God; Jesus, who at first was seen and known as man, is now the Son of God, very God.

What, we ask, is all this talk of "Immanence," but subjectivism of the most impotent kind—mere individualism, of no

effect whatever in arguing with others, who are free to say that no such emotions and experiences bubble up within their souls? No; sentiment is not argument, and the human intellect is not powerless to read the divine in history. The doctrine of fideism, of which the "New Theology" is but a recrudescence, was long ago condemned by the Church: the Church scorns a foundation for its teachings which does not rest on reason and history: it demands as its credentials the testimony of the intellect. Christ wrought His miracles, physical and moral—works which no mere natural or human power could produce—and, then, He taught with authority, and we believe His words as those of One coming from the invisible world to teach and to reform humanity—as the words of the Incarnate God, whom He declared Himself to be. This is the doctrine of the Encyclical on Modernism, and who among Christians will find fault with it?

"Immanence" moves apace. Scriptures, Church, sacraments, dogmas, pass through the same crucible and come out equally shorn of the divine splendor with which Christendom has heretofore adorned them. The Scriptures are the formulated thought and emotion of privileged prophets of humanity. The Church, as it comes before us in history, grew up with the years, in human fashion, gathering into its fabric elements from surrounding philosophies and institutions, widening its life and purposes as new needs pressed forward, or new opportunities for work unfolded themselves before its onward march. So far as history shows, it is an evolution from a natural beginning through causes and methods purely natural. Its sacraments are symbols of its natural life and aspirations, methods of its own choosing through which the individual enters into corporate union with his fellows, or expresses by outward act his continued participation in such union. Dogmas there are, but dogmas have no objective meaning save as they express the emotions and experiences of the soul, and as these emotions and experiences happen to respond to objective realities. Dogmas, too, change in form and expression, as new conditions of spiritual life and feeling arise, and new formulas are required to translate these new conditions into human speech. So far as realities may be said to underlie emotions and expressions, the realities do not change; but dogmas, the outward expression of them, do change, and are as fluctuating as were the emotions which they symbolized. The creed of

Nicæa and Ephesus, good and serviceable, and in a manner true, centuries ago, may be, at a later period, out of joint with the requirements of human consciousness: and a restatement of their terms becomes imperative.

Here, again, is a fatal, most effective effacement of the supernatural and the divine. Church and Sacraments are as nothing to us if they are only natural and human: and mere trust in our inner emotions and experiences can never lift them to the plane of the supernatural. The dogmas of religion, reduced to the conditions of temporary expedients of language, no longer convey to the mind assured realities: what to-day is said in one form is to-morrow said in another. Dogmas unstable and changing in their meaning are not symbols of stable and permanent realities, such as divine truths must be: they are of no value to the Christian soul. Very different, be it noted, is this Modernist evolution of dogma from the logical development of doctrinal expression allowed in the teaching of the Church. Here there is a widening, but no changing, of meaning. With time, revealed truth is more fully apprehended by the mind of the Church, and new formulas enter into its creeds to express its better understanding of divine truth. But former expressions do not lose their original meaning: they are ever true, ever immovable from their first intent and significance.

Is there wonder that the "New Theology," in its each and every bearing, as described in the Encyclical, has been solemnly condemned by Pius X? Could he, the guardian of the "deposit," have remained silent while the axe was laid to the very roots of the tree of Christianity, and the divine sap, which alone gives to it life and reason of being, was being violently denied to its trunk and branches? Who, worshipping a God in the heavens, and adoring a Christ in history, will cast a stone at His teaching? This is an age of unbelief in the supernatural, an age of rebellion against a power above the earth, who dares to intervene, by special act or voice, in the affairs of men. Hence certain mental attitudes towards Christian revelation. One is that of the radical unbeliever, who incontinently brushes aside as fable and vain-imagining what has been heretofore held as supernatural—boldly removing God from the affairs of men, and sentencing Christ and the Christian Church to oblivion if not to contempt and opprobrium. The other, that of men un-

willing to forego Christianity, wishing even to champion it against unbelief, who, in an imprudent anxiety to gain for it a hearing, adopt interpretations and explanations at variance with truth, more fitted to destroy than to upbuild. Against all enemies, avowed or covert, the Papacy raises its voice in tones most emphatic. It defends integral Christianity; it will allow none other.

It is not the Catholic Church alone that the Encyclical protects: it is the whole Christian religion, in its vital principles, in its foundation-stones in history and human reason. The Encyclical should be acclaimed by all Christians; by all, Pius X should be hailed as the champion of the sacred heritage in which they discern their hopes for time and eternity.

The Princeton *Theological Quarterly,* reviewing the work of a French writer, a conspicuous exponent of Modernistic ideas since condemned by the Pope, printed these words in its late October number:

"The criticism which he [the French writer] advocates is a criticism, in fact, which makes a clear sweep of all the historical foundations of the Christian system, and builds them with totally different materials and, of course, totally different results. . . . Anti-supernaturalism is the very principle of presently prevailing criticism, and as supernaturalism is the very principle of Christianity this criticism and Christianity can live together in harmony just as little as fire and water. The Abbé Loisy and Abbé Houtin . . . they may intend otherwise, they may fancy otherwise, but what they are doing . . . is to implant within it [the Roman Communion] a leaven which, if it ever becomes active, cannot stop working until it drives out every vestige of Christianity itself. The cause of the Roman Curia in this battle is sadly confused with the cause of Christianity itself."

What the Princeton *Quarterly* wrote of certain phases of so-called Modernism before Pius had spoken, it ought to write textually of the whole system, as now reprobated in the Encyclical. Of course, the Pope is dogmatic—clear and precise, firm and authoritative: a teacher having authority, and speaking to be clearly understood, necessarily is dogmatic. The Papacy is dogmatic; so was Paul; so was Christ.

An objection against the Papal claim to dogmatic authority raised by Mr. Johnston is that, logically and in fact, a claim of the kind leads to religious persecution, as is proven by the wars of religion noted in the annals of past ages. That dogmatic

teaching in faith and morals begets in the teacher the spirit of persecution, I very promptly deny. And there is no need that I discuss the wars of religion of which the story is evoked. To understand those wars we should understand the spirit of the times in which they occurred—times, happily, far removed from our own. And we should sift carefully the story of those wars, so as to give to the civil power and to popular uprisings their share of responsibility. I shall only remark that, besides quoting persecutions of heretics in Catholic countries, Mr. Johnston should have quoted also persecutions of Catholics under Protestant governments, some of which easily bear off the palm for unmitigated ferociousness, as Mr. Johnston's own *History of Ireland*—an admirable and most fair-minded book—so clearly shows. But let us leave the past to bury its own dead. To-day, certainly, dogmatic authority in the Papacy means naught save the right to defend, with the spiritual arms of truth, the religion of God and His Christ.

Lack of space forbids me from reviewing certain minor points in the Encyclical criticised by Mr. Johnston. I equally pass over the disciplinary parts of the Encyclical. These are of concern only to Catholics, "*affaires de famille*"—of slight interest to the general public. The chief issue raised by Mr. Johnston was the dogmatic despotism of the Papacy. Well, so far as this despotism comes before us in its teachings on Modernism, we should gratefully accept it.

Never in Christian history was there an age of such religious restlessness as is witnessed to-day: never before were such deadly shafts aimed at Christ and His Gospel: never was there so much need of clear authoritative Christian teaching. To-day, the Papacy is the sole teaching power in Christendom. The Papacy gone, no organic authority remains to defend Christ and His revelation: no solemn voice is heard speaking in tones not uncertain in behalf of the olden deposit of the Christian faith. The Papacy gone, Christianity is on the way to be, before very long, a faint whisper from the grave of a great religion that once taught and moved the nations.

JOHN IRELAND.

MODERN EDUCATION FROM A MILITARY VIEWPOINT.

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MODERN Education—Primary, Secondary and Higher—grew as a hybrid born of the neo-classicism of the Revival and the scholasticism of the Middle Ages, and was nurtured by a blind enthusiasm for classical culture, without definite purpose as regards the individual, society or the state. Its different phases became conventionalized, pedantic; and in an incoherent way took on accretions here and there as knowledge increased and broadened, until gradually Science, as a rival intellectual power, arose and built its school upon a separate foundation. Then came the clash between "Culture" and "Exact Thought"—the war between the *A Priori* and the Empirical, between Metaphysics and Physics, the Psychical and the Inductive — as violent and uncompromising as the old battles of the Nominalists and the Realists—whose issue is still undecided. From this conflict, schooling, as an intellectual process, has not emerged as a single organic system possessing logical coherence; but, out of a sort of armed truce have arisen two processes—the Liberal and the Scientific — sometimes wholly separated and again partly coalesced; neither, however, being wholly logical, complete and satisfactory. Of the two, the scientific and technical schools have already achieved a higher degree of logical coherence and system in their methods, and a higher percentage of definite accomplishment for a given amount of time and labor expended than their rivals; but even they, judged out of the mouths of their own hierophants, are far from perfect as teaching machines. Nevertheless, from this tangle of cross-purposes and more or less blind objectives is built the structure of what we name Education —a body of teaching complex, elaborate, costly, onerous; con-

suming a large number of the best and most vital years of our lives, and purposed to mould and develop that form of our social and political existence which we term Civilization. Indeed, philanthropists give many millions, and the States give many more, to the support and enlargement of this instrument, for the express and solemn reason that the stability of our institutions and the wellbeing of society depend upon its operation.

In the "*Economiste Français*" for September, 1890, Mr. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, writing upon "The Influence of Civilization upon the Movements of Population," took occasion to observe that:

> "Every age is characterized by its peculiar craze. The present craze is for education unlimited and injudicious; and for philanthropy equally unlimited and injudicious—both absolutely superficial."

From the report of the Commissioner of Education for 1905 it appears that during the academic year 1904-5 there were enrolled in our educational institutions, public and private, 18,160,475 pupils, of whom 16,596,503 were taught in public, and 1,563,972 in private, schools. For their instruction there was a total expenditure of $376,996,472, which was more than one-half the entire cost of the national Government. It appears, also, that 70.35 per cent. of the school population was enrolled in the schools; and that the average daily attendance was increased to 69.7 per cent., and the average length of the school term to 159.2 days. The average number of years of schooling of 200 days each that each individual of the population received in 1905 was, for the entire country, 5.33; and as high as 7.09 in the North Atlantic Division.

This average attendance is for the entire school population, public and private. For the children of the well-to-do—"middle" and "upper" classes—however, the amount of time spent in schooling is much greater. If the limits are taken as six and twenty-one years, respectively, the university graduate will have spent fifteen years at school, with his profession yet to learn. The higher Technical School graduate will have had about the same apprenticeship, but with the advantage of having achieved his profession upon graduation; and also, because of this, of having studied harder and attained more in mental discipline and practical information. *Fifteen years of youth in both cases, and with what average net result for the expenditure?* That is a

question which, though immensely pertinent, I do not propose to attempt to answer directly. The average college and university or "Tech" man knows pretty well what are his intellectual assets; so do his instructors. The parents and general public have an idea, more or less hazy. The question I desire to put, and to answer in a measure, is: To what are our youth entitled as the wages of their irksome drudgery? and, conversely: What should society exact in the preparation of its youth for the duties of manhood, of citizenship and of social life? Until this double question is answered authoritatively, there can be no rational, systematic or satisfactory education; and the great army of apprentices to the trade of life will have served to a greater or less extent in vain, with dispersion of energy, with misdirected effort, with incoherence of purpose, and a result both incongruous and disproportionate to the expenditure of time and labor.

Education—what is it? Surely the most solemn, the most portentous and vital of all issues.

"How to live—that is the essential question for us—the right ruling of conduct in all directions under all circumstances. In what way to treat the body; in what way to treat the mind; in what way to manage your affairs; in what way to bring up a family; in what way to behave as a citizen; how to use all our faculties to the greatest advantage to ourselves and others—how to live completely."

So Mr. Spencer; and, in turn, Huxley, he of the level head:

"That man has a liberal education who has been so trained in youth that his body is the ready servant of his will, and does with ease and pleasure the work that it is capable of; whose intellect is a clear logic engine, ready to spin the gossamer as well as forge the anchors of the mind; one who is full of life and fire, but whose passions are trained to come to heel by a rigorous will; the servant of a tender conscience who has learned to love beauty, to hate vileness, and to respect others as himself. Such a one is in harmony with nature. They will get on together rarely."

By Professor James we are told that:

"Education is the organization of acquired habits of action, such as will fit the individual to his physical and social environment."

By President Butler, that it is:

"The gradual adjustment of the individual to the spiritual possession of the race."

And from Professor Horne we learn that we are to regard it as:

"The superior adjustment of a physically and mentally developed, conscious, human being to his intellectual, emotional and volitional environment."

I confess that to me the last three leave something to be desired in definiteness. I am somehow reminded of Prince Agib in the "Bab Ballads," whose

> "Gentle spirit rolls
> In the melody of souls—
> Which is pretty, but I don't know what it means";

but if true education is all of these nebulous things, and also conforms to the inspiring standards of Huxley and Spencer, then surely we are in a parlous state, for I am certain that the vast majority of our conscious human graduates do not possess a superior physical and mental adjustment to their intellectual, emotional and volitional environment, if that environment is as superior as the adjustment deserves.

As a matter of fact, in undertaking to determine what modern education actually is, we are at once forced to the conclusion that it is, first of all, almost exclusively a mental process; next, that it is either cultural or technical in nature; next, that it is one thing to the proletariat and another to the "upper classes"—the "culture" and the "high science" are not for the mass, and there are those who claim that these have no business with it, but, after a smattering of the rudiments, should hark back to the grind for bread; next, that it has no definite, practical relation to the ethical and physical development of the individual. After desultory attendance at the various institutions for teaching from text-books, the average scholar drops it all to begin school at the Academy of Life—the handworker, from the secondary school, to sweat for his daily bread; and the young gentleman, from the University or Technical Academy, to begin the really serious work of getting a gentlemanly competence in business, in the professions or in political office.

In all this period of the development of its manhood and womanhood, Society has left its own interests, and the State its safety, to chance. The Community has done nothing definite to foster its own wellbeing as a whole, or to safeguard its institutions. The system being largely "*laissez-faire*" in method and wholly individualistic in objective, the student in "higher education" is trained to that selfish end; is left as an undergraduate

to do much as he pleases; and is taught to act in after-life upon the same principle, to go as far as the law permits and as much farther as he dares—operating in and with the complex, ruthless machinery by which modern commercialism works.

> "Why, then, the world's mine oyster,
> Which I with sword will open."

Substitute "wits" for Pistol's "sword" in the quotation, and you have the principle upon which the youth of to-day is taught that the world is his prey, and the making of his fortune the sole purpose for which he is in it.

Of all the influences at work in the formative days of adolescence, the most demoralizing to the individual and disastrous to society is the exaltation of individualism that finds expression in the conception that man is a predatory animal, and that the world is by right the spoil of him of the keenest wit and strongest arm. It is the apotheosis of selfishness and the basic principle of crime. It is responsible for all the wars and all the social and political evils of all time. And, yet, it is the doctrine that is accepted and taught as the gospel of "Success"; it is the conception of life of the vast majority of the young men of the well-to-do class, who receive higher education and whose fixed conviction it is that society owes them an upholstered life; and it is the law of spoliation by which *acquisition* is synonymous with *virtue,* and *retention* with *religion.* Under its operation there is ever at work an aggressive and wide-spread series of minor encroachments upon the rights of the community which ramify throughout its fabric and subtly grow into a mighty grip upon its life—so mighty, that when any attempt is made to loosen the hold, Society is torn to its centre.

His long apprenticeship to learning has not of necessity given the young man an improved body, more skilled faculties, better habits of living, more self-control, a knowledge of the duties of citizenship, a high respect for the rights of others, refined moral perception, a knowledge of his own physical constitution and its care, or of the duties and responsibilities of a parent. It has, of persistent purpose, in no way trained him to any unselfish devotion to the interests of the State or of Society. If he has acquired any of these virtues, it was because he chose to do so by reason of special interest or personal inclination. Strange it is that, although under training for years

and years of his impressionable youth, he should reach the fulness of manhood and citizenship without systematic discipline of body; without trained respect for law; without distinct knowledge of his social obligations to his neighbor or of the greater history of men in the struggle of the "Masses" for light and life, and for a fair share in the bounty of God's Providence. In a majority of cases, he has not even acquired what "Culture" professes to give him—disciplined powers of thought.

But, certainly, the State can ill afford the support of a higher educational system that has no sure promise of improved citizenship; Society cannot afford to sustain any course of training of the young that contains no adequate promise of a progressive humanity, of social justice and of universal wellbeing. We learn from our prophets that the moral, social, political and physical development of youth is the transcendent end of all education; from which it logically follows that a mere culture system directed solely to the intellect, and a technical system aimed merely at breadwinning, are equally defective; and that, therefore, modern Higher and Lower Education have wholly subordinated, and in some cases entirely neglected in the critical period of manhood, these higher ends for which they should principally exist and operate.

Our heritage of schooling from the Revival of Learning was a bondage to dead languages and the splendid shreds of a buried civilization; and the incongruity and incoherence of modern teaching are due to the endeavor to adapt archaic ideals and methods to a practical and scientific age. The rising generation for centuries has been fed on this grammatical diet, not with the expectation of any resultant development of character or morals or for its usefulness, but as a culture-polish and mental exercise. The grim irony of it all is that the ideal of education in which these ancient wonder-workers believed, which they enforced, and which developed the marvellous results whose remnants have been so slavishly worshipped and copied was entirely ignored.

For both the Greeks and Romans were essentially doers in their school methods. The Greeks, who have dominated the intellectual world for two thousand years, primarily developed their young men with reference to the State, and, above all, for character and physique. In the old Greek education before the Sophists, the virtue of a citizen consisted principally in his worth

to the State, and in his character-worth as an individual. The Spartans made these objectives the whole purpose of his existence, but lowered the criterion of character to a harsh military standard. The Athenians raised it to a higher plane, where philosophy, art and social ethics also claimed their share in its composition. The Athenian boy was educated first by the family, then by the State; but throughout both periods the State exercised a determinative control. For the first seven years, the boy's training was almost wholly gymnastic, and in parental hands. After seven, and until about sixteen, he attended two schools—the Palestræ, which were gymnastic, and the Music Schools, which included Poetry, History, Oratory and the Sciences as then known. From sixteen to twenty, he went to the State Academy for what was called his Ephebic training, and became to all intents and purposes *a cadet at a military academy*—two preparatory years being entirely gymnastic and ethical, and two years of military service wholly devoted to arms. In those days, therefore, the Military School was the crown and summit of educational endeavor. At the end of the first of these final two years, the youth passed a public examination in the use of arms; and, at the end of the second, another on the duties of citizenship. Throughout the whole system, there looms always the dominant and controlling purpose of *character-development* and *citizenship,* and the unvarying method of *doing* and *practising the thing taught.*

My thesis is not an analysis of Greek education, and I have referred to it only to illustrate the paradox of modern methods which have long held to a lifeless cult of the remains of Greek and Roman civilization, and ignored the methods that produced the world's standard of culture; and also to illustrate the fact that the *military school* and the *best military education* of to-day are, with few exceptions, *the only forms that are systematically inspired by any considerable degree of the Greek and Roman method and spirit.*

The military school trains for character and for the State. It systematically develops the body, and it educates the mind along a consistent line for the double purpose of clear thinking and effective practical work. It exercises the character in discipline of action; habits of subordination to lawful authority; strict personal accountability for word and act; truth-telling; integrity and fidelity to trust; simplicity of life; courage.

It requires the surrender of life and personal interest to the service of the State without hesitation and without other reward than the satisfaction of duty accomplished. It demands the renunciation of luxury and of the pursuit of wealth; and it places the service of others above the service of self, as the ideal of life. It is, therefore, essentially a school of *character,* and in its genius this function is supreme, for in character lies the highest potentiality of accomplishment in the military as in every walk of life.

I do not claim that in the military school all these things are done in the highest degree, or by a method that is even approximately perfect; and I admit that there are important elements of culture which it cannot touch. There is but one system of character-education in which the method and results are perfect; that is the one founded by the Master of Nazareth. That is wholly a school of character and of supreme wisdom, and it is an education of living and doing, and not merely of doctrine; a school of discipline; of clear thinking; of self-renunciation; of obedience; of simplicity; of devotion to society; of sacrifice of life. Character is the essential meaning, in the last analysis, of every attempt I have seen to define Education; and yet the practical mechanism by which education generally operates appears to me an exceedingly poor device to secure this development in its highest conception.

The military school, as typified by West Point, addresses itself distinctly and systematically, in a greater or less degree, to a large majority of the special functions defined by the men I have quoted; and pre-eminently to the vital principles of them all—this moulding of character. In conformity with Professor Huxley's ideal, in its dealing with the cadet, it trains his body to be the ready servant of his will; his mind to be a clear logic engine; his passions to come to heel by a vigorous will; himself, to be the servant of a tender conscience, and to respect others as himself: and, in accord with Professor James, it gives him acquired habits of action such as will fit him for his physical and social environment; while, although he may sometimes fall short of President Butler's adjustment to the spiritual possession of the race, he achieves much of Professor Horne's superior adjustment of a physically and mentally conscious human being to his complex environment. In support of this contention I propose

to define exactly what West Point aims to do and how she does it.

First of all, she possesses an immense advantage in a clearly defined objective, which, I maintain, is a prerequisite to all successful education. This objective is the preparation of a young man to fill the position of a subaltern officer in the armies of the United States; and also to lay the foundation of such training and knowledge as is necessary to enable him to exercise the functions of whatever high command he may subsequently attain. This purpose cuts out his work for the final four years of his undergraduate life, and controls all his time and energy for that period. It is important to define just what is comprised in fitness for military command, even in a subaltern, and what is the foundation for its higher exercise. As understood at West Point it demands:—a high sense of personal honor and responsibility; a severe standard of discipline; a simple standard of life; a knowledge and reverence for Civil and Military Law; patriotism and good citizenship; courage and self-sacrifice; the capacity to think clearly; professional technical knowledge; physical health and activity.

If clear thinking is accepted as a quality of character, it will be seen that seven-ninths of the foregoing have to do with character-forming.

To secure these ends, the motive power, as I have said, is Control, and, I will add, Reward. At the period of adolescence, when character is plastic and impulse wayward, before the stereotype is set, control and reward are the essential forces for impressing permanent character upon young manhood. If the material can be removed from contaminating impurities, fused in the furnace of hard work, and kept in the mould until it is set, the best has been done that education can do for the character, provided the mould is a noble one. What West Point does for its cadets is precisely this: It takes its youth at the critical period of growth; it isolates them completely for nearly four years from the atmosphere of commercialism; it provides absorbing employment for both mental and physical activities; it surrounds them with exacting responsibilities, high standards, and uncompromising traditions of honor and integrity; and it demands a rigid accountability for every moment of their time and every voluntary action. It offers them the inducement of

an honorable and sufficient competence as a reward of success; and it has resistless authority for the enforcement of its conditions and restraints.

This machinery produces a type of man of a quality and temper altogether distinct, with habits of thought and action and views of personal responsibility free from the bias of either political or commercial interests; a subaltern officer well grounded in the elements of all branches of the military profession, possessing a character trained to see straight; a mind trained to think straight; a body physically sound disciplined to live straight; with high ideals of personal integrity and truth; with respect for law and authority; and habits of life that are clean, simple and regular.

Unlike other institutions of higher education, West Point cannot be indifferent to the general performances of its students. It exacts of every individual rigid conformity to its standard, and its minimum standard is proficiency in every branch of study taught in its curriculum. It stands *in loco parentis* not only over the mental but over the moral, physical and official man. It dominates every phase of his development, every moment of his academic existence. It becomes responsible for his physical, social and official being. There is, practically, nothing of his time over which it does not exercise a close scrutiny, and for which it does not demand a rigid accountability. It is all this that makes a "West-Pointer," and probably no other institution in the world has so strongly impressed its stamp upon the whole body of its alumni as the United States Military Academy; while very few have by their diplomas endowed the mass of their graduates with a guaranty so universally accepted as *prima facie* evidence of character and ability.

In citing the Military School and system as in any sense an exemplar in educational matters, I am aware that I shall be met at once with the protest that coercive methods and disciplinary surroundings are all very well for the restricted field of martial affairs, but will never do for the wide activities of civil life. The aspiring nature of man must be left free to develop individuality and work out an untrammelled destiny. Coercion and restraint destroy initiative and repress originality. I shall also be at odds with the *Lern-und-lehr-freiheit* doctrine of the German university, as manifested in the elective fallacies

of our own undergraduate collegiate and university courses. To all this I make answer by a query, How comes it that the most versatile, the most original, the most subtle, the most philosophic, artistic, and at the same time scientific of temperaments was, in the Greek, developed under just such a system, and has led the world for two millenniums in every form of achievement? Is there any right function for *laissez-faire* among nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand youths who are to be prepared for manhood; and is it not better in the thousandth case that the *laissez-faire* should first follow an orderly, disciplinary training of body, mind and character? The protest against discipline and control in education is precisely that of the anarchist against social organization. Is an undergraduate prepared to decide what should be the lines of his mental and character development?

The *Lern-und-lehr-freiheit* principle concerns the true university postgraduate course when the man, equipped with the fundamentals of thinking, of knowledge, of character, and of physical development, is not only in a condition to decide for himself as to his line of special investigation, culture or activity, but possesses the equipment in these fundamentals to enable him to secure the best results for himself and for others. A very distinguished Harvard graduate writes to me:

"The truth is, I regard the American academic education as resting on a basis fundamentally false, and feel that the reaction and reorganization cannot begin too soon, or be too comprehensive, or be too energetically carried forward. That in this respect I voice the sentiments of a very considerable fraction of the younger and more intelligent instructors I have conclusive evidence. In other words, as an educational system, it is the direct antithesis to West Point. I hold it to be fundamentally erroneous; in violation of all correct principles."

But, it will be demanded of me, "Granting the validity of your destructive criticism, what do you propose? Would you introduce a military discipline and curriculum into our Preparatory and Collegiate School System?" In point of fact, that very question has already been asked me by the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Liverpool in commenting upon some previous delivery of mine along these lines. Dr. Dale says:

"If he means that we should set ourselves to cultivate a higher sense of honor, courage—in the braver sense—industry, and obedience to authority, there can be no difference of opinion. If our schools fail to do

this, they fail to discharge a most important function. If, on the other hand, he means that this can be done only on the West Point system, it might fairly be argued that West Point trains young men under special conditions to take their place and to do their work in an organization that differs widely and fundamentally from the other organized professions of our social life; and that the training of the soldier and the training of the citizen are not necessarily the same."

In endeavoring to answer so distinguished a querist, I do so with a full appreciation of the compliment paid me by his interest in my contentions, and I shall hope to be sufficiently explicit to satisfy a fair exaction. To the general question, therefore, I answer: Properly modified and adapted, yes; and in rejoinder to the assumption that the military training and system is "for young men under special conditions and to take their place and do their work in an organization that differs widely and fundamentally from the other professions of our social life," I reply:

West Point has been in existence one hundred and five years. During that period, it has produced 4,531 graduates, of whom 2,371 (more than one-half) had entered civil life up to 1902. Ignoring its military record of 460 General Officers—headed by Grant, Sherman, Meade, Sheridan, Thomas and Schofield, on the Union side, and by Robert E. Lee, the two Johnstons, Stonewall Jackson and Longstreet on that of the Confederacy—it has contributed to the forward impulse of the world: 1 President of the United States, 1 President of the Confederate States, 3 Presidential candidates, 2 Vice-Presidential candidates, 1 Ambassador, 14 Ministers Plenipotentiary, 27 Members of the United States Senate and House, 8 Presidential Electors, 16 Governors of States and Territories, 1 Bishop, 14 Judges, 17 Mayors of Cities, 46 Presidents and 14 Regents and Chancellors of Colleges and Universities, 14 Chief Engineers of States, 87 Presidents of Railroads and Corporations, 63 Chief Engineers of Railroads and Public works, 8 Bank Presidents, 200 Attorneys and Counsellors at Law, 20 Clergymen, 14 Physicians, 122 Merchants, 77 Manufacturers, 30 Editors, 179 Authors, besides artists, architects, farmers, planters, and many others belonging to useful trades and professions.

In addition, it claims one among the few American delegates to the first Hague Conference; one upon the Arbitration Conference that settled the promising little misunderstanding between

England and Russia; two out of seven to the recent Hague Conference. Three of its alumni are in charge of the greatest engineering work of history—the Panama Canal; and one is reorganizing the police force of the second city in the world.

Space does not permit me here to do more than indicate very broadly the lines along which I would wish to see education systematized and remodelled. I would, first and foremost, direct its energies equally, systematically and continuously towards each of the four great fundamentals—Character; Body; Mind; Citizenship. I would deprive it of its quality of being solely an irksome, mental grind—especially during its earlier stages.

For *Character,* the endeavor should be to form a body of *honor-tradition* administered by the scholars and students; and of *disciplinary requirements,* with proper penalties and rewards, enforced by authority through an administration that exacts accountability from each and every individual for every act. For the *Body,* the training should be universal, systematic and continuous; under the most careful and scientific supervision; aimed to render harmonious and vigorous the physical functions of every individual. Regular examinations should detect and the proper regimen should remedy every weakness; and nothing should be allowed to subordinate the operation of physical culture. No people can achieve a progressive civilization on a decadent physique. The sound body is of greater importance to Society than a mental development at the expense of health. Vigorous men and women are the prime essential, and cannot be purchased at too high a price. Right here, modern education is guilty of criminal neglect, for no force could be made so potent for the physical regeneration of the race as this. If no other reform is undertaken in our methods, this one should be taken up by proper organization, the country aroused, and the matter pushed until every school and educational institution in the land, primary, secondary and collegiate, is *compelled* to devote a full and sufficient amount of its energy to the bodily perfecting of its students. This is practicable, and can be enforced by law; it can be carried out at once, and would result in a regeneration of the modern man and woman. Above all, should the poor—anemic, badly nourished, under-developed, awkward—receive the care of the State for the healing of their bodies and the uplifting of their manhood. I think that every public school in the land should furnish one full, nourishing

meal to its scholars as part of their physical training, and I believe no money devoted to education would be better spent or more prolific in good results.

For *Mind Training,* the whole curriculum of undergraduate education should be revised and reorganized by a National Congress of Educators whose decision would be made operative by law —if possible in the entire educational system, and at least in that of the public schools. I would build up an organic body of control from the bottom to the top, derived in part from the teaching *personnel,* and in part appointed by the executive authority from the active professional and industrial world—for an education not in harmony with social activities is a locomotive off the track. There should be a Secretary of Education, a Cabinet officer, with an administrative National Board of Regents; this Board should be elected by and from a National Education Board, which latter body should be the legislative and controlling power in all matters pertaining to the organization, curriculum and training system of undergraduate education as a whole. I would have it consist of one representative from each State, elected by the State Boards of Education from collegiate, technical or high schools; and an equal number appointed by the President from universities, and from the active professional, technical and labor and business world.

Education would in this way be continually inspired by the vital needs of society, and would cease to be a thing apart—of formulas and dead issues; dry bones and "the iridescent film on the surface of stagnant mind."

For *Citizenship:* here in education is the place and time for Society to organize its body politic; to make the citizen; to safeguard its institutions and defend its integrity. Here every male should be taught the elements of military organization and discipline, and to shoot straight; to understand clearly the Constitution of his country, its history and development; the organization and operation of its Government, and its legal machinery. He should equally understand State and Municipal Administration and the mechanism of the electoral body. No youth should leave school without a clear, practical knowledge of his political rights and obligations; elementary drill regulations, and the shooting of a gun; the political history of his country and of the principal nations of the world; the skilled use of his faculties—

the eye to see, the ear to hear, the tongue to speak, and the hand to execute; and the knowledge of his body, its functions and its care. Every male, rich or poor, should be practically taught the operations of some one hand trade, and the elements of the great mechanical motors. Every female, rich or poor, should be taught, besides the skilled training of her faculties, the knowledge of her bodily functions and Maternity; Domestic Economy; Sanitation, Nursing, Household Chemistry and Foods; Needlework; Domestic Architecture; and some one practical wage-earning handwork.

From primary school through college (practically the German "Gymnasium" and the French "Lycée") I would have the State determine the whole educational course—exactly what subjects are required of every youth before he is allowed to discontinue attendance; what is required, after this "Irreducible Minimum" is achieved, if he elect to continue a higher course—artistic, cultural, or technical; and what is permitted to be a matter of choice, either to the scholar or parent, at any time in the school career. At the end of the collegiate period, the hand of Regulation and Compulsion is entirely lifted; and in the true university, or elsewhere, "*Laissez-faire*" operates untrammelled.

In one respect, the State should interpose sternly and emphatically to coerce the citizen after it has trained him. He should be required under severe penalty to perform his political duties. Absence from primaries and abstention from voting should be visited with immediate punishment; and public sentiment should be educated to regard the neglect of civic duties as disgraceful to the same extent that neglect of duty is with the soldier a shame and a crime.

CHARLES W. LARNED.

ECONOMY OF ATTENTION IN THEATRICAL PERFORMANCES.

BY CLAYTON HAMILTON.

According to the late Herbert Spencer, the sole source of force in writing is an ability to economize the attention of the reader. The word should be a window to the thought and should transmit it as transparently as possible. He says, toward the beginning of his "Philosophy of Style":

"A reader or listener has at each moment but a limited amount of mental power available. To recognize and interpret the symbols presented to him requires a part of this power; to arrange and combine the images suggested requires a furtner part; and only that part which remains can be used for realizing the thought conveyed. Hence, the more time and attention it takes to receive and understand each sentence, the less time and attention can be given to the contained idea; and the less vividly will that idea be conveyed."

Spencer drew his illustrations of this principle mainly from the literature of the library, but its application is even more important in the literature of the stage. So many and so diverse are the elements of a theatrical performance that, unless the attention of the spectator is attracted at every moment to the main dramatic purpose of the scene, he will sit wide-eyed, like a child at a three-ring circus, with his mind fluttering from point to point and his interest dispersed and scattered. A perfect theatrical performance must harmonize the work of many men. The dramatist, the actors main and minor, the stage-manager, the scene-painter, the costumer, the leader of the orchestra, must all contribute their separate talents to the production of a single work of art. It follows that a nice adjustment of parts, a discriminating subordination of minor elements to major, is absolutely necessary in order that the attention of the audience may be focussed at every moment upon the central meaning of the

scene. If the spectator looks at scenery when he should be listening to lines, if his attention is startled by some unexpected device of stage-management at a time when he ought to be looking at an actor's face, or if his mind is kept for a moment uncertain of the most emphatic feature of a scene, the whole effect is lost and that part of the performance is a failure.

It may be interesting to notice some of the technical devices by which attention is economized in the theatre and the interest of the audience is centred upon the main business of the moment. In particular it may be profitable to observe how a scattering of attention is avoided; how, when many things are shown at once upon the stage, it is possible to make an audience look at one and not observe the others. We shall consider the subject from the point of view of the dramatist, from that of the actor, and from that of the stage-manager.

I.

The dramatist, in writing, labors under a disadvantage that is not suffered by the novelist. If a passage in a novel is not perfectly clear at the first glance, the reader may always turn back the pages and read the scene again; but on the stage a line once spoken can never be recalled. When, therefore, an important point is to be set forth, the dramatist cannot afford to risk his clearness upon a single line. This is particularly true in the beginning of a play. When the curtain rises, there is always a fluttering of programmes and a buzz of unfinished conversation. Many spectators come in late and hide the stage from those behind them while they are taking off their wraps. Consequently, most dramatists, in the preliminary exposition that must always start a play, contrive to state every important fact at least three times: first, for the attentive; second, for the intelligent; and third, for the large mass that may have missed the first two statements. Of course, the method of presentment must be very deftly varied, in order that the artifice may not appear; but this simple rule of three is almost always practised. It was used with rare effect by Eugène Scribe, who, although he was too clever to be great, contributed more than any other writer of the nineteenth century to the science of making a modern play.

In order that the attention of the audience may not be unduly distracted by any striking effect, the dramatist must always prepare for such an effect in advance, and give the spectators an

idea of what they may expect. The extraordinary nose of Cyrano de Bergerac is described at length by Ragueneau before the hero comes upon the stage. If the ugly-visaged poet should enter without this preliminary explanation, the whole effect would be lost. The spectators would nudge each other and whisper half aloud, "Look at his nose! What *is* the matter with his face?" and would be less than half attentive to the lines. Before Lady Macbeth is shown walking in her sleep and wringing her hands that are sullied with the damned spot that all great Neptune's ocean could not wash away, her doctor and her waiting gentlewoman are sent to tell the audience of her slumbery agitation. Thus, at the proper moment, the attention is focussed on the essential point instead of being allowed to lose itself in wonder.

A logical development of this principle leads us to the axiom that a dramatist must never keep a secret from his audience, although this is one of the favorite devices of the novelist. Let us suppose for a moment that the spectators were not let into the secret of Hero's pretty plot, in "Much Ado," to bring Beatrice and Benedick together. Suppose that, like the heroine and the hero, they were led to believe that each was truly in love with the other. The inevitable revelation of this error would produce a shock of surprise that would utterly scatter their attention; and while they were busy making over their former conception of the situation, they would have no eyes nor ears for what was going on upon the stage. In a novel, the true character of a hypocrite is often hidden until the book is nearly through: then, when the revelation comes, the reader has plenty of time to think back and see how deftly he has been deceived. But in a play, a rogue must be known to be a rogue at his first entrance. The other characters in the play may be kept in the dark until the last act, but the audience must know the secret all the time. In fact, any situation which shows a character suffering from a lack of such knowledge as the audience holds secure always produces a telling effect upon the stage. The spectators are aware of Iago's villainy and know of Desdemona's innocence. The play would not be nearly so strong if, like Othello, they were kept ignorant of the truth.

In order to economize attention, the dramatist must centre his interest in a few vividly drawn characters and give these a marked preponderance over the other parts. Many plays have failed

because of over-elaborateness of detail. Ben Jonson's comedy of "Every Man in His Humor" would at present be impossible upon the stage, for the simple reason that *all* the characters are so carefully drawn that the audience would not know in whom to be most interested. The play is all background and no foreground. The dramatist fails to say, "Of all these sixteen characters, you must listen most attentively to some special two or three"; and, in consequence, the piece would require a constant effort of attention that no modern audience would be willing to bestow. Whatever may be said about the disadvantages of the so-called "star system" in the theatre, the fact remains that the greatest plays of the world,—"Œdipus King," "Hamlet," "As You Like It," "Tartufe," "Cyrano de Bergerac,"—have almost always been what are called "star plays." The "star system" has an obvious advantage from the point of view of the dramatist. When Hamlet enters, the spectators know that they must look at him, and their attention never wavers to the minor characters upon the stage. The play is thus an easy one to follow: attention is economized and no effect is lost.

It is a wise plan to use familiar and conventional types to fill in the minor parts of a play. The comic valet, the pretty and witty chambermaid, the *ingénue,* the pathetic old friend of the family, are so well known upon the stage that they spare the mental energy of the spectators and leave them greater vigor of attention to devote to the more original major characters. What is called "comic relief" has a similar value in resting the attention of the audience. After the spectators have been harrowed by Ophelia's madness, they must be diverted by the humor of the grave-diggers in order that their susceptibilities may be made sufficiently fresh for the solemn scene of her funeral.

We have seen that any sudden shock of surprise should be avoided in the theatre, because such a shock must inevitably cause a scattering of attention. It often happens that the strongest scenes of a play require the use of some physical accessory,—a screen in "The School for Scandal," a horse in "Shenandoah," a perfumed letter in "Diplomacy." In all such cases, the spectators must be familiarized beforehand with the accessory object, so that when the climax comes they may devote all of their attention to the action that is accomplished with the object rather than to the object itself. In a quarrel scene, an actor

could not suddenly draw a concealed weapon in order to threaten his antagonist. The spectators would stop to ask themselves how he happened to have the weapon by him without their knowing it; and this self-muttered question would deaden the effect of the scene. The dénouement of Ibsen's "Hedda Gabler" requires that the two chief characters, Eilert Lövborg and Hedda Tesman, should die of pistol wounds. The pistols that are to be used in the catastrophe are mentioned and shown repeatedly throughout the early and middle scenes of the play; so that when the last act comes, the audience thinks not of pistols, but of murder and suicide. A striking illustration of the same dramatic principle was shown in Mrs. Fiske's admirable performance of this play. The climax of the piece comes at the end of the penultimate act, when Hedda casts into the fire the manuscript of the book into which Eilert has put the great work of his life. The stove stands ready at the left of the stage; but when the culminating moment comes, the spectators must be made to forget the stove in their horror at Hedda's wickedness. They must, therefore, be made familiar with the stove in the early part of the act. Ibsen realized this, and arranged that Hedda should call for some wood to be cast upon the fire at the beginning of the scene. In acting this incident, Mrs. Fiske kneeled before the stove in the very attitude that she was to assume later on when she committed the manuscript to the flames. The climax gained greatly in emphasis because of this device to secure economy of attention at the crucial moment.

II.

In the "Autobiography of Joseph Jefferson," that humorous and human and instructive book, there is a passage that illustrates admirably the bearing of this same principle of economy of attention upon the actor's art. In speaking of the joint performances of his half-brother, Charles Burke, and the famous actor-manager, William E. Burton, Mr. Jefferson says:

"It was a rare treat to see Burton and Burke in the same play: they acted into each other's hands with the most perfect skill; there was no striving to outdo each other. If the scene required that for a time one should be prominent, the other would become the background of the picture, and so strengthen the general effect; by this method they produced a perfectly harmonious work. For instance, Burke would remain in repose, attentively listening while Burton was delivering some humor-

ous speech. This would naturally act as a spell upon the audience, who became by this treatment absorbed in what Burton was saying, and having got the full force of the effect, they would burst forth in laughter or applause; then, by one accord, they became silent, intently listening to Burke's reply, which Burton was now strengthening by the same repose and attention. I have never seen this element in acting carried so far, or accomplished with such admirable results, not even upon the French stage, and I am convinced that the importance of it in reaching the best dramatic effects cannot be too highly estimated. It was this characteristic feature of the acting of these two great artists that always set the audience wondering which was the better. The truth is there was no 'better' about the matter. They were not horses running a race, but artists painting a picture; it was not in their minds which should win, but how they could, by their joint efforts, produce a perfect work."

I am afraid that this excellent method of team play is more honored in the breach than in the observance among our eminent actors of the present time. When Richard Mansfield played the part of Brutus, he destroyed the nice balance of the quarrel scene with Cassius by attracting all of the attention of the audience to himself, whereas a right reading of the scene would demand a constant shifting of attention from one hero to the other. When Joseph Haworth spoke the great speech of Cassius beginning, "Come, Antony, and young Octavius, come!" he was shrouded in the shadow of the tent, while the lime-light fell full upon the form of Brutus. This arrangement so distracted the audience from the true dramatic value of the scene that neither Mr. Mansfield's heroic carriage, nor his eye like Mars to threaten and command, nor the titanic resonance of his ventriloquial utterance, could atone for the mischief that was done.

In an earlier paragraph, we noticed the way in which the "star system" may be used to advantage by the dramatist to economize the attention of the audience; but it will be observed, on the other hand, that the same system is pernicious in its influence upon the actor. A performer who is accustomed to the centre of the stage often finds it difficult to keep himself in the background at moments when the scene should be dominated by other, and sometimes lesser, actors. Artistic self-denial is one of the rarest of virtues. This is the reason why "all-star" performances are almost always bad. A famous player is cast for a minor part; and in his effort to exploit his talents he violates the principle of economy of attention by attracting undue notice to a subordinate feature of the performance. That's villainous,

and shows a most pitiful ambition, as Hamlet truly says. A rare proof of the genius of M. Coquelin was given by his performances of Père Duval and the Baron Scarpia in support of the Camille and Tosca of Mme. Sarah Bernhardt. These parts are both subordinate; and, in playing them, M. Coquelin so far succeeded in obliterating his own special talents that he never once distracted the attention of the audience from the acting of his fellow star. This was an artistic triumph worthy of ranking with the same actor's sweeping and enthralling performance of Cyrano de Bergerac,—perhaps the greatest acting part in the history of the theatre.

A story is told of how Sir Henry Irving, many years ago, played the rôle of Joseph Surface at a special revival of "The School for Scandal" in which most of the other parts were filled by actors and actresses of the older generation, who attempted to recall for one performance the triumphs of their youth. Now Joseph Surface is a hypocrite and a villain; but the youthful grace of Mr. Irving so charmed a lady in the stalls that she said she "could not bear to see those old unlovely people trying to get the better of that charming young man, Mr. Joseph." Something must have been wrong with the economy of her attention.

Another story is whispered abroad; but I cannot vouch for its truthfulness. It is said that one evening when M. Maurel was performing a supporting part in "Faust," he did a brilliant piece of incidental acting while M. Jean de Reszke was singing one of the solos of the hero. When Maurel made his exit, he found himself face to face with M. Edouard de Reszke, who approached him like the rugged Russian bear. Edouard grabbed the offender by the collar. "Maurel," he said, "if you do that again when my brother is singing, I shall break every bone in your damned body!" At the next performance, Herbert Spencer's principle was rigidly observed.

The chief reason why mannerisms of walk or gesture or vocal intonation are objectionable in an actor is that they distract the attention of the audience from the effect he is producing to his method of producing that effect. Mr. Mansfield's peculiar manner of pumping his voice from his diaphragm and Sir Henry Irving's corresponding system of ejaculating his phrases through his nose gave to the reading of those great artists a rich metallic resonance that was vibrant with effect; but a person hearing either of those

actors for the first time was often forced to expend so much of his attention in adjusting his ears to the novel method of voice production that he was unable for many minutes to fix his mind upon the more important business of the play. An actor without mannerisms, like Adolf von Sonnenthal, is able to make a more immediate appeal.

III.

At the first night of Mr. E. H. Sothern's "Hamlet," in the fall of 1900, I had just settled back in my chair to listen to the reading of the soliloquy on suicide, when a woman behind me whispered to her neighbor, "Oh look! There are two fireplaces in the room!" My attention was distracted, and the soliloquy was spoiled; but the fault lay with the stage-manager rather than with the woman who spoke the fatal words. If Mr. Sothern was to recite his soliloquy gazing dreamily into a fire in the centre of the room, the stage-manager should have known enough to remove the large fireplace on the right of the stage.

Mme. Sarah Bernhardt, when she acted "Hamlet" in London in 1899, introduced a novel and startling effect in the closet scene between the hero and his mother. On the wall, as usual, hung the counterfeit presentments of two brothers; and when the time came for the ghost of buried Denmark to appear, he was suddenly seen standing luminous in the picture-frame which had contained his portrait. The effect was so unexpected that the audience could look at nothing else, and thus Hamlet and the queen failed to get their proper measure of attention.

These two instances show that the necessity of economizing the attention of an audience is just as important to the stage-manager as it is to the dramatist and the actor. In the main, it may be said that any unexpected innovation, any device of stage-management that is by its nature startling, should be avoided in the crucial situations of a play. Professor Brander Matthews gave an interesting illustration of this principle in his article on "The Art of the Stage-Manager," in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for February, 1904. He said:

"The stage-manager must ever be on his guard against the danger of sacrificing the major to the minor, and of letting some little effect of slight value in itself interfere with the true interest of the play as a whole. At the first performance of Mr. Bronson Howard's 'Shenandoah,' the opening act of which ends with the firing of the shot on Sumter, there

was a wide window at the back of the set, so that the spectators could see the curving flight of the bomb and its final explosion above the doomed fort. This scenic marvel had cost time and money to devise; but it was never visible after the first performance, because it drew attention to itself, as a mechanical effect, and so took off the minds of the audience from the Northern lover and the Southern girl, the Southern lover and the Northern girl, whose loves were suddenly sundered by the bursting of that fatal shell. At the second performance, the spectators did not see the shot, they only heard the dread report; and they were free to let their sympathy go forth to the young couples."

Nowadays, perhaps, when the theatre-going public is more used to elaborate mechanism on the stage, this effect might be attempted without danger. It was owing to its novelty at the time that the device disrupted the attention of the spectators.

But not only novel and startling stage effects should be avoided in the main dramatic moments of a play. Excessive magnificence and elaborateness of setting are just as distracting to the attention as the shock of a new and strange device. When "The Merchant of Venice" was revived at Daly's Theatre some years ago, a scenic set of unusual beauty was used for the final act. The gardens of Portia's palace were shadowy with trees and dreamy with the dark of evening. Slowly in the distance a round and yellow moon rose rolling, its beams rippling over the moving waters of a lake. There was a murmur of approbation in the audience; and that murmur was just loud enough to deaden the lyric beauty of the lines in which Lorenzo and Jessica gave expression to the spirit of the night. The audience could not look and listen at the self-same moment; and Shakespeare was sacrificed for a lime-light. A wise stage-manager, when he uses a set as magnificent, for example, as the memorable garden scene in Miss Viola Allen's production of "Twelfth Night," will raise his curtain on an empty stage, to let the audience enjoy and even applaud the scenery before the actors enter. Then, when the lines are spoken, the spectators are ready and willing to lend them their ears.

This point suggests a discussion of the advisability of producing Shakespeare without scenery, in the very interesting manner that has been employed in recent seasons by Mr. Ben Greet's company of players. Leaving aside the argument that with a sceneless stage it is possible to perform all the incidents of the play in their original order, and thus give the story a greater

narrative continuity, it may also be maintained that with a bare stage there are far fewer chances of dispersing the attention of the audience by attracting it to insignificant details of setting. Certainly, the last act of the "Merchant" would be better without the mechanical moonrise than with it. But, unfortunately, the same argument for economy of attention works also in the contrary direction. We have been so long used to scenery in our theatres that a sceneless production requires a new adjustment of our minds to accept the unwonted convention; and it may readily be asserted that this mental adjustment disperses more attention than would be scattered by elaborate stage effects. At Mr. Greet's first production of "Twelfth Night" in New York without change of scene, many people in the audience could be heard whispering their opinions of the experiment,—a fact which shows that their attention was not fixed entirely upon the play itself. On the whole, it would probably be wisest to produce Shakespeare with very simple scenery, in order, on the one hand, not to dim the imagination of the spectators by laborious magnificence of setting, and, on the other, not to distract their minds by the unaccustomed conventions of a sceneless stage.

What has been said of scenery may be applied also to the use of incidental music. So soon as such music becomes obtrusive, it distracts the attention from the business of the play; and it cannot be insisted on too often that in the theatre the play's the thing. But a running accompaniment of music, half-heard, half-guessed, that moves to the mood of the play, now swelling to a climax, now softening to a hush, may do much toward keeping the audience in tune with the emotional significance of the action.

A perfect theatrical performance is the rarest of all works of art. I have seen several perfect statues and perfect pictures; and I have read many perfect poems: but I have never seen a perfect performance in the theatre. I doubt if such a performance has ever been given, except, perhaps, in ancient Greece. But it is easy to imagine what its effect would be. It would rivet the attention throughout upon the essential purport of the play; it would proceed from the beginning to the end without the slightest distraction; and it would convey its message simply and immediately, like the sky at sunrise or the memorable murmur of the sea.

CLAYTON HAMILTON.

THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION.

BY GOLDWIN SMITH, D.C.L.

"I EXPRESS myself," says Bishop Butler, "with caution, lest I should be mistaken to vilify reason, which is, indeed, the only faculty which we have to judge concerning anything, even revelation itself; or be misunderstood to assert that a supposed revelation cannot be proved false from internal characters." "The faculty of reason," he says, "is the candle of the Lord within us against vilifying which we must be very cautious."

What would the world be without religion? That is the dread question which seems now to be everywhere presenting itself. Would even the social fabric remain unshaken? Has not its stability partly depended on the general belief that the dispensation, with all its inequalities, was the ordinance of the Creator, and that for inequalities here there would be compensation hereafter? The belief may not in common minds have been very present; but it would seem to have had its influence. Apparently, it is now departing. In some places it appears to have fled. Scepticism, with social unrest, comes in its room.

What is now the position of the clergy? Keepers and ministers of truth, as they are understood to be, they alone are debarred by ordination vows and tests from the free quest of truth. They are ecclesiastically bound not only to hold, but to teach and preach, as divinely revealed, what many of them must feel to have been disproved or to have become doubtful. Their uneasiness is shown by writings, such as "*Lux Mundi*," struggling to reconcile orthodoxy with free thought. It is shown by a growing tendency on the part of pastors to slide from the office of spiritual guide into that of leader of philanthropic effort and social reform. It is seen, perhaps, even in the tendency to give

increased prominence to musical attraction in the service. Sermons grow more secular.

Clerical biographies, such as that of Jowett, sometimes reveal private misgivings. The writer has even seen the pastorate of a large parish assumed by a man who in private society was an undisguised free-thinker and must have satisfied his conscience by promising to himself that he would do a great deal of social good. There is, no doubt, practically, more latitude than there was; heresy trials seem to have ceased, and one of the writers of "Essays and Reviews" became, without serious outcry, Primate of the Church of England. But ordination vows remain; so does the performance of a religious service which includes the repetition of creeds and forms a practical confession of faith. Hollow profession cannot fail to impair mental integrity or, if generally suspected, to kill confidence in our guides. Read Canon Farrar's "Life of Christ" and you will see to what shifts orthodoxy puts a clerical writer who was, no doubt, a sincere lover of truth.

The religious disturbance shows itself at the same time in the prevalence of wild superstitions, such as Spiritualism, rising out of the grave of religious faith, and attesting the lingering craving for the supernatural, somewhat like the mysteries of Isis after the fall of national religion at Rome.

The crisis has come on us rather suddenly, in consequence partly of great physical discoveries. The writer as a young student heard Buckland struggling to reconcile geology with Genesis. Now the struggle is to reconcile Genesis with geology. Before this wonderful advance of science and criticism combined, there had been comparatively little of avowed, still less of popular, scepticism. Rousseau was a sentimental theist; Voltaire erected a church to God. This vast "Modernism," as the poor, quaking Pope rather happily calls the ascendancy of science and criticism, has changed all. It is conceivable that, now as on some former occasions, the range of discovery may have been overrated and the pendulum of opinion may consequently have swung too far. Evolution, apparently, has still a wide space to traverse, even in what may be assumed to be the material sphere. What can it make of the marvellous stores of memory or of the apparently boundless play of the imagination, which by its working in sleep, sometimes with no assignable materials for the fancy, seems almost to show creative power? Besides, Evolution

must itself have been evolved. What power evolved it? What power impregnated the germ with all this vast and marvellous design?

Has Deity directly revealed itself to man? It has if the Bible is inspired. Otherwise, apparently, it has not. About the Koran or the Zendavesta it is hardly necessary to speak. "The Bible" we call the Old Testament and the New bound up together, as though they contained the two halves of the same dispensation and the moral ideal of both were the same. The historical importance of the Old Testament can hardly be overrated; nor can the literary grandeur of parts of it, or the advance made by it in social character and law. When in connection with the question of American slavery attention was specially directed to the social law of Moses, no careful reader could fail to be greatly struck by its advanced humanity and civilization. Nevertheless, the morality of the Old Testament is tribal, while that of the New Testament is universal. The tribal character of the Old Testament morality is seen in the destruction of the first-born in Egypt to force Pharaoh to let the Chosen People go; in the invasion of Canaan and the slaughter of the Canaanites; in the murder of Sisera; in the approval of the treason of Rahab; in David's putting to torture the inhabitants of a captured city. The attempt to reconcile all this with universal morality by styling it the course of "Evolution" can hardly avail, since the spirit of tribal separatism dominates in the latest books of the Old Testament, Ezra and Nehemiah, where Israelites are not only forbidden for the future to marry with Gentiles, but bidden to put away Gentile wives. It is true there are glimpses of a universal dominion of the God of Israel, and of the happiness to be enjoyed by all nations under it. Still, it is Jehovah, Israel's God.

Were the Old Testament a Divine revelation it would certainly be free from error concerning the works of Deity, which plainly it is not. The narrative in Genesis of creation, compared with other primitive cosmogonies, is rational as well as sublime. But if Professor Buckland could persuade his hearers he could not persuade himself. Later still, we had Gladstone striving with his wonderful gift of interpretation to show that the Creator in dictating an account of the creation had come wonderfully near the fact. The process of the creation, its

chronology, and its order, Noah's flood, the ages of the Patriarchs, the stopping of the sun by Joshua, are all apparently death-blows to the simple faith with which our childhood read the Old Testament. The hare is made a ruminating animal, and the excuse apologists offer for the mistake, without curing it, only stamps it more distinctly as an offspring of human simplicity.

Largely good the influence of the Old Testament has no doubt been; largely also it prepared the way for the New. That its influence has been wholly good cannot be said. It has furnished fanaticism with aliment and excuse. It has found mottoes for the black flag of religious war.

Is it possible to believe, in face of doubtful authenticity, contradictions as to fact, and traces of local superstition, that the New Testament any more than the Old was dictated by Deity? Inspired by the creative power, in common with the other works of creative beneficence, as a part of the general plan, the New Testament may have been. Its morality is not tribal, but universal. This beside the well of Samaria was proclaimed. If there is any privilege it is in favor not of race, but of class, the class being the poor, whose poverty seems counted to them as virtue, perhaps rather to the disparagement of active goodness.

Had the New Testament been divinely inspired, would not its authority have been clearly attested? Would not the authorship of its books have been made known? Would the slightest error or self-contradiction have been allowed to appear in it? What is the fact? The authenticity of a large portion of the Epistles of St. Paul is admitted by the critics; of the other books of the New Testament the authorship is regarded as doubtful. The three Synoptic Gospels have a large element common to them all, and are evidently grafts upon a single document which is lost, and which the critics generally seem inclined to place not earlier than the latter part of the first century. The Synoptics all tell us that when Jesus expired the veil of the Temple was rent. One adds that there was preternatural darkness; a third that the earth quaked, that the rocks were rent, that the graves opened, and many bodies of the saints which slept arose, came out of the graves after the resurrection of Jesus, went into the holy city, and appeared to many. It is plain that such portents must have produced an immense sensation; such a sensation, it may be assumed, as would have

brought scepticism to its knees. This surely must be legendary, and the legend must have had time to grow.

Though grafts on the same original stock, the Synoptic Gospels are often at variance with each other; as in the case of the genealogy of Jesus upon which the Harmonists labor in vain; in that of the marvels attending his birth; in that of his keeping the Passover or his Last Supper; in that of the resurrection, which again baffles the skill of the Harmonists. Here, surely, is proof that the pens of the narrators were not guided by Omniscience.

Concerning the miracles of the casting out of devils generally, and in particular of the casting out of a legion of devils into a herd of two thousand swine at Gadara, what is to be said? Are these not clearly cases of human imagination set at work by a Jewish superstition? Is it possible that they should have had a place in a divine narrative of the life of the Saviour of the world? The Fourth Gospel omits them. Orthodoxy would fain persuade itself that this was to avoid unnecessary repetition.

Satan from the top of a mountain shows Jesus all the kingdoms of the earth. This seems to imply belief that the earth is a plane. The movement of the star of the Nativity seems to imply belief in the rotation of the heavens.

About the authorship of the Fourth Gospel, and, consequently, about its title to belief, there has been endless controversy among the learned. But there are pretty plain indications, in the shape of the omission of the demoniac miracles and some lack of local knowledge, that it is not the work of a Palestinian Jew. Opening with a reference to the Logos, it strikes the key of Alexandrian philosophy. It is, indeed, rather theological than historical, so that it has been not inaptly compared to the Platonic, in contrast to the Xenophontic, account of Socrates, and the theology seems like that of a post-evangelical era. Martineau's conclusion is that "the only Gospel which is composed and not merely compiled and edited, and for which, therefore, a single writer is responsible, has its birthday in the middle of the second century, and is not the work of a witness at all." Historically, this Gospel is at variance with the others in its narrative of the Last Supper. "The incidents," says the highly orthodox Speaker's Commentary, "are parallel with sections of the Synoptic Gospels; but there are very few points of actual correspondence

in detail between the narratives of the Synoptists and of St. John." Something more than impressive resemblance would surely have been found between narratives, equally authentic and inspired, of a momentous crisis in the life of the Saviour.

"At this point, that is to say the beginning of the Galilean ministry, we are again met by difficulties in the chronology, which are not only various, but to the certain solution of which there appears to be no clue. If we follow exclusively the order given by one Evangelist we appear to run counter to the scattered indications which may be found in another. That it should be so will cause no difficulty to the candid mind. The Evangelists do not profess to be guided by chronological sequences." So writes Dean Farrar in despair. Is it likely that such confusion would be found in a Divine revelation? Would not the narratives have been as well arranged and clear as, by the admission of Orthodoxy, they are the reverse? Would the names of the authors of the Gospels, their warrants and the sources of their information, have been withheld? Providence surely was not here.

If there was a miraculous revelation on which salvation depended, why was it not universal? Why has it all this time been withheld from nations even more in need of it than those to whom it was given? Are we to suppose that the salvation of these myriads was a matter of indifference to their Creator, or that Heaven preferred the slow and precarious working of the missionary to the instantaneous action of its own fiat? This is the question which scepticism asks, and which the great author of the "Analogy of Religion" fails to answer.

What did Jesus think of himself and his mission, and of his relation to Deity? This it seems impossible without more authentic records clearly to decide. The Gospel of St. John, which is the most theological, would appear to be the least trustworthy of the four. Its author, apparently, sees its subject through a theosophic medium of his own. The idea of the teacher in the mind of the disciples would naturally rise with his ascendancy; so, perhaps, would his own idea. If Jesus is rightly reported he believed himself to be the Son of God, exalted to union and participation in spiritual dominion with the Father, and destined together with the Father to judge the world. But, in his mortal hour of anguish in Gethsemane, he prays to the Father to let the cup pass from him; an act hardly consistent with the doc-

trines of the Athanasian Creed. In the immortality of the soul and judgment after death he plainly believes. But he does not substantiate the belief by any explanation of the mode of survival; nor, in separating the two flocks of sheep and goats, does he say how mixed characters are to be treated. Tribalism seems slightly to cling to his conception of the just gathered in Abraham's bosom. Of his apologue of Dives and Lazarus, the last part appears to show that the world beyond the grave was to him a realm of the imagination.

The Sermon on the Mount would appear, by the strong impress of character it bears, to have special claims to authenticity. So may the Parables habitually employed as instruments of teaching and wearing apparently the stamp of a single imagination.

That with Jesus of Nazareth there came into the world, and by his example and teaching was introduced and propagated a moral ideal which, embodied in Christendom, and surviving through all these centuries the action of hostile forces the most powerful, not only from without, but from within, has uplifted, purified, and blessed humanity is a historical fact. With the civilization of Christendom no other civilization can compare. But we have been accustomed to believe that there was a miraculous revelation of the Deity. A revelation of the Deity, though not miraculous, Christianity may be believed to have been.

Revelation, direct and assured, of the nature, will, designs, or relation to us of the Deity through the Bible or in any other way we cannot be truly said to have. All that we apparently can be said to have, besides the religious instinct in ourselves, is the evidence of beneficent design in the universe; balanced, we must sadly admit, by much that with our present imperfect knowledge appears to us at variance with beneficence; by plagues, earthquakes, famines, torturing diseases, infant deaths; by the sufferings of animals preyed on by other animals or breeding beyond the means of subsistence; by inevitable accidents of all kinds; by the Tower of Siloam everywhere falling on the just as well as on the sinner. There may be a key, there may be a plan, disciplinary or of some other kind, and in the end the mystery may be solved. At present there seems to be no key other than that which may be suggested by the connection of effort with virtue and the progress of a collective humanity.

At the same time, we may apparently dismiss belief in a great

personal power of evil and in his realm of everlasting torture. The independent origin of such a power of evil is unthinkable; so is the struggle between the two powers and its end. There is no absolutely distinct line between good and evil. The shades of character are numberless.

Another great change, rather of impression than of conviction, has been creeping over the religious scene. We have hitherto, largely, perhaps, under the influence of the Bible, been fancying rather than thinking that this little earth of ours was the centre of all things, the special object of interest to the Creator; and that the grand drama of existence was that enacted on this terrestrial stage and culminating in Redemption. Astronomical science is now making us distinctly feel that this world is only one, and, if magnitude is to be the measure, very far from the most important, of myriads of worlds governed by the same physical laws as ours, forming a system of which ours is a member, while the destiny of the whole system is to us utterly inscrutable; proofs of the most sublime and glorious order presenting themselves on the one hand, while on the other we see signs of disorder and destruction, errant bodies such as comets and aërolites, a moon without an atmosphere, the conflagration of a star. Whether the whole is moving towards any end and, if it is, what that end is to be, we cannot hope to divine. When with Infinity we take into our thought Eternity, past and future, if in Eternity there can be said to be past or future, our minds are completely overwhelmed.

Is belief in a future life generally holding its ground? My friend, the late Mr. Chamberlain, was by no means alone in resigning it. But if this life is all, how can we continue to hold our faith in divine justice? Mr. Chamberlain, as I said before, was evidently happy as well as good. His life, though short and regarded by him as ending in the grave, was to him so much gain, and proved beneficence on the part of the Author of his being. But if Mr. Chamberlain's theory is true, what is to be said in the case of the myriads to whom life has been wretchedness, ending perhaps in agony, often without the slightest responsibility on their part? For these unhappy ones would it be well, as Mr. Chamberlain holds it was for him, that there should be no hereafter? Is their being brought into existence only to suffer compatible with our faith in supreme benevolence? Is con-

fidence in supreme justice compatible with the conviction that the tyrant and the tortured victims of his tyranny, alike, repose forever in the grave? Such, it is true, was the belief of the Hebrew; indication of any other belief, at all events, he has left us none, unless it be a faint glimpse of Sheol. The philosophy of Job halts accordingly. The Hebrew believed that he would be rewarded or punished in his posterity.

Bishop Butler's grand argument for belief in the possibility of a future life goes upon the supposition that our conscious personality is distinct and separable from our perishable frame, and is in itself "indiscerptible," so that there is no reason why it should not survive the death of the body. To prove that it ever has survived the death of the body, or to show the mode of its survival, the Bishop does not attempt. But Butler lived long before Evolution and the general advance of physiology in these later days. Johnson, who was no sceptic, owned that he yearned for more light on the "spiritual world," by which he apparently meant immortality.

Positivism tenders us endless existence as particles in a collective humanity, the "colossal man." But would there be much satisfaction in existence when individuality and personal consciousness had been lost? Would the prospect lead the ordinary man to work and suffer for the future generations, at all events, for any beyond the circle of the immediate objects of his love? What the end of the colossal man is to be seems undetermined. The Positivist Church has produced very good and beautiful lives, but its power as a religion to go alone would be more clearly seen were not Christianity at its side.

The writer is not tendering proofs, but asking for them, stating the difficulties which prevail, and pleading for perfect freedom of discussion. Otherwise he would ask whether there is not still something in human nature apparently unsusceptible of physical explanation and seeming to point to the possibility of a higher state of being. Evolution may ultimately explain our general frame, emotional and intellectual, as well as physical. It may in time explain the marvels of imagination and memory. It may explain our æsthetic nature with our music and art. It may explain even our social and political frame and our habit of conformity to law. But beyond conformity to law, social or political, is there not, in the highest specimens of our race at

least, a conception of an ideal of character and an effort to rise to it which seem to point to a more spiritual sphere?

Necessarianism, whether in the philosophic form or in that of the Westminster Confession, would apparently make short work of all moral questions by reducing us to automatons. But Necessarianism depends on the assumption that there is only one factor in action, namely, motive; and that, if you knew the agent's motive, you could invariably predict his action. But reflection tells us that there are two factors in action, motive and volition, and that of this we are conscious as often as we hesitate in action, though not when the action is a matter of course.

One great change in the ecclesiastical world appears to be at hand. The Papal autocracy was the creation of Hildebrand, who for that purpose allied himself with Norman Conquest, and demanded of William the Conqueror the political homage which the Conqueror was too strong to yield, but which Popes, notably Innocent III, afterwards succeeded in extorting from weaker kings. Before Hildebrand there had been only a western Primacy or Patriarchate round which, when western Christendom had lost connection with the east and the Empire, the people of the west gathered for guidance and cowered for protection. Gregory the Great, while in the case of Phocas he showed his interest in the affairs of the Empire, put forth no claim to dominion. To the recognized autocracy, when that yoke was slipped off by the political powers, succeeded, as the instrument of Papal influence, the Jesuit with his intrigues. Disestablishment has now prevailed in France. It is apparently coming in Spain. "Modernism" advances with the advance of science even in the priesthood. But what is to follow on the fall of the Papacy, a general dissolution or a reunion of Christendom on the broad, moral basis of the Christian ideal, of which there are some signs, the next generation may see. The present generation can do little more than plead for a free course for truth.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

P.S.—It may be remembered that not long ago the London "Daily Telegraph" published a selection from a series of nine thousand letters which had been received by it in three months from people seeking light on the subject of religion. The subject, therefore, is thoroughly and urgently before the world.

REPUBLIC AND MONARCHY: FIFTEEN YEARS OF FRENCH DIPLOMACY.

BY ANDRE TARDIEU, FOREIGN EDITOR OF "LE TEMPS."

THE foreign policy of contemporary France is original in two particulars,—a republican policy is brought face to face with monarchical policies, and a new diplomacy has to treat with the old traditional diplomacy. Of course, changes in the form of government do not necessarily affect diplomatic relations between different nations. Thus, history shows us Francis I, "the very Christian king," holding diplomatic intercourse with "the unspeakable Turk"; Richelieu treating with Protestants, and Mazarin negotiating with the regicide Cromwell. It must be admitted, however,—and we have frequently experienced this fact since 1871—that a country which has changed its institutions in the direction of greater liberty is looked upon, for various reasons, with a sort of suspicion by the governments of the old régime. In the first place, such a country is considered a kind of revolutionary centre, which sets a dangerous example to monarchical peoples of indiscipline and rebellion, and, in the second place, it is held that democracies cannot pursue a foreign policy with any continuity. But it can be fairly said that French diplomacy, during the past fifteen years, has triumphed over these difficulties, and this fact may be set down as not one of its smallest merits. But it has had other good points. It has struck out on new lines, making the basis of its activities an alliance—that with Russia—and a friendly understanding—that with England, which had long been held as desirable, but which became a reality only recently. This double originality characteristic of French foreign policy during the Third Republic gives it a peculiar stamp which a free country like the United States will fully appreciate.

The first thing French diplomacy had to do on the foundation of the present Republic was to escape from the isolation which was the inevitable consequence of the disasters of 1870. It is only the strong who are respected and courted. The period covered by the National Assembly (1871-77) was one of simple reconstruction, and the presidency of M. Grévy (1879-87) represented a season of meditation and waiting. It was not till M. Carnot entered the Elysée (1887-94) that France, finally feeling herself on her feet again, turned her attention to the outside world. The first glance abroad was not reassuring. Bismarck at that moment still exercised an unquestioned supremacy throughout Europe, grasping with an iron hand the reins of the Triple Alliance. Austria and Italy obeyed him with docility. Spanish sympathies turned towards Germany, and England felt a hostility to France on account of her course in Egypt and because of numerous colonial rivalries. France was surrounded by a circle of hatred, antipathy or ill-disposed indifference; while, at the other end of Europe, Russia, so different from France in many respects, was attracted to her by the similarity of her diplomatic situation. She, too, was a victim of Prince Bismarck. The Berlin Congress of 1878 crushed her hopes of at last putting her hands on Constantinople, just as the Treaty of Frankfort of 1871 registered the defeats of France; she suffered with impatience the Teutonic yoke under which all Europe was chafing. Hence it was that both parties—St. Petersburg and Paris—recognized that an alliance between the two countries was as natural as it was necessary, especially as Bismarck himself, thirty years before, had predicted such an occurrence. The bringing about of this alliance not only marked the end of France's isolation, but it also announced her reappearance on the European diplomatic stage, for a nation with a foreign policy does not stand alone, solidarity being the first of international laws when a country passes from a state of observation to one of action.

The Franco-Russian alliance has made it possible for France to view calmly its whole foreign political field. For twenty years, she had been pursuing a fine colonial activity, but only with the tacit consent of Germany, which thought it wise to encourage her in these distant enterprises, as they kept her mind from brooding on the question of her eastern frontier. But with the advent of the Russian alliance she escaped this sort of tutelage

and can now look after her own affairs in her own way. A glance at the map shows that, outside of a Franco-German war, it is on the Mediterranean only that France can find a field for her activities. There she possesses two first-class colonies—Algeria and Tunis,—which give her perhaps the leading place in the western part of that portion of the world. But they are exposed to several dangers so long as Morocco continues to be in a chronic state of anarchy.

The first of these dangers arises from the nature of the Mohammedan population of those regions, the various countries being closely bound together, notwithstanding separating boundary lines. The spirit of revolt is there contagious. The second danger arises from the temptation that some other European nation might feel to intervene in Moroccan affairs and seek to gain a dominant influence there. This would be a direct menace to France's colonies of Algeria and Tunis. Consequently, in order to protect her present possessions in northwest Africa, France must prevent all nations, except herself or her allies, from securing a predominant position in Morocco; and, in the second place, she must, through a system of wise reforms, bring about an orderly government in that distracted land. In other words, France has to apply there a sort of African Monroe Doctrine. I may add that, through force of circumstances, this new Morocco Doctrine was formulated while M. Delcassé was our Minister of Foreign Affairs (1898-1905), and since then it has held the first place in French foreign policy, bringing about in 1905-1906 a grand diplomatic contest in which all the leading nations took part.

Before the meeting of the Algeciras Conference, it was found that, if France were to carry through her Moroccan policy and to take an active part in general European foreign politics, she must have other backing than the Russian alliance. It was necessary to strengthen that alliance by complementary understandings,—with England, in the first place, and next with Italy and Spain. The negotiations occasioned by the necessity for this triple understanding, with the side issues which they created, form the greater part of the diplomatic history of France during the last five years.

France began the task by making approaches to Italy, where her object could be more easily attained on account of economical

causes, which now play such a large part in international relations. It was to the commercial interest of Italy to turn towards France. The Franco-Italian tariff war had cost Italy more than it had cost France, the influx of German capital on the other side of the Alps having given but momentary relief, and when, in 1900, a financial crisis broke upon Germany, a serious disaster would have befallen the young kingdom if France had refused financial aid to Italy. The treaty of commerce negotiated in 1898 between the two countries was the first step towards this much-desired reconciliation, and the good work was completed by the agreements brought about in November, 1900, and December, 1902, by which Italy left France free to act in Morocco in exchange for a similar liberty for herself in Tripoli. At the same time, France was assured, though the importance of this concession must not be exaggerated, that Italy's presence in the Triple Alliance was no longer a menace to France.

The good understanding with England followed that with Italy. At first, this move was regarded with scepticism; but, in the end, it won the confidence of both nations. At the start, it was to affect only old colonial quarrels; but to-day it has become a universally accepted basis of all diplomatic action. This is unquestionably the most brilliant and the boldest international act of the past thirty years. When, in 1902, King Edward announced his intention of making an official visit to Paris with the approval of the French Government, it was feared in some quarters that this act might occasion grave disorders or hostile manifestations in the Paris streets, which it might be difficult to cope with. But the journey was a more marked success than even the most sanguine had hoped for, and was the starting-point for the negotiations which ended with the agreement between the two countries signed on April 8th, 1904. Passing over the accessory articles, the two main features of this treaty are that France recognizes the situation which England has assumed in Egypt, while England stands ready to approve the course which France may pursue in Morocco.

A few months later, a Franco-Spanish agreement was brought about,—the last link in this international chain which was to control the Mediterranean and Moroccan policy of the French Government; and, at the same moment, it opened up a period of difficulties. France had at last perceived, and perceived

rightly, that it was in the direction of the Mediterranean that she could reap new fruits. But, however rich this fruitage might be, she should not have been hypnotized thereby and should not have lost sight of the real situation on the European Continent and in the world in general. At the very moment when, armed with these three important supports—the Franco-Italian, the Franco-English and the Franco-Spanish understandings—M. Delcassé concentrated all his attention on Morocco, the governing influences on the Continent were unfavorable to the carrying out of the plans which the French Foreign Office had in view.

Germany, for instance, was ruffled at seeing these various combinations brought about without her having anything to say about them, and she was apprehensive concerning this good understanding between France and England at the moment when Anglo-German relations were very much strained. In a word, Berlin was simply waiting for a favorable occasion when she could intervene and give vent to her pent-up anger. And at the same time, Russia, foolishly dragged by imprudent statesmen and unscrupulous men of business, whose moneyed interests were in the Far East, into a losing war with Japan, found herself momentarily without weight in the councils of Europe. A cool head and even a little foresight should have sufficed to convince any one that at such a time the greatest prudence should be exercised. But M. Delcassé seems to have shut his eyes to the danger, with the result now known to everybody.

German hostility suddenly showed itself at a moment when the military strength of France was not all that it might have been, and when her allies were in an embarrassed position. Paris was seized with a panic, M. Delcassé was forced to throw up his portfolio under conditions that were not agreeable to our national pride, and M. Rouvier, stepping into the vacant place, did his best to pull the country out of this Moroccan slough. It was a sad period—this smoothing down of old difficulties and the beginning anew again. Its moving history I have told in my book, "The Conference of Algeciras." Thanks to the ability of French diplomacy and the fidelity of her allies and friends, France finally got out of the difficulty much more successfully than she had a right to hope for.

At the very start, France agreed to the demand that her plan for the reform of Morocco should be submitted to the approval

of the other nations, on condition that Germany should not call in question, at the Conference about to open, certain governing principles of the Moroccan policy of France. The Franco-German agreements, drawn up in July and September, 1905, after weary negotiations, of whose daily progress I was a witness, prepared the way for the calling together of the Conference which was held at Algeciras from January 5th to April 7th, 1906.

This Conference was not only interesting from a Mediterranean and Moroccan standpoint, but it was even more important, as came out more and more clearly as the proceedings went on, as an occasion for a sort of "resistance test" of the alliances, understandings and friendships so rife in Europe at that moment. Thus, the Russian Alliance then came to the fore again; for the war in Manchuria was over, and Russia was bringing her troops back to Europe. So Russia became a great aid to her ally, and the energetic instructions sent on March 19th, 1906, by Count Lamsdorf to Count Cassini, his representative at the Conference, did much to bring about the final result, which, taken all in all, was favorable to France, for authority was given to her, in conjunction with Spain, to police the eight Moroccan ports. The severest diplomatic attacks witnessed at the Conference had to be met by the Franco-English friendship. In 1905, a few months before the meeting of the Conference, Germany did her best to break it by trying to frighten France by threatening war. We have not forgotten the demands of the chief fuglemen on the German side—Professor Schiemann, Prince Henckel von Donnersmarck and von Holstein—that France must give hostages to keep the peace! Again, in 1906, when the Conference convened, a bolder attempt was made to trouble France's relations with England. It was given out that Great Britain, having got out of the understanding all that could be got out of it, was now quite ready to shake it off, become free again and then to enter into an agreement with Germany! Not only did the "*entente cordiale*" stand firm against all these insidious attacks, but it came out of the struggle stronger than ever. This good understanding made itself felt in all the capitals of Europe, as well as at Algeciras. The intimate and continual collaboration of the French and English representatives was especially marked at Madrid in the persons of M. Jules Cambon and Mr. Cartwright, the British *Chargé d'Affaires;* in Rome, in the persons of M.

Barrère and Mr. Egerton; and in St. Petersburg, in the persons of M. Bompard and Sir Charles Hardinge. It was the cynosure of all eyes, presenting a solid front capable of balancing the effects of the Triple Alliance. To use a scientific term, at Algeciras the Anglo-French agreement passed from the static to the dynamic state.

The Algeciras Conference was also a test of the strength of the Triple Alliance, and I do not think it can be said that that Alliance came out of this trial rejuvenated. Italy, very much annoyed by this dispute, which set its Continental engagements of 1882 against its Mediterranean engagements of 1900 and 1902, tried from the very first day of the meeting to be faithful to both. That was not what Germany had expected. She wished the Italian plenipotentiary to act as her second in this international duel; only this and nothing more. But Italy still belongs to the Triple Alliance, and though I do not share the opinion of some of my fellow countrymen that she belongs to it only for the form, I think she interprets her obligations in a far more liberal sense than was formerly the case. And this change dates from Algeciras.

As for Austria, the other member of the Triple Alliance, she played at Algeciras a conciliatory part, which the German Emperor has publicly approved. But, though she was scrupulously correct in her relations to the German Foreign Office, she always strove during the Conference to maintain her intellectual and moral liberty. The Triple Alliance, consequently, still stands, but I do not think I go too far when I say that its character has been modified. It is now less despotic and, if I may be permitted the expression, more parliamentary.

Thus, the upshot of this acute European crisis, which I have called "the conflict of the alliances," was that all the diplomatic combinations stood, at the end of the Conference of Algeciras, just about where they stood at the beginning of the Conference. In a word, there was no marked, material change in the international arrangements which had so provoked the anger of Germany. This fact comes out perfectly clearly in the speech delivered in the German Reichstag on November 14th, 1906, by Prince von Bülow, when he had only honeyed words for these combinations, some of his expressions meaning explicitly, others implicitly, that he accepted the new situation created by M. Del-

cassé's policy, to which, however, Germany had been so firmly opposed in 1905. It is not surprising, therefore, that this policy, which has sometimes been called "the policy of Eastern understandings," has constantly developed since the spring of 1906—that is, since the close of the Algeciras Conference. In the first place, it has been strengthened by the two identical treaties which Spain has signed with France and with England, and which are mutual guarantees of the *status quo* in the western Mediterranean and in the eastern Atlantic; and, in the second place, three other agreements, of which Europe is not the theatre, have in various ways rendered the relations of France with her allies and friends more precise and more easily carried out. A word about these three acts.

More than once in the past, the rivalries between England and Russia have given some ground for surprise at France's simultaneous good understanding with these two Powers. But the Anglo-Russian agreement, brought about a few months ago, has removed this difficulty. The Russo-Japanese war was the cause of much of France's trouble with Germany in 1905, and it was only too plain that any friction between the Governments of St. Petersburg and Tokio was sure to be an embarrassment for France. But the Russo-Japanese agreement of last year, which greatly strengthens the treaty of Portsmouth, makes for a durable peace between those two countries. Thirdly, the recent Franco-Japanese treaty, which guarantees the Asiatic possessions of the contracting parties, adds another trump card to the very strong hand held by France. I may further add that the present improved state of the relations between England and Germany is favorable to the maintenance of peace, which is a source of unconcealed pleasure in France.

The survey of these alliances and friendships, with their bearings on French politics, would not be complete without a word as to the amicable relations which exist between France and the United States. The foundation of this friendly feeling was laid back beyond the past century, and it is a pleasure to perceive that it grows firmer with the years. I need not dwell on the fresh evidences of this friendship which have been seen on several occasions during recent years and which are so free from all thought of compensation of any kind; nor need I point out the probability that nothing will ever disturb these happy rela-

tions; for the two countries have no conflicting interests. But I wish to record the fact that France is very grateful to the American Government for what it did during the difficulties of 1905 and 1906, which have just been dwelt upon. I can speak all the more honestly of this gratefulness, because American diplomacy, faithful to its governing principles, did not take a light view of the part it could play at the Algeciras Conference, where, on the contrary, swayed by a noble wish to have peace prevail, it resolved to give its vote to the side which presented the most reasonable and equitable case; and it so happened that, in this instance, it was France which fulfilled these conditions. We believe in France that President Roosevelt is still high in praise of the frankness of our intentions at Algeciras, and his approval of our course gives us deep pleasure, for we look upon the present incumbent of the White House as a man of good judgment, large heart and marked ability.

France is often misjudged abroad because she takes an unhealthy pleasure in fouling her own nest. We Frenchmen sometimes carry so far our hatred of hypocrisy that we are apt to boast of our vices. I am well aware of our national weaknesses. Too much importance is often given to our interior quarrels. The different political parties hurt the country by their excesses. The larger interests of the nation are sacrificed to the lesser. Some Frenchmen, however, hold that, if faults do really exist, they should not be dwelt upon. This means living continually in a fool's paradise, which is as bad for nations as for individuals. The country which is told and accepts that famous remark: "Not a gaiter-button is missing," is apt to wake up some fine morning in Sedan! Let it be admitted that contemporary France has her faults, but let it be added that she also has her merits. And among these merits is surely this diplomatic achievement, whose principal outlines and essential features I have just given, and whose chief creators have been the ten or more Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the past fifteen or sixteen years, of whom I shall say a word in closing.

The more recent occupants of the Palace of the Quai d'Orsay have differed considerably from one another, as regards their early beliefs, their tendencies, their intellectual calibre and their moral character. Glancing for a moment at the more important of them, I would say that M. Hanotaux has nothing in common

with M. Ribot or M. Delcassé. M. Rouvier cannot be likened to M. Bourgeois, while the latter does not at all resemble the present incumbent, M. Pichon. But, notwithstanding these differences and in some cases these antinomies, a well-formed French foreign policy has been created, which may sometimes have varied, shown signs of indecision and even made positive mistakes, but which, on the whole, has been consistent in its aim and in the means employed to attain its object. It has, for instance, been faithful to the initial alliance with Russia, trying to complete it, but, at the same time, careful not to sap its strength; negotiating the English treaties and striving to harmonize them with the Russian understanding; limiting its efforts to a single field—the north African and Mediterranean regions—and, in spite of some rebuffs, getting nearer and nearer its goal. For it cannot be questioned that, at the present moment, in spite of the difficulties arising from the anarchy which now prevails in Morocco, the peculiarly privileged position which France occupies in that country, a position, however, which does not imply a spirit of conquest or monopoly, is to-day far less questioned by the interested Powers than was the case three years ago.

Is there, then, in all Europe—if we except England, perhaps—another country whose diplomatic activity has been as tenacious, as unremitting and as successful as that of France? I do not think so. I am always ready to admit that diplomacy, unless backed by military force, is of little avail. I am convinced that France should have an eye to other means of defence. Nor do I despair of our seeing the situation in this light; and if we need the encouragement of examples of patriotic energy, these examples are not far to seek; and for one such we have simply to turn to the United States.

ANDRE TARDIEU.

THE "BLACK HAND" MYTH.

BY GAETANO D'AMATO, FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED ITALIAN SOCIETIES.

It is not strange, perhaps, that most Americans believe that a terrible organization named the "Black Hand Society" exists in Italy, and is sending its members to establish branches for the purpose of plundering the United States, since nearly every newspaper in the country conveys that impression to its readers. One would think, however, that such men as Frank P. Sargent, Commissioner-General of Immigration, and Terence V. Powderly, Chief of the Division of Information of that Bureau, would inform themselves on a matter that pertains so closely to their duties. Nevertheless, both of these officials have put themselves on record as believing that such an organization exists. In his last annual report Mr. Sargent says, apropos of the suggestion that legislation be adopted requiring the presentation of a passport as a prerequisite to the examination of an alien applying for admission to the United States: "The current history of the perpetration of heinous crimes throughout the United States by foreigners domiciled therein, especially by the members of the 'Black Hand' and other like societies in evidence," etc. Again, in a recent article on "Undesirable Citizens," he refers to "the introduction into this free country of such hideous and terrifying fruits of long-continued oppression as the 'Black Hand' and anarchist societies."

Mr. Powderly is more specific. In an interview in the New York "Sun," he declared that he had learned in Italy last summer that "on its native heath the 'Black Hand' was organized for good," explaining further: "An Italian who wrongs a woman, and fails to right the wrong, is practically driven from among his fellows. The black hand of ostracism is raised against him.

The 'Black Hand' in this country, brought into being for noble purposes across the sea, was prostituted and converted to ignoble purposes when transplanted to the United States." The "Black Hand" has scarcely even been heard of in Italy. It was never heard of until long after the term had been used in the United States, and then only as a distant manifestation of criminal activity regrettable because the good name of the Italians in the New World suffered by it. A society for the protection of women would be superfluous in Italy.

The name "Black Hand" is of Spanish origin, and the organization to which it referred was first described in 1889 by Major Arthur G. F. Griffiths, the English criminologist, in his work "Mysteries of Police and Crime." He wrote:

"Not so very long since a wide-spread organization for evil was brought to light in Spain—the Society of the Black Hand, as it was called. In its origin, it consisted of missionaries who hoped to redress the balance between rich and poor; but it soon drew down to it many desperadoes who gladly accepted the openings it offered for carrying on their original trade. It became a very extensive and numerous society, existing in the provinces, each having its own centre and out branches, with a total of affiliated members exceeding 40,000."

In the United States, the "Black Hand Society" is a myth, in so far as the phrase conveys the impression that an organization of Italian criminals exists in America, or that the Camorra or the Mafia has become naturalized here. By reason of the laxity of the immigration laws, there have crept into this country some thousands of ex-convicts from Naples, Sicily and Calabria, along with millions of honest and industrious Italians; and, owing to the inefficiency of the police in various cities where these Italians are domiciled, the criminals among them are able to live by robbery and extortion, frequently accompanied by murder, their victims being the more helpless of their fellow countrymen.

These fugitives from justice and gallows-birds, from whom it is America's duty to protect the law-abiding Italians who are doing yeoman service in the building of the Republic, are members of the Italian race that have brought disgrace upon the others, and upon whom the sensational press has conferred the title of "Black Hand Society." How many of these criminals there are in the United States it is impossible, for obvious reasons, to estimate with any degree of accuracy. Lieutenant Petrosino, who is in charge of the little Italian Squad in the Police De-

partment of New York and probably knows more about the predatory brotherhood than any one else, says that they may number as many as from three to four per cent. of the Italian population. They are no more organized, however, than are the many thousands of lawbreakers of other nationalities in America. Indeed, Robert Louis Stevenson's playful but accurate characterization of the gangs of thieves that preyed upon nocturnal Paris three and a half centuries ago applies to the so-called "Black Hand" to-day—"independent malefactors, socially intimate, and occasionally joining together for some serious operation, just as modern stock-jobbers form a syndicate for an important loan."

Italian outlaws are enabled to reach this country to-day with almost the same facility as the honest Italian, so far as the laws of the United States are concerned. True, the ex-convict cannot obtain a passport from the Italian Government and sail on an Italian ship, but there is nothing to prevent his crossing the frontier and leaving from any port outside of Italy to which he may make his way. Many of the most dangerous of the Italian criminals in the United States have come here by way of England and Canada, and many others have shipped as sailors from Italian ports and deserted their ships on reaching this country.

The Neapolitan, Sicilian or Calabrian desperado, once he has reached these shores, finds the conditions ideal for levying tribute upon the feebler folk among his countrymen. In nearly all the larger cities, particularly of the East and Middle West, he will find them living in colonies by themselves. Besides the 500,000 Italians in New York, there are 100,000 each in Boston and Philadelphia; 70,000 each in San Francisco and New Orleans; 60,000 in Chicago; 25,000 each in Denver and Pittsburg; and 20,000 in Baltimore. In smaller cities are colonies that will number from 5,000 to 10,000.

Conditions are much the same in these colonies all over the country. They are generally located in a poor quarter of the town, which is not policed as well as those where the native American lives. The newcomers, moreover, are timid in their strange surroundings; they are ignorant of the law of the land; few of them can speak English, even if they dared to complain of outrages perpetrated upon them. And, when the humble and respectable Italians do appeal to the police and find that the law cannot, or will not, protect them, they are reduced to a pitiful

extremity that has driven scores of potential citizens back to Italy, kept many an industrious resident in actual bondage to the lawbreakers, and in some instances even forced hitherto honest men to become criminals themselves.

Aside from the urban Italians, there are some 500,000 laborers of the race distributed throughout the United States, working in mines and vineyards and on railroads, irrigation ditches and farms, who are equally victims of their rapacious countrymen with the dwellers in cities. In fact, there is scarcely a point throughout the length and breadth of the country where a few Italians are gathered together that some criminals of the race have not fastened themselves upon them.

Every reader of the newspapers is familiar with the outrages that, in the name of the "Black Hand," have been perpetrated among the Italians, beginning some ten years ago and increasing coincidentally with the Italian immigration, but reaching a limit two or three years ago. Murder has been a common crime, and the dynamiting of houses and shops, the kidnapping of children, with every species of blackmail and extortion, was of so frequent occurrence that the mind became dulled to the enormity of these offences. In New York conditions have been worse than anywhere else; and yet, with half a million of Italians in the population, there are to-day only forty Italians in the Police Department. Along miles of street in New York there are no guardians of the people who understand the language of the residents. As Marion Crawford says, the employment of Irish policemen in Rome would be an analogous circumstance, since there are more Italians in New York than in the capital of Italy.

How little the police have understood the situation may be gathered from the fact that, during the height of the wave of Italian crime three years ago, respectable members of that race were not allowed permits to carry weapons of defence, even when their lives were threatened. Physicians whose nocturnal duties subjected them to particular peril; bankers and business men, at any time liable to the attentions of scoundrels who did not stop at murder; in fact, all persons with Italian names were prohibited absolutely from carrying arms. Wherefore the police aided and abetted the outlaws, all of whom carried knives and pistols, by making it impossible for the law-abiding Italian legally to prepare for defence in case of attack.

During twenty-nine years of residence in New York, I have found two causes that operate for the blackening of the Italian name in respect of crime: the sensationalism of the yellow press and the ignorance and recklessness of the police in recording arrests. Almost every dark-skinned European, not speaking English, who does not wear the Turkish fez, is put down on the police records as an Italian, and thus the Italian is condemned for much of the crime committed here by persons of other nationalities.

It is impossible to comprehend the attitude of a part of the American press with regard to the Italian, unless the theory is accepted that the truth is a consideration secondary to the publication of sensations that are calculated to increase the day's sales. Last spring, for instance, the newspapers manufactured a "Black Hand" scare, representing that the police were in despair of getting the lawless element under control. Two of the less sensational of the Sunday supplements had articles on the same day devoted to the subject, in each of which it was stated that an organization of Italian criminals under the name of the "Black Hand Society" existed in New York, and that it was growing in power so rapidly as to be an actual menace to the city.

One monthly magazine even published an alarmist article, actually signed with the name of Petrosino, the chief of the Italian Squad of the Police Department, entitled "Italian Mafia Has New York by the Throat," expressing views not held by the detective, who had never even heard of the article until it was shown to him in print. As a matter of fact, any reporter or writer who had made enquiries of Petrosino would have been informed that he was more encouraged than ever before to believe that he was at that very time bringing the Italian criminals under control.

A cruel bit of journalistic work that actually brought about fatal results came under my personal observation just after the assassination of King Humbert of Italy, in 1900, by the Italian anarchist Bresci, who had lived in Paterson up to a short time before the crime was committed. Newspaper reporters were swarming to New Jersey at that time, and one of them caught sight, in a barber shop in Hoboken, of the photograph of a well-known Italian merchant named Bianchetti, taken as he was saying farewell to some friends on board a steamer about to sail for Europe. The proprietor of the shop jokingly told this reporter

that the man in the photograph was Bresci, whereupon the news-seeker bought it. I personally informed him that the photograph was that of a highly respected citizen of Hoboken and I gave his name. Nevertheless, the picture was published in a New York newspaper that afternoon, and afterward copied in the Italian newspapers, not only in America, but in Italy, the result being that many of Bianchetti's acquaintances, in the Mother Country as well as in the United States, believed that he was in some way involved in the assassination of the King. He died of a broken heart within a year.

The term "Black Hand" was first used in this country about ten years ago, probably by some Italian desperado who had heard of the exploits of the Spanish society, and considered the combination of words to be high-sounding and terror-inspiring. One or two crimes committed under the symbol gave it a vogue among the rapacious brotherhood; and, as it looked well and attracted attention in their headlines, the newspapers finally applied it to all crimes committed by the Italian banditti in the United States. Thus the press not only facilitates the commission of crime among the Italian ex-convicts, by making it appear that all the evil done by them is the successful work of a single organization, that aids the individual criminal by leading his ignorant countrymen, upon whom he preys, to believe that he makes his lawless demands on behalf of a powerful society.

In spite of the depredations of the thousands of Italian criminals whom this Government has allowed to enter the country and prey upon the honest and industrious of their own race here, the great body of that race has prospered. A quarter of a century ago, there were not more than 25,000 Italians in America, and their entire possessions would have been valued at a trifling sum. To-day, in New York alone, the estimated material value of the property in the Italian colonies is $120,000,000, aside from $100,000,000 invested by Italians in wholesale commerce, $50,000,000 in real estate, and $20,000,000 on deposit in the banks. I doubt whether any other nationality can show as good a record of twenty-five years of achievement.

Of the Italian as a good citizen, a valuable member of society, I may not write, but perhaps I may be allowed to quote the opinion of an American of Anglo-Saxon descent, James J. Starrow, of Boston. Mr. Starrow writes:

"I believe the average Italian immigrant in physique the superior of the native New-Englander, and what other consideration is of more importance to us, or more surely lies at the base of a strong and vigorous race? The love of family is strong among Italians. What is more fundamental than this? The whole structure of modern civilization is based on the family group. If this goes to pieces, what matters it what the form of our Government may be? Can the native population point to any superlatively superior record in this respect? While the Italians consume a good deal of light wine, and occasionally too much, yet they are on the whole a very temperate race. The Italian drunkard hardly exists. Most important of all, the Italian women do not get drunk. The Italian seems to have a natural courtesy, which is not a mere surface indication, but, I think, springs, as all true courtesy does, from a certain affability of soul and regard for others."

In the United States, as everywhere, the Italian women are notably domestic. They are attached to home and family, and that tie they never break. They are never heard of in the divorce courts, and the President is not compelled to scold them about race suicide. Petrosino tells me that he has never seen an Italian woman "on the streets" in New York.

In the domestic life the Italian woman is at her best. She is a true helpmeet to her husband; she works hard to help him, and saves for him, as, I think I may say, no woman of any other race does. It is due to her that the Italians in this country are growing so rapidly in wealth. It is due to her that the name of Italy is not associated with any suggestion of social vice in the Western World. While she retains her Old World ways she brings up her children as good and sound Americans, inculcating upon their minds the principles of thrift and economy which she herself learned in Italy.

Immigration into this country now averages about 100,000 per month the year round. Of these newcomers one in every five is from Southern Italy; and, as I have said, criminals are still coming in. The investigation made in Europe last summer by the Congressional Immigration Commission that reports to the present Congress ought to result in a law deporting all foreign ex-convicts in the United States, who cannot prove that they are making an honest livelihood, and establishing some form of consular inspection on the other side to prevent any more of the criminal class from entering.

GAETANO D'AMATO.

A REVIEW OF THE TESTIMONY IN THE BROWNSVILLE INVESTIGATION.

BY JOSEPH BENSON FORAKER, UNITED STATES SENATOR.

It is difficult to review in a brief way the thousands of pages of testimony of witnesses and the many documents which make up the record of the arduous work performed by the Senate Committee investigating the Brownsville affray; but there have been so many misrepresentations and misunderstandings that it may be well, for the benefit of the public interested in the matter and uncertain of the conclusions, to set forth a few of the leading points which were established beyond doubt by the testimony.

It was near midnight, on the night of August 13-14, 1906, that the shooting occurred in the town of Brownsville, Texas. One private citizen, a barkeeper, was killed, a lieutenant of the police was wounded and his horse shot under him, and another citizen, editor of a Spanish newspaper, claimed to have been slightly injured.

Companies B, C and D, of the Twenty-fifth United States Infantry, colored, were at the time stationed at Fort Brown. The testimony taken shows that the record of each company, down to the time of the shooting, was without any kind of stain or blemish, and that all of the officers were of high character, not only as officers of the army, but as men; that they were honorable, upright, truthful and trustworthy in every sense. The official reports of the War Department have record of two or three difficulties, of one kind or another, occurring during the forty years of service since the Twenty-fifth Infantry was organized; but it was other companies of the regiment which were identified with the troubles in every case, and not one of the three companies stationed at Brownsville has a single blot upon its record. No company in all the army has a clearer and better record for dis-

cipline and general conduct. Almost all the men of the three companies had served more than one enlistment. Their terms of service ranged all the way from five or six years up to more than twenty years. Sergeant Mingo Sanders, of Company B, had served continuously for twenty-six years; and, counting double-time allowance for service outside of the United States, in eighteen months he would have been entitled to retire on three-quarters pay, with all the rights and allowances provided by law for men who have served continuously for thirty years. He would not willingly have sacrificed this opportunity. These three companies had been with the rest of the regiment at Fort Niobrara, Nebraska, for several years prior to going to Brownsville, and they only arrived at Fort Brown on Saturday, July 28th, two weeks and two days before the shooting occurred. Even the police of Brownsville testified to their good behavior and orderly conduct during that brief period.

A battalion of white soldiers had been stationed at Fort Brown. The announcement of the change was made several months in advance, and there is a great preponderance of evidence that the people of Brownsville resented it. A great deal was said by the newspapers about discrimination against the negroes by the saloons of Brownsville, but many of them—those kept by the Mexicans, and others—did not discriminate at all; and there is no testimony whatever to show that the soldiers resented it or made any effort to go where they were discriminated against. During their brief stay, there had been three altercations with citizens of Brownsville, only two of sufficient importance even to mention; and the most careful testimony elicited concerning them only showed the animus of the citizens and a reason why they might have attacked the soldiers, but none whatever why the soldiers should attack the citizens.

Brownsville is situated on the Rio Grande, with a population of about eight thousand, five-sixths of it Mexican. Like all frontier towns, it has had its fair share—if not more—of one kind or another of violators of the law. There was abundant testimony that, prior to the arrival of the colored troops, there were many ugly expressions—among them numerous threats of violence, coupled with assertions that "the negro troops would not stay long, if they did come," that "they would soon get rid of them," etc. On Monday, August 13th, a story was circulated

about the town concerning an alleged assault on a woman by a negro soldier, which caused such excitement that the mayor called upon Major Penrose, in the afternoon, advising him to keep the men in quarters that night, as they might be harshly dealt with by the citizens if found in the town. Mayor Combe's testimony before the committee showed clearly that the citizens were in a mood to "shoot up" the soldiers, but there was no evidence that the soldiers had ever thought of such a thing as "shooting up" the town. On the contrary, all the testimony concerning the three altercations which did occur shows that when the soldier, Newton, was knocked down with a revolver he made no resistance; that when Private Reed was pushed off a gang-plank into the water, and reported the matter to his captain, he laughingly remarked that he "guessed he got about what he deserved"; and that while Adair, the third soldier, was not in the least at fault, he made no complaint and showed no resentment. These three men all belonged to Company C, and are all shown, beyond any possible doubt, not to have participated in any way in the shooting affray. In fact, the strongest of all the testimony showed that no one belonging to Company C could have taken part in the trouble; and there was no one connected with companies B and D who had had trouble with anybody in Brownsville. Hence there is an absence of adequate motive for any of the soldiers to have engaged in such a raid.

There were two men better able than any others to give reliable testimony as to where the shooting began. They were the sentinel on duty at the fort, and a Mexican citizen of Brownsville who was acting as scavenger for the reservation, and at work when the firing began. They were wide awake, and have given intelligent and straightforward testimony. The sentry testified that when he heard the first shots he went between barracks C and B to a point on the walk, and fired his piece three times into the air for the purpose of giving the alarm. He asserts that there were no shots fired from within the walls except the three which he fired himself. The scavenger testified that the first shots were fired from some place near the mouth of Cowen Alley, quite outside the reservation. It is wholly probable that the desultory testimony tending to establish the fact that shots were fired from within the reservation all refers to the three shots fired by the sentry.

The call to arms was sounded immediately after the first shots were fired, and Companies B and D were formed while the firing continued. Company C was not formed till five or ten minutes after it ceased, owing to difficulty in getting their guns, because a non-commissioned officer in charge of quarters refused to unlock the racks without an order; so Major Penrose had them broken open and the men fell into line. The officers testified that, while it was possible that men engaged in the shooting might have rejoined companies before verification was complete, they were all of the opinion that none did so join.

A committee of citizens was organized the next day to investigate the matter, and testimony reported stenographically was taken by them, as complete as possible, while every incident was fresh in the minds of all. The record shows that the committee proceeded and witnesses testified entirely on the assumption that the firing was the work of the soldiers, and the only inquiry was as to which of the soldiers were guilty. Not one of all the witnesses called before this committee could say more than that, hearing the shots, they looked out into a very dark night and saw a party of men who appeared to be uniformed and armed like soldiers, and that on this account they recognized them as soldiers. It does not seem to have occurred to any one to investigate upon the possibility that some of the citizens of Brownsville might have "shot up" their own town, or that it might have been done by any but the soldiers, for perfectly obvious and plausible reasons and evident motives. The case was presented to the Grand Jury of Cameron County, of which Brownsville is the county-seat, with the result that, after three weeks of investigating, they found no testimony upon which to base an indictment of anybody. No one will pretend that, in all the three thousand pages of testimony taken by the Senate Committee, there has been one iota of evidence added to strengthen a case against any of these men.

The officers of the battalion supposed at the time of the shooting that it was done by citizens. They thought so until Mayor Combe came to the fort and charged that it was done by soldiers. Even then they refused to believe the charge till the mayor returned with some exploded shells and cartridges and clips, such as were used by men of the battalion. On the strength of this they concluded that some of their

men must have done the firing, and they remained of this opinion till other facts were brought out, when Major Penrose and all of his officers returned to the conviction that the men of the battalion had nothing whatever to do with the shooting, and all of them so testified, under oath.

Major Blockson and Assistant Attorney-General Purdy were sent to Brownsville by the President to take further *ex parte* testimony. Doubtless, their reports as to what, in their opinion, the testimony established had more to do than the testimony itself in creating in the mind of the President the belief upon which he acted; for the Secretary of War and the President seemed satisfied that it had been established that certain soldiers of the battalion did the shooting, and that probably many others had knowledge of the guilty parties—in spite of the fact that every soldier of the battalion had stated, under oath, that he had had no participation whatever in the shooting and no knowledge whatever as to who did it; that, after the diligent inquiries of the officers of the battalion, not a clue had been found indicating that any one in the battalion had participated; that all of the men were present or accounted for in response to the call to arms, which sounded while the shooting was in progress; that as soon as it was light enough, the guns were inspected, and not one showed signs of having been fired the night before; that the ammunition was verified and every cartridge accounted for, not a single one was missing. It was found that the raiders were soldiers from the garrison, and the impossibility of their having kept their identity from their comrades was construed into a "conspiracy of silence," and all of the three companies were discharged from the army without honor and deprived of the privilege of re-enlistment.

The great difficulty with the early investigations was that they all proceeded on the supposition that the soldiers were guilty. Everything in favor of the soldiers was minimized. Everything against them was magnified. Major Blockson began his report with the unqualified statement that the trouble was caused by the soldiers of the Twenty-fifth Infantry. He stated that there was no doubt that the woman assaulted was seized by the hair and thrown to the ground by a tall negro soldier—though down to the present moment there has not been a word of sworn testimony to substantiate the statement; that he

was sure the three shots which went through Mr. Yturria's house were fired from near the centre of B Company's upper back porch, etc.

When the evidence upon which these statements were made was carefully investigated, it was found insufficient to warrant the conclusions. In his testimony before the committee, General Garlington admitted that he entered upon his investigation assuming that the men were guilty, and that all he did was for the purpose of disclosing who the guilty soldiers were. At no time did it occur to him that any but the soldiers could have done it. If it were necessary to speculate beyond the question of the guilt of the soldiers, there are several suggestions which might be made as to others, with possible motives, who may have "shot up" the town.

But restricting ourselves to a review of the testimony against the soldiers, its inadequacy is clearly apparent. The night was unusually dark, yet the distances at which the eye-witnesses saw what they testified to, and recognized the raiders as colored soldiers, was all the way from thirty to one hundred and fifty feet, and in only one or two cases was there any possibility of artificial light. Experiments were made by officers of other companies, with the result, as testified to the committee, that from ten to fifteen feet away was as far as it was possible to distinguish their own men. This is an experiment which it is easy for any one to make. Simply try to recognize individuals or their clothing, or determine whether they are white or black on a dark night, from thirty to one hundred and fifty feet away, without any artificial light, and you will be instantly convinced that all of this evidence is utterly without value.

Other testimony, which of itself might have been pertinent, upon careful consideration became worse than worthless. Preciado, for example, testified the first time in a way that, if he had been supported, might easily have fixed the blame on the soldiers. But he changed his testimony entirely when under oath before the Grand Jury. He said then: "I could not see anybody in the alley, as it was dark out there and I was in the light. I heard no word spoken." A third statement, different from either, he published in his paper. It was finally and conclusively contradicted when one of the bullets fired in the volley

he describes was bored out of a post by Lieutenant Leckie, and found to be of different composition from any of the bullets used by the soldiers, and one they could not have fired from their rifles.

Major Blockson's report that the course of the bullets which struck certain houses indicated that they had been fired from the upper balcony of B barracks was flatly contradicted by Lieutenant Leckie, who was sent by General McCaskey to Brownsville to investigate this and other matters for the Penrose court-martial. He testified that the bullets *could not* have been fired from B barracks.

A lot of exploded cartridge-shells, some clips and cartridges picked up in the streets of Brownsville and brought to the fort the next morning caused the officers of the battalion to conclude that the shooting was the work of the soldiers. But, when the evidence was thoroughly investigated, including a microscopic examination of the exploded shells, they became fully convinced that the men were innocent. In other words, the first and only evidence which had led them to think that the men were guilty eventually proved conclusively to these officers, who were best of all capable of coming at the truth, that the men were innocent.

There were many suggestive sidelights upon this point brought out in the committee investigation which had great weight. There were two or three hundred shots fired in Brownsville that night according to the testimony, but all of the ammunition of the battalion was accounted for afterward, and only about forty exploded shells were found in the town and produced in evidence. Other shells, to a large number, must have been exploded and left about the streets, and there was no reason why they should not have been found. It is only reasonable to suppose that, as they would not aid to convict the soldiers, not being such as the soldier could have used, they were not produced in evidence. No shell or clip or evidence of any kind was found inside the reservation wall. At daybreak the next morning Captain Macklin found, outside the wall across the street, at the mouth of Cowen Alley, seven shells and six clips on a circular area not more than ten inches in diameter. If these shells had been fired from one of the soldiers' rifles, they would have been scattered over an area of some ten feet

in diameter. They could not have fallen as they were found; while the six clips found with them would have held thirty instead of only seven cartridges. The exploded shells were subjected to microscopic examination by order of the War Department; and, by peculiar indentations, it was determined beyond doubt that they must have been fired from four certain guns belonging to Company B; that some of the shells had failed fire once, and been returned to the rifle and fired on second trial; that nine of them bore evidence of having been twice inserted in the rifle, though with only one attempt to fire.

This testimony, which was thought for a time to show the guilt of the men, conclusively proved their innocence. One of the four guns—one from which certain of the exploded shells *must* have been fired—was shown by unimpeachable and uncontradicted evidence to have been lying, on the night of the affray, in an arm-chest in which it had been brought from Fort Niobrara, with the name of the soldier to whom it had been allotted on a slip of paper in the bore. The top of the chest was screwed down. The chest was in the store-room under a pile of baggage, and the door was locked. The gun had not been used since it was fired on the target-range at Fort Niobrara. It could not possibly have been fired at Brownsville. The shells with which it was identified *must,* therefore, have been fired on the target-range at Fort Niobrara. That the shells picked up in the streets of Brownsville were not fired there was conclusively shown through the microscopic inspection and in other ways.

The guns were new at Fort Niobrara, and were so heavily oiled with cosmoline that the action of the spring was impeded, and it was of frequent occurrence during their first use there that the cartridge failed to explode the first time and was picked up and inserted again. This difficulty was entirely overcome long before coming to Fort Brown.

It was also testified by the officers that on the rifle-range at Fort Niobrara, and only there, to their knowledge, could there have been any excuse for removing a cartridge without an attempt to fire. When the call to cease firing was sounded on the range every soldier was required to remove any unexploded cartridge from his rifle. This alone would cause the marks on the cartridge, showing that they had been twice inserted with but one attempt to fire.

Neither of these things could have occurred that night at Brownsville. If for any possible reason a cartridge had been expelled from the rifle unfired it would have fallen anywhere several feet away, and the idea is utterly untenable that on such a night and on such business a raider would have taken the time and trouble to hunt it up and reinsert it. It follows, therefore, that if the shells picked up in Brownsville were fired from certain rifles, as the microscopic investigation by the Government proved,—rifles belonging to the colored battalion,—they could not have been fired in Brownsville or later than the target practice at Fort Niobrara. But the presence of those shells in the streets of Brownsville, which had not been fired there, is suggestively accounted for by the fact that Company B took with it to Brownsville, as a part of its baggage, a box of exploded shells and a proportionate number of clips, and that this box stood open on the back porch of B barracks, where any one in passing could have helped himself.

The conclusion seems inevitable that the shells were found in the streets of Brownsville because some one, for some purpose, had taken them from the box and scattered them there on the night of the raid. Surely the soldiers would not have done this. Hence even the microscopic investigation by the War Department shows conclusively, not that the soldiers were guilty, but that they were innocent.

To find men guilty upon the evidence secured is to disregard, to violate and to reverse every recognized rule for weighing evidence. It is not only to hold these men as murderers and perjurers, but to assert that Major Penrose and all his officers, than whom there are none in the army more honorable, upright and reliable, were not worthy of credence when they testified under oath that they believed their men had told the truth and were entirely innocent. There is no ground whatever on which to justify such monstrous conclusions.

JOSEPH B. FORAKER.

THE NEW IRELAND.—II.

A GENERAL SURVEY.

BY SYDNEY BROOKS.

A COUNTRY and a people with such a history as I have sketched must needs be abnormal. Most of the evils that have afflicted Ireland may, indeed, be paralleled, one by one, in the case of other nations; but in Ireland alone have they operated in conjunction and simultaneously, or with only so brief a break in their consecutive malignity as gave neither time nor opportunity for recovery or escape. There is no one cause, just as there is no one remedy, for Irish ills. Geographical isolation and an enforced national exclusiveness need not in themselves have differentiated Ireland any more, for instance, than they have differentiated Norway. Other countries have been as bitterly torn by the clash of racial strife. The vitality of tribalism in Ireland finds an even exaggerated counterpart in the persistence of the clan system in the Scottish Highlands. Conquest, followed by the eviction of the natives from the soil and by their social, legal and political repression, has been one of the most common phenomena of European history. A soft and sensuous climate, a lack of mineral resources and a preponderance of pasture have not prevented other lands from developing an industrial spirit in prosperity and contentment. The commercial restrictions imposed upon Ireland in the eighteenth century were nothing exceptional. Religious persecution, though in Ireland it assumed the unique and peculiarly revolting form of the persecution of a majority by a minority, has ravaged nearly every Continental country for far longer periods and with immeasurably greater savagery. The drainage of emigration, the secular ascendancy of Catholicism, the instability of party government, inadequate education, a con-

tinued stress of political agitation, an almost chronic scarcity among the masses, and the agricultural revolution wrought by Free Trade—not one of these is a factor peculiar to Ireland alone. It is their concurrence, the fatality of their combination in Ireland, the interplay of all of them at once or in breathless succession, that constitute the distinctive tragedy of Irish history. Had they come singly or at long intervals their effects might have been thrown off. Coming, as they did, in close-pressed and devastating battalions, with little or no chance for the recuperative principle to resist their convergent sweep, they have infected the whole body politic and left a penetrating mark, not only upon the structure of Irish society, but upon the character and mental instincts of the Irish people.

It is a commonplace of observation that there are two Irelands, and, as with most commonplaces, its significance is somewhat blunted by repetition. Not until one travels through the country, observing and cross-examining, does the phrase assume the meaning and proportions of a fact. There are, indeed, two Irelands, divided from each other by barrier upon barrier. It is not alone that three-fourths of the people are Roman Catholics, while the remainder belong to one or other of the Protestant sects. It is not alone that among the Catholics the Celtic strain has curiously persisted, while the Protestants approach more nearly the Lowland Scotch and the English types. It is not alone that Catholic Ireland, speaking broadly, is poor and agricultural, and Protestant Ireland prosperous and industrial, or that the majority feel themselves to be the true natives of the soil, while the minority still retain something of the spirit of a superior colonizing caste, or that there should lie between them seven centuries of social, religious and agrarian strife, or that on the master question of Irish politics they still irreconcilably differ. Not one of these elements of separation and contentiousness, taken by itself, would have sufficed to give the visitor his curious consciousness of passing in and out between two worlds, almost between two civilizations, each unintelligible and repugnant to the other. What makes up the full sum of the uniqueness of Ireland is that the factors of antagonism and discord, by the diabolical chance of history, coincide with and reinforce instead of cancelling each other. Class distinctions in Ireland are not mitigated by political agreement; differences of creed are not assuaged by a harmony

of economic interests; the cleavages of racial temperament are not, as in other countries they are, bridged over by a sense of national unity. On the contrary, all the bitterness of caste and creed, of political and material antipathies and contrasts, instead of losing half their viciousness in a multiplicity of cross-currents, are gathered and rigidly compressed in Ireland into two incongruous channels. Throughout the country you infer a man's religion from his social position, his social position from his religion, and his views on all Irish questions from both. The inference, to be sure, is not invariably correct. There is still left a remnant of the old Catholic nobility and gentry whose political sympathies have nothing in common with those of the great bulk of their co-religionists. In Dublin, the "Castle" Catholic, the Catholic, that is, who has identified himself with the English system of government and with the social circle that centres on the Viceregal Lodge, is a common enough type; nor is it by any means the case that Catholic landlords have had less trouble with their tenants, or have been less exposed to agrarian outrage, than Protestants. The struggle for the land in Ireland has always evoked an intensity of feeling that has overridden the claims of religious and political communion, and the agitating Protestant tenant is as familiar in Ulster as the oppressive Catholic landlord in Kerry or Wexford. Nor is it here alone that the two Irelands cross and merge. There are several thousand Protestants in Ulster who are the stanchest and most determined of Home-Rulers. About a sixth of the Irish Nationalist Party at Westminster is composed of Protestants, and it is a remarkable and significant fact that, with the exception of O'Connell, nearly all the great leaders of the Irish nation during the past century and a quarter have belonged to the Church of the minority.

But, in spite of an overlapping at this point and at that, the two Irelands remain not deliberately, still less defiantly, but instinctively separate. The social and religious cleavage runs sheer down to the foundations. It is buttressed and perpetuated by the policy of the Catholic Church, and the Protestants, for their part, show no real inclination to break it down. The members of the two faiths are educated almost altogether apart; they may mingle in after-life in business or politics or the professions, but for all social purposes they retain a mutually exclusive aloofness; there is little bigotry, except in Londonderry and Belfast, but on the

other hand there is little intimacy. As a general rule, Protestants and Catholics in Ireland do not intervisit or hold any genuine intercourse together. In the social clubs, you will hardly find one member of the old faith to every score or fifty of the new; and that is not because sectarian intolerance penetrates further in Ireland than elsewhere, or even because the profession of the one creed or the other carries with it historical implications and significances of wider import than in any other land, but because the two sects are for the most part restricted to different social levels. Throughout Ireland the upper classes are all but exclusively Protestants. Their old political ascendancy has been torn from them, but their social and industrial supremacy remains. You soon come to take it for granted, when passing from one village to another, that the "big house" of the neighborhood is owned by a Protestant. You soon learn to be surprised, on making the circuit of the towns, if you find a single one of the principal industries in Catholic hands. The small tradesman, the retail shopkeeper, may be a Catholic; but the large manufacturer, the bank manager, the railway director, the shipbuilder, ninety-nine times out of a hundred, is a Protestant. And, whether in town or country, the Protestants form inevitably an aloof and self-contained coterie of their own, feeling themselves in character, education, culture and enterprise the members of both a superior class and a superior civilization. The upper classes among them, the landlords and the gentry, distinguished beyond any other body of men by the numbers of their titles, whose origin the tactful visitor will refrain from inquiring into, hardly regard themselves as Irish at all. Their eyes are turned Englandwards; they speak of "the people," even when with the utmost kindliness, much as an Indian civil servant might speak of the natives around him; they carry with them the consciousness of an eternal separateness; they have chosen, in short, to be English instead of Irish and Imperialists instead of Nationalists. For that choice they will stand eternally condemned by history, but history will also remember that few classes of men have ever developed a more winning or virile type of character, or have produced a greater number of gifted soldiers and administrators. As an aristocracy, they must be held to have failed, to have failed so badly that they have had to be bought out; but as individuals among a leader-loving people they have still, if they will only

seize it, a part of immense utility and beneficence to play in Irish life. Their relations with those about and below them, while frequently marked with a great outward friendliness and sympathy and much charitable zeal, lack altogether those amenities, that basis of mutual attachment, that placid revolution round the feudal centre, which have been the strength of the English squirearchy. Throughout rural Ireland, the sense of common interests between class and class seems almost to have perished. And, even among the great manufacturers of the North, all of whom, without, so far as I know, a single exception, are Protestants, one finds the same aggressive aloofness. Trade, as a rule, is a potent antiseptic to mitigate the poison of political and sectarian feuds; but fate has so willed it that the magnificent industries of Londonderry and Belfast should find in Ireland their workshop but not their market. Their business is almost altogether an exporting one, and this unquestionably has been a factor of considerable moment in preventing a true understanding between North and South, and in keeping the two classes, races and creeds apart. One comes at last to accept it as almost normal that Protestants and Catholics, when they meet at all in Ireland, should do so in one or other of the innumerable relations of employer and employed. There is, of course, the exception of sport, and especially of such sports as have to do with horseflesh. What the Irishman does not know about horses is hidden even from the Afghan or the New-Englander, and in the buying, selling, training, racing and hunting of horses there is probably more unforced mingling of the classes and creeds than in all other connections put together.

But while in Ireland the Protestants, though numbering only a quarter of the population, are thus socially, territorially and industrially in the ascendant, their political power has been whittled down to almost nothing. Of the 103 members who represent Ireland in the House of Commons, only 20 are Unionists—and Unionists and Protestants, with the deductions I have already touched on, are roughly synonymous. There are thirty-three county councils in Ireland. In fourteen of them the Unionists have not a single representative; in eight they have only one apiece; in twenty-seven, out of a total of 780 councillors, the Unionists are no more than 23; and in the whole thirty-three they are outnumbered by more than six to one. In the towns and

cities it is just the same. The whole machinery of local administration, in fact, outside Ulster, is in the hands of men whose chief claim to election is that they are Nationalists in sentiment, and who represent neither the wealth nor the experience nor the best brains and capacity of the country. The Unionists complain bitterly of their exclusion, but I cannot see what other fate they could possibly have expected. A majority long harassed and thwarted, often persecuted, always looked down upon, finds itself in sudden possession of political power. What can be more inevitable than that they should use that power against those who have oppressed them in the past, and who still retain most of the characteristics of an alien and dominant caste? An impartial student of Irish history can only, I think, marvel that the retribution should be so slight. Exclusion from nine-tenths of the local administration of the country is, after all, but a mild penalty for the numberless crimes committed against Irish well-being by the British "garrison." Human nature could hardly be satisfied with less; historical justice might well demand more. The local Nationalist bodies are indeed frequently grotesque enough. They pass the most flamboyant resolutions on matters with which they have not the least concern; their debates and their manner of conducting them are often uproariously comical; they "play politics" with a tireless assiduity; most of their appointments are friendly, good-natured "jobs," and they restrict the offices in their gift almost entirely to Catholics and Nationalists. But, when they can be induced to attend to their proper business, they carry it through with a quite adequate efficiency. Irish county government is no worse to-day under popular county councils than it was ten years ago under the old grand juries in which Protestants and Unionists almost exclusively predominated. There is no religious persecution; there is no discrimination in the matter of rates; the Irish peasant and the Irish farmer are even keener than most men in seeing that they get their money's worth; and the general ostracism of the upper classes is due not to their religious but to their social and political creed. I am persuaded that that ostracism is not a permanent condition. Many movements are at work to break it down; but, for the present, it is sufficiently effective to deprive the 250,000-odd Unionists in the three southern provinces of practically all share in both local and Parliamentary government.

It is not, however, on any local issue, but on the penetrating problems of the land and of Home Rule, that the two Irelands part most decisively. The genius of Michael Davitt, by linking the agrarian question with the national question, the desire for more land with the desire for self-government, incalculably reinforced the intensity of both demands. No one can yet say positively whether the Irish agitation for autonomy is or is not a self-sufficing movement, or what vitality it will possess when deprived of the agrarian tumult and unrest which for thirty years and more have been its backbone. There is at present a peace in the country such as Ireland has not known for more than a century. Landlordism is being expropriated; a peasant proprietorship is being evolved; before another twenty years have passed the work of seven and a half centuries will have been undone, and the soil of Ireland will have been handed back to its original owners. So gigantic a revolution raises some profound and many-sided issues, and on these I propose to touch later on. For the present, I must content myself with a few general observations. The great scheme of land purchase which is now in operation will have settled, when completed, one question only, the land-tenure question. It has been the curse of Irish history that rent and ownership should hitherto have absorbed the agricultural energies of the country. How much could be got out of the land has been of little account compared with how little could be paid for it; and the concentration of both landlords and tenants upon the sole issue of rent has been morally and technically disastrous to true agricultural progress. That issue is now by way of being determined; the tenant, by the lavish help of State credit, is being converted into a freeholder. This means, of course, that the main source of internal strife is being dammed at the fountain-head. But it also means that the Irish peasant and the Irish farmer are brought for the first time face to face with the realities of a competitive agricultural existence, and that their well-being from now onwards depends on their own labor and efficiency. The policy of land purchase, in short, has cleared the ground, has laid the foundations of a new social order, has brought or is bringing a long and vitiating conflict to a close. But the restoration of agrarian peace, while an essential condition of agricultural prosperity, is very far from being prosperity itself; and, even if it were not complicated in Ireland by an

infinity of cross-currents, it could not in the nature of things do more than provide an opportunity, an opportunity which it rests wholly with the people themselves to neglect and stultify or to make the most and best of. Nothing, therefore, could be more fantastic than to suppose that the mere transfer of title-deeds in the soil from landlord to tenant has induced, or by itself can ever induce, the Irish millennium. Moreover, it will take, as I have said, twenty years at the lowest estimate to complete the transfer itself. There are many landlords who have refused to sell under the Wyndham Act, and to these some form of compulsion will have to be applied. Again, in the barren and backward West, where the best land is given up to stock-raising and the peasants lead a life of appalling destitution on their wretched five-acre holdings of bog and stony moor, there is a fierce agitation for the partition of the grazing-lands. We have not, therefore, by any means seen the last of agrarian unrest and possibly of agrarian outrage in Ireland. The peace of which I have spoken is relative only. It may not again be broken in the old convulsive fashion, with the murders of landlords and their agents, the houghing of cattle, boycotting and arson, and an entire society thrust by every ingenious weapon of organized terrorism into a condition little short of anarchy. Ireland at large has advanced beyond that stage; but what is true of the country as a whole is not true of every section in it. Here and there, in this locality and in that, the "bad times" may be again reproduced on a smaller scale, in a more modified form, but with effects not less ruinous and demoralizing than of old.

More than any country I am acquainted with, more even than Poland itself, Ireland is a network of "organizations," leagues, societies, factions and cliques. Almost every department of life seems to be on a committee basis; individual action and individual opinion are everywhere marshalled in subservience to the interests of this movement or of that. There is, perhaps, no land in which there is more volubility of speech and less real liberty of thought than in Ireland. A genius for combination penetrates to the lowest strata, is indeed among the peasantry almost an instinct, and an instinct cultivated with more than Sicilian aptitude. The associative qualities innate in tribalism and fostered by centuries of repressive government and by the impulse of class and racial warfare have blossomed into a talent for con-

certed agitation such as even the most professional of American politicians might envy. Indeed, just as on its religious side Irish life to-day curiously suggests the Spain of three hundred years ago, so the scheme and spirit of Irish politics have the unmistakable flavor of modern America. The Irish emigrant to the United States is a graduate in all the arts of Tammany Hall before he lands; the rigging of conventions, the theory and practice of "pull," the whole science of manipulating opinion, he has learned and applied at home. But, whereas Tammany Hall confines itself mainly to politics, its essential principle takes on in Ireland a far wider sweep and embraces not only politics, but the land and the private and social as well as the public life of the people. Mr. Stephen Gwynn has even remarked that "it would be hardly too much to say that Catholics in Ireland form among themselves—without intention and even without knowledge—a huge secret society, like all secret societies amenable to a special code." There are villages and towns in Ireland by the score where the spirit of faction works much as it worked among Guelfs and Ghibellines and Montagus and Capulets, where the streets are apt at times to ring with the blows of contending rivalries, and where little or nothing is done or attempted without reference to the desires and susceptibilities of this or that group. And the whole field of politics, which through the intimacy of its connection with the land yields the people their main occupation, has been, I need hardly say, meticulously surveyed and parcelled out. The landlords, quite apart from the Orange Society in the North, have their own federations for mutual assistance, for providing, for instance, caretakers on farms from which the tenants have been evicted, for furnishing the sinews of war in the protection of their class interests, and for deluging England with lecturers, leaflets and peripatetic orators in support of Unionist principles. But, naturally, it is among the Nationalists and the farming classes that organization has been most developed. Such a body as the United Irish League, which has a branch in pretty nearly every town and village in the country, and works the whole machinery of political and agrarian agitation, is a far more effective power than the British Government, and its decrees command an obedience that is systematically refused to the King's writ. There are at least a dozen other organizations on a smaller scale, but of a similar

character, some purely political, some confined, in the main, to the interests of a section or a class—the town tenants, for example, or the agricultural laborers—some literary or athletic or industrial or "benevolent," but all strongly imbued with the sentiment of Nationalism, and all carrying on a vigorous propaganda. The strongest of them, of course, are those that are linked with the agrarian question; for, while Nationalism in Ireland is a sentiment, the land is life, and anything that touches the land touches also the mainspring of Irish existence. An eviction is still the signal for something in the nature of a local uprising; the "land-grabber" who rents a farm from which the previous tenant was expelled is still a marked man; and juries, unless carefully packed by the Crown, still refuse to convict any man who is charged with an agrarian outrage. The landlords are by no means the only, in these days are not even the chief, sufferers by the action of these various organizations. An unpopular member of a local branch of the United Irish League, or one who has offended the local trader and publican who, with the priest, dictates its policy, or one who has sinned against the unwritten agrarian code of the neighborhood, or who belongs to a faction that has fallen under the displeasure of another and more powerful faction, is just as likely to be boycotted and intimidated, to have his business ruined, his supplies cut off, his cattle maimed, his crops trampled, his buildings fired and his comings and goings attended by a mob blowing horns, as was ever a landlord or his agent in the worst days of the Land League. It is one of the first things to be realized about Ireland that coercion, in some form or other, is the rule of life, and that, as organized opinion in a country so torn with internal feuds is always extreme opinion, men of moderate views and peaceable inclinations are overborne and silenced. With but a slight variance of degree, this holds good for both Unionist and Nationalist Ireland, and opinion in Belfast and Portadown is scarcely less tyrannized over by the Orange Society than in Mayo or Galway by the United Irish League. "Terror and greed," I was told by the only impartial man I came across in Ireland, a priest, a Nationalist, yet a most candid and clear-eyed observer—"Terror and greed—those are the operative forces of Irish life and politics."

SYDNEY BROOKS.

(To be Continued.)

CASTRO, THE UNGRATEFUL.

BY R. FLOYD CLARKE.

In December, 1902, the Chancelleries of Great Britain, Germany and Italy, after years spent in the tedious decorum of diplomatic correspondence calling to the attention of Venezuela the wrongs done to their respective citizens, and after Venezuela's refusal to arbitrate, proceeded to enforce those claims by bombarding and blockading the Venezuelan ports.

No sooner had the cannon thundered than the redoubtable Castro experienced a change of heart. For many years intrenched behind the interminable resources and tortuosities of Venezuelan diplomatic correspondence, he had successfully flouted and baffled the world. If high-flown protestations of morality and honor were proof of the existence of those qualities, then the Venezuelan portion of this correspondence proves Venezuela to have possessed these fine attributes to a marked degree. Curiously enough, in all her concessions Venezuela inserts a clause stipulating that no matter what infamy may be perpetrated upon the *concessionaire,* he shall never have recourse to international redress. This is known in International Law as the "No Reclamation Clause." It should be renamed the "Venezuelan Immunity Bath." The great nations have insisted that this clause, being against public policy, is not binding and no shield to any gross injustice. But to a Venezuelan diplomat nothing can be more outrageous than a discussion of the equity of the case, when the despoiled citizen of the foreign state has thus placed himself in Venezuela's hands.

Patience having reached its limit, even the formidable shield of the Monroe Doctrine, *plus* this Immunity Bath, could not prevent legitimate consequences. The blockade began and Venezuela, on her knees, begged for arbitration.

To those who are unfamiliar with Venezuelan conditions, it may seem a strange thing that the explosion of a few shells and the blockade of her ports should so quickly have brought the Venezuelan Government to terms. The "man in the street" predicted that nothing would be accomplished, as there was nothing to be harmed by bombardment, and no permanent occupation of the country could be attempted except at prohibitive cost of blood and treasure. Those who so figured the situation overlooked the peculiar nature of Venezuela's weakness. Because of a century of misgovernment she has no diversification of industries. To a large extent she depends for subsistence, even for the foodstuffs, such as flour, upon her imports, while her cattle exports are her main dependence. The revenues raised by taxation practically consist only of the import and export duties.

The Dictator can exist only by feeding and paying his army. Stop the customs dues and you drain the life-blood of Venezuela's political constitution. "No pay, no army, no Dictator" is the law of Venezuelan politics. The moment, therefore, that the allied Powers blockaded the Venezuelan ports Castro faced bankruptcy, and bankruptcy meant ruin for Castro.

Then ensued a situation as acute and undignified as anything outside of opera bouffe. Having, only a few days before, rebuffed and insulted the European Powers, who thus resorted to the Big Stick, the redoubtable Castro in effect abdicated responsibility. We find in the Venezuelan Yellow Book, under date of December 16th, 1902, a petition from eleven Venezuelan citizens requesting the Citizen-President Castro to give full powers to the United States Minister "to take the necessary steps to arrange the difficulty in the manner least prejudicial to the country."*

Then backed by the consent of the Hon. John Hay, United States Secretary of State, that he should act as intermediary for Venezuela, there sprang into prominence, in the person of Mr. Herbert W. Bowen, United States Minister in Venezuela, a kind of sovereignty hitherto unknown in the family of nations. Mr. Bowen's diplomatic notes to the allied Powers, speaking *ex cathedra* with all the authority of a sovereign, backed by unlimited armies and navies, caused ripples of merriment in the halls of the various Chancelleries; but they produced effects,

* Venezuelan Arbitrations of 1903, Ralston's Report, 1,032.

and the Venezuelan Arbitrations of 1903 resulted. Undoubtedly, the majestic figure of Venezuela's mighty neighbor of the north waiting, portentous, in the background, absorbed in pious contemplation of the Monroe Doctrine, commanded some sort of vicarious respect for the fulminations of this temporary potentate and insured the results attained. At any rate, whatever Venezuela may have thought of her debt of gratitude at the time, those who know the physical truth that out of nothing comes nothing know that whatever need of consideration she then received at the hands of her outraged foes was due to the friendly offices of the Government of the United States.

That corporations have no souls is an axiom of the common law. Subsequent events appear to have proved that sovereignties, at least as exemplified in Cipriano Castro, President of Venezuela, have no souls or, at any rate, no gratitude. In the short space of the few years that have passed since the grievous hand of war was lifted from her coast through our intervention, Venezuela, in the person of Castro, has perpetrated acts of injustice and oppression against American citizens, so gross and so unwarranted as almost to surpass belief. Against these our State Department has repeatedly made strong remonstrances; and not merely once, but four times, has this Government categorically requested a submission to arbitration of these disputes, and as often has Cipriano Castro flatly and insolently refused arbitration. Of the five claims presented, that of the United States and Venezuela Company happens to be, both as to its facts and the law applicable, the clearest and simplest of all the claims of American citizens against Venezuela.

A short summary of the salient facts will suffice to show that the claim of the United States and Venezuela Company against Venezuela presents a clear case of spoliation by Venezuela without justification or excuse.

In 1900 some American gentlemen interested in paving matters, desiring to find an asphalt deposit equal to the celebrated Trinidad Lake, despatched to Mexico and Venezuela George W. Crichfield to explore and report. At a place called "Inciarte," about seventy miles to the westward of Maracaibo, Crichfield found a splendid asphalt lake. He contracted to purchase the mine from its Venezuelan owners and applied to Cipriano Castro, Provisional President, for a concession for a

railroad, with the stipulation, without which the property was valueless, that the enterprise should be free from taxes.

On April 20th, 1901, in consideration of the payment of 50,000 bolivars and the building of a railroad, etc., which, at the end of fifty years, was to become the property of the Government, a concession was granted by Cipriano Castro, Provisional President of Venezuela, to George W. Crichfield. Thereby Crichfield was authorized to construct a railroad from the asphalt mine at Inciarte to navigable water on the banks of the River Limon, to dig canals and deepen and improve waterways, to use the railroad in connection with the mine mentioned, and to establish depots and warehouses, etc. It was further agreed that during the term of the concession, which was to last fifty years, the enterprise was to be exempt from all national taxes and contributions, including import and export duties.

Thereupon the purchase of the asphalt mine was completed. The United States and Venezuela Company was organized under the laws of New Jersey, and took over the concession and proceeded to develop the property.

The record of the company in Venezuela as an honest business enterprise is of the highest. Neither scandal nor bad faith is attached to it. The road was built through forests, swamps and almost impenetrable jungles. Through water and mud breast-deep, in the furnace-heat gloom of tropical forests, Crichfield and his assistant, David Fleming, fighting against malaria, insect pests peculiar to the country—whose attacks are intolerable and almost fatal in their effects,—the dread dengue and yellow fever, snakes and Indians, overcame almost insuperable difficulties, and pushed the road-bed and its bridges until a railroad connection was made between the mine and navigable water. It is a story of American grit, indomitable pluck and triumphant success. The River Limon was improved by blowing up rocks and removing trees. Across the bar at its mouth a canal more than one and a half miles long was dug. At its junction with the Sucuy a railway terminus was made, a refining-plant, saw-mill, residences and office-buildings were erected, and a village created. What was once a trackless wilderness was opened up for settlements, clearings were made, farms located, schools established, and churches built.

The company began manufacturing operations in August, 1902,

and, except during the 1903 blockade, manufactured and shipped asphalt up to the 20th day of January, 1905. Over $600,000 was spent in the purchase of the mine and the development of the property. The enterprise is worth not less than $1,500,000. The asphalt lake covers ninety-seven acres, and the deposit, of unknown and incalculable quantity, is almost inexhaustible. During the twelve months of 1904 the company earned a net profit of $84,119.57 or over five and one-half per cent. on its total capitalization of $1,500,000.

But the storm was brewing. On July 22nd, 1904, under color of judicial proceedings, Castro seized, through his receiver, Carner, the plant and property of the New York and Bermudez Company. Since that date the Venezuelan Government has practically been manufacturing asphalt and selling it in the United States on conditions under which the receiver is crediting to the owners of the property, under the court's decree, the ridiculous price of five dollars a ton—the balance of the profit going to an as yet judicially undiscovered beneficiary. Prior to this seizure of the Bermudez Lake the United States and Venezuela Company, as the owner of the Inciarte Asphalt Mine, and the New York and Bermudez Company, as the owner of the Bermudez Lake, had been in active competition throughout the United States. As soon as Castro thus entered the field, and the force of this competition was felt against the industry of his receiver, Mr. Carner, a very simple plan was devised whereby such competition should be eliminated. On January 23rd, 1904, a new Mining Code had been promulgated, under which a hectare tax of forty cents annually—four times the former tax—was imposed, and a further tax of "three per cent. on the gross product of the mine." On June 21st, 1904, by Executive Decree, a duty of four bolivars (eighty cents) was levied on every ton of asphalt exported, and a further provision was made that "the contractors must pay as a minimum to the Government of the Republic twenty-five per cent. of the net product of the exploitation of said mines."

Thereupon the Venezuelan Executive proceeded to enforce against the United States and Venezuela Company the increased hectare tax—the three-per-cent. tax on the gross product of the mine and the eighty-cents tax on each ton exported—the tax of twenty-five per cent. of the net product being left to future

exploitation. In enforcing the three-per-cent. tax they valued the asphalt at twenty dollars per ton at the mine, the tax thus yielding sixty cents a ton. Note the difference between this figure and the five dollars per ton credited to the Bermudez Company in the receivership operations. In addition the Government levied the usual duties on imports and held them in the Custom House.

The company forthwith protested and, finding its protests unheeded, offered to pay the new taxes under protest until the matter could be settled. The only answer made was that all payments must be made, not only without protest, but with the express admission that the tax was properly imposed, and that, if the *concessionaire* had any grievance, it must go to the Venezuelan Courts.

The company's claim that its enterprise was free from these taxes was based on the twelfth and thirteenth articles of its concession, which read as follows:

"Article 12: Neither the enterprise to which this contract refers, nor the products of its mine, can be burdened with any kind of national taxes or contributions. . .

"Article 13: The contractor is allowed to enter free of import duties and free of any other tax through the Custom House of Maracaibo all the material for the construction of the road, rolling-stock, tools, machinery and all other things required for the working of the mines and the refining and transportation of their products."

Finding no relief, after various petitions and memorials to the Venezuelan Government against these illegal impositions—impositions which, under the penal clauses in the acts, would result, on the company's default, in putting it in the power of the Government to confiscate the mine and the railroad and to cancel the concession,—the company, in January, 1905, shut down its works and applied to the State Department of the United States of America for redress.

So far as known, it appears that no claim is made, on behalf of Venezuela, of any right thus to cancel this concession and put the company out of business, excepting a claim to the effect that, although this concession was granted by Cipriano Castro as Provisional President, the concession is invalid because not approved by the National Congress. As, in fact, Castro is a Military Dictator, ruling Venezuela as such under the masquerade of a

Constitutional Republic, this contention involves a grim joke—Castro, Dictator, so-called Constitutional President, repudiates Castro, Dictator, so-called Provisional President; Philip drunk, with the loot of 50,000 bolivars and a $600,000 railroad, repudiates Philip sober, whose fair promises and pretensions induced the investment.

The company, however, meets the contention on its alleged merits as follows:

First: If any Venezuelan Constitution applies, then its requirements have been fully complied with. On February 5th, 1902, the Venezuelan Congress passed a resolution whereby it was agreed:

"First: To give our approbation to all of the acts executed by the Citizen-General Cipriano Castro during the period in which he has exercised the provisional Presidency of the Republic."

Among the acts executed by Castro during this period was the concession thus granted to Crichfield and assigned, with Venezuela's consent, to the United States and Venezuela Company, on file in the public documents and archives.

Second: There was no Venezuelan Constitution in force in 1901 when this concession was granted. Castro's rebellion against Andrade was based on the claim that Andrade's constitution was contrary to the first principles of right and justice. Castro, as the Military Head of the successful revolution against Andrade, united and exercised in himself all executive, legislative and judicial powers, untrammelled by any constitution. No constitution was in existence until, in 1904, Castro's Constituent Assembly passed a new constitution. Meantime, on April 20th, 1901, this concession was granted, which provided that the contractor should begin work within six months and should complete it within one year after commencing it. According to this provision, the money was expended and the work completed before any new constitution was adopted. What stronger equitable estoppel against the insistence by the Government upon the technical legality of a Congressional approval could exist than this? How, then, could any constitution, new or old, affect the company?*

Castro, however, having entered into the business of manu-

* Michigan *vs.* Flint & Pere Marquette R. R. Co. (1891), 89, Michigan, p. 481.

facturing and selling asphalt, imposed taxes which put his competitor, the United States and Venezuela Company, out of business. Had the company desired to pay the duties and go on, it could not do so, because the Government refused to accept payment under protest. Payment without protest would have waived the company's rights under the concession. Once concede the propriety under the concession of the new taxes imposed, and further exactions, at the discretion of the Dictator, would have followed without the possibility of the company's having a legal defence thereto.

Under such circumstances, is the American Government to stand by and allow its citizens to be thus despoiled without action? Powerful enough to crush in a moment the pigmy who perpetrates this injustice, its only reason for inaction seems to be the fear that the disparity of force, if it took action, would make this Government appear as a bully. It is time that the facts should be recognized and stated without mincing words.

The Government of Venezuela is not a government such as exists in our nations of more advanced civilization. Masquerading under a written constitution, whose provisions for balancing the powers of government and assuring freedom and procuring justice compare favorably with our own, we have a Military Dictatorship moulded and wielded in all its Departments, Executive, Judicial and Legislative, by one man of passionate character and sordid aims. The Venezuelan Constitution and Laws are mere bits of waste paper, fit to conjure with or disregard, as the convenience or interests of the Dictator may require.

Not many years ago several large American enterprises existed in Venezuela. With the sailing from Maracaibo last summer of David Fleming, Manager of the United States and Venezuela Company, the last American representative of an American enterprise departed those inhospitable shores. Each and all have been driven out by Government exactions—breaches of Governmental good faith.

To accord to such a sovereignty, whose moral perceptions are far below the standards of civilized nations, the presumption of honesty and good faith arising from equality of sovereignty—such as would be extended to nations of higher ethical standards, Germany or Great Britain, for instance—is to be misled by a legal fiction, and to blind ourselves to the glaring facts.

That Congress, therefore, should insist that the Executive enforce upon Venezuela the arbitration of these claims, even though to secure such arbitration the use of a "Mailed Fist" should be required, is demanded by every principle of right and justice, and by every consideration of self-respect. It is not the application of the Big Stick. For the United States does not (as it has the power to do) say, as Great Britain and Germany said in 1903: "Admit your liability and pay the damages the arbitrators assess." But it says: "Submit the issues involved to an impartial tribunal." What could be more fair? What more equitable? What more magnanimous?

And shall the mere fact that the offender, who thus denies redress in the premises is a weakling, prevent our Government from enforcing justice and right in the premises? The question answers itself. "*Civis Romanus sum*" was the passport and safeguard of the lives and property of the citizen of ancient Rome throughout the world. Let it be said of this great new Power that "*Civis Americanus sum*" shall likewise be a passport and a safeguard—at least throughout Latin-America, which exists only by virtue of our power and strength in upholding and enforcing the Monroe Doctrine.

In 1895 President Cleveland's message brought this country and Great Britain close to the verge of war. Over what? The insistence by the United States that Great Britain should arbitrate the disputed boundary between her colony and this same Venezuela. A country which forced the issue that international disputes must be settled by arbitration to a point threatening war between the two great English-speaking nations should not shrink from forcing the beneficiary of that interference into taking a dose of his own, at that time welcome, now not so palatable, medicine.

As we were bold enough then to beard the British Lion in defence of Venezuela against the suggestion of unfairness arising from the refusal of Great Britain to arbitrate the dispute between them, so now we should have sufficient constancy not to be deterred from forcing this petty potentate to arbitrate his dispute with us, merely because of possible criticism that we have misused the material power which is in us, to compel this fair result.

R. Floyd Clarke.

HAS THE UNITED STATES REPUDIATED INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION? A REPLY.

BY F. D. MCKENNEY.

UNDER the terms of a protocol agreed upon and signed early in 1903, between the United States of America and the Republic of Venezuela, the claim of the Orinoco Steamship Company, an American corporation wholly owned by American stockholders, for the reparation of damages suffered by it as the result of specified wrongful acts and defaults on the part of the Venezuelan Government, was submitted for adjudication to an international arbitration commission which met and sat in Caracas. That commission consisted of two members—one appointed by the President of the United States, the other by the President of Venezuela, and an umpire named by the Queen of the Netherlands.

The protocol declared that "all claims *owned* by citizens of the United States of America against the Republic of Venezuela" which should be presented to the commission by the Department of State of the United States should be examined and decided by it, and required the commissioners and the umpire "before assuming the functions of their office" to "take solemn oath carefully to examine and impartially decide, *according to justice and the provisions of this convention,* all claims submitted to them." The particular provisions of the protocol or "convention" pertinent to this discussion are as follows:

> "The commissioners, or in case of their disagreement, the umpire, shall decide all claims upon a basis of absolute equity, without regard to objections of a technical nature, or of the provisions of local legislation.
>
> "The decisions of the commission, and, in the event of their disagreement, those of the umpire, shall be final and conclusive."

The claim of the Orinoco Steamship Company, as presented

to the commission by the Department of State, contained four items, of which the first, and perhaps the most important, was a claim for damages for the breach by the Venezuelan Government of a contract or concession in favor of the claimant's assignor for the exclusive right to navigate the Macareo and Pedernales channels of the Orinoco River with vessels engaged in foreign trade, plying between Trinidad and certain Venezuelan ports.

The second item was for the sum of 100,000 bolivars, about $20,000, admitted by an account stated and agreed upon between the authorized representatives of the Venezuelan Government and the claimant's assignor to be due from the former to the latter.

The third item covered various claims for damages inflicted upon and losses sustained by the claimant and its assignor by reason of the seizure, detention and use of certain vessels belonging to them, and for amounts due for services rendered by the claimant and its assignor to the Venezuelan Government on the latter's request, as evidenced by formal vouchers or receipts.

The fourth item consisted of a claim for counsel fees and expenses incurred by the steamship company in its various attempts to collect the amounts alleged to be due to it from Venezuela.

The whole of the first and second items, and the greater part of the third, arose prior to April 1st, 1902, during the corporate existence of claimant's assignor, the Orinoco Shipping and Trading Company, Limited, these items of demand having been assigned by that company on that date—together with its fleet of steamships and all its corporate franchises and assets, including lands, depots and stores both in Venezuela and elsewhere—to the Orinoco Steamship Company.

The Orinoco Shipping and Trading Company, Limited, which had been in existence for a number of years prior to 1902, was an English registered company; but ninety-nine per cent. of its capital shares were owned absolutely by the native-born American citizens who subsequently incorporated and organized, and still own, the entire capital stock of the Orinoco Steamship Company.

The interest of these American citizens in the Orinoco Shipping and Trading Company, Limited, and in the claims of that corporation against Venezuela had been made known officially to the Department of State of the United States early in the year 1899, and the incorporation of the Orinoco Steamship Company by such American citizens and the transfer to it of

all the assets of the English company, including said claims, were made known to said department as they occurred.

For some time prior to February 17th, 1903, the date of the protocol under consideration, these assigned claims had been the subject of diplomatic communication between the United States and the Government of Venezuela; and the existence of these assigned claims and the interest of the American company in them was well known to the representatives of both contracting Powers at the time of the execution and exchange of said protocol. It was for the accommodation and protection of these assigned claims and to secure an adjudication of them on their merits that the form of expression ordinarily used in such protocols in defining the matters to be arbitrated was abandoned, and the unusual phrase, "all claims *owned* by citizens of the United States of America against the Republic of Venezuela" was adopted in its stead.

That the Orinoco Steamship Company was a citizen of the United States within the intent of the protocol, and that it "owned," by virtue of a valid assignment, the claims against the Government of Venezuela now under consideration has never been denied nor disputed, and such was found to be the fact by the umpire, Dr. Harry Barge, who also solemnly found and declared that the commission over whose deliberations he was appointed to preside, and he as its umpire, had full jurisdiction under the express terms of said protocol to investigate and decide upon their respective merits each and every one of said claims. The commissioners of the contracting Powers disagreed with respect to the liability of Venezuela in the premises; and the decision of the claims was remitted to the umpire.

Notwithstanding all of the above, and notwithstanding the requirement of the solemn oath which he had taken, at the moment of qualifying as umpire, to examine and decide all claims submitted to him "according to justice and the provisions of this convention," Dr. Barge disallowed the first and second items *in toto* and the third in its greater part, because, primarily, as he states in his review of the case, the assignment by the Orinoco Shipping and Trading Company, Limited, of its valuable rights in the navigation of the Orinoco River and of its claims against Venezuela had been made without first notifying that country of its intention to make such transfer, and, secondarily, because

under a certain article of the concession of navigation the *concessionaire* had, in his view, pledged itself to submit all disputes and controversies which might arise out of it to the local tribunals of Venezuela for their decision.

Referring particularly to the cash item of 100,000 bolivars—which, by a written agreement made on May 10th, 1900, between Felix Quintero, Minister of the Interior, and R. Morgan Olcott, acting on behalf of the Orinoco Shipping and Trading Company, the Venezuelan Government bound itself to pay—the learned umpire declared that, under a certain provision of the code of law of Venezuela, the transfer of such a debt "gives no right against the debtor when it was not notified to or accepted by the debtor," and this provision he also held to be applicable to that portion of the third item, some $49,978.76 in amount, which was alleged to have accrued due prior to April 1st, 1902, the date of the assignment to the American company.

In this connection the judgment of the umpire reads as follows:

"Whereas . . . the transfer of the credits of the Orinoco Shipping and Trading Company, Limited, to claimant took place on the first of April of this same year [1902], it is clear from what heretofore was said about the transfer of these credits that all items of this claim based on obligations originated before said April 1st, 1902, and claimed by claimant as indebtedness to the company and transferred to claimant on said April 1st, have to be disallowed, as the transfer was never notified to or accepted by the Venezuelan Government."

The fourth item of the claim, being that for counsel fees, was disallowed because "the necessity to incur those fees and further expenses in consequence of an unlawful act or culpable negligence of the Venezuelan Government is not proved."

The sum of $28,224.93, which was a part of the third item and which was the sum awarded by the umpire to the claimant, was identical in character of origin and was supported by the same class of proof as was that portion of the same item which was rejected, but it was distinguished by the umpire from the latter because it had accrued due subsequent to the date of the assignment from the elder company to the claimant.

Does it not plainly appear that the respected umpire, in refusing to consider and decide the first three items upon their merits and on the evidence "furnished by or on behalf of" the United States, and in rejecting them all because the transfer from one company to the other, which transfer affected each one

of them, had not been previously "notified to or accepted by the Venezuelan Government" as required by the Venezuelan code of law, violated the express command of the protocol whose terms he was appointed to administer, and also violated the express requirement of his oath of office which obligated him to decide all matters in dispute in accord with the provisions of that "convention"? The failure or refusal of the umpire to determine the three items in accord with the express requirements of the protocol, "without regard to objections of a technical nature," and without reference to "the provisions of local legislation," has left them undetermined in fact, and has permitted them to remain and continue to be a source of international concern, as they were prior to the execution of the protocol under which it was the undoubted intention of both Governments that they should be examined and finally decided. Their merits not having been examined, and the items themselves having been rejected by the umpire solely upon technical grounds, or out of regard for the provisions of local legislation, how can it reasonably be said that the claim of the Orinoco Steamship Company has in fact been examined and decided by an international commission under an international agreement?

But it has been suggested that, by the terms of the protocol in question, it was agreed by the contracting Governments that the decisions of the commission, or of the umpire in case of their disagreement, should "be final and conclusive"; and it is further suggested that the insistence by the United States that the decision in the present case shall be revised and the case itself resubmitted to further examination amounts to a repudiation of established principles of international arbitration. This suggestion is without foundation in fact or support in law.

Theoretically, every decision of an arbitrator, whether he be an international umpire or a local arbitrator, is final and conclusive. The expression of such intent in the body of a protocol providing for international arbitration adds nothing to the commonly accepted logic of such a submission. Even though not so expressly declared, the decisions of an arbitrator, freely chosen by the contending parties to judge their differences, is commonly to be accepted as final and conclusive. But this theory of utter finality has, since the birth of the principle of arbitration itself, ever been subject to exceptions which, through the passing cen-

turies, have become definitely defined and precisely expressed in the decisions of tribunals of great weight and in the writings of publicists of undoubted authority. For instance, the writer of the very article which affords excuse for this reply* admits that, in cases involving fraud on the part of the arbitrators, the decision of an arbitral tribunal, even though international in character, may be disregarded; but he suggests that, "unless fraud is alleged, the United States should set the example of abiding by the decision of international arbitration as at present constituted, no matter how crude the system." What is meant or was intended to be meant by the expression, "International arbitration as at present constituted"? Did its author mean to suggest by its use that the United States, while maintaining its place in the very forefront of all the nations which proclaim the virtues and value of International Arbitration, should disregard the settled principles and well-defined limitations upon which the entire structure of such arbitrations is bottomed? It must be assumed that such was not his intention, for, in the absence of at least a few reasonably well-defined rules or principles commonly accepted, and by which all arbitrations, municipal as well as international, must be governed, arbitration itself as a principle of governmental action probably could not long exist.

It being conceded that fraud will vitiate the decision of an arbitral tribunal of international character, and it thus appearing that such decisions are not absolutely inviolable, may it not well be that other grounds exist upon which the refusal of a party or a nation to lend adherence to such decisions in particular cases may be reasonably defended?

As was the case in the present instance between the United States and Venezuela, it is customary for the parties to arbitral conventions to agree upon articles of submission, and to define the powers of the arbitrators and the limitations of their authority, and sometimes to prescribe rules of procedure. If an arbitrator sworn to uphold and administer such articles of submission should incontinently or otherwise disregard their terms or exceed the powers conferred upon him thereby, is it to be said that the parties to the submission are nevertheless to stand bound by his award?

* "Has the United States Repudiated International Arbitration?" By Philip Walter Henry. NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, December, 1907.

As already said, it is a well-settled principle that the judgments of arbitral tribunals, speaking generally, are to be accepted as final and conclusive; that the vital principle of arbitration is wanting where the high contracting parties, or either of them, openly or covertly reserve to themselves the right to dissent from the final decree of the arbitrators. But it is equally well settled that such judgments may be disregarded, and that, too, with honor, (1) when the arbitrators have exceeded the powers conferred upon them by the articles of submission; (2) when the terms of the articles of submission have been disregarded or evaded; (3) when the award is equivocal or uncertain; (4) when the award was obtained by fraud or corruption; and (5) when the award is contrary to accepted principles of international law or amounts to a flagrant denial of justice.*

Volkerrecht does not hesitate to declare that

"If, however, the arbitrators, by pronouncing a sentence evidently unjust and unreasonable, should forfeit the character with which they are invested, their judgment would deserve no attention."

Calvo, the *vade mecum* of every Latin-American and Spanish-speaking Power, great or small, declares that international awards may ever be "disregarded" where the arbitrators have proceeded without authority, or when any member of the tribunal is legally or morally incapacitated, or where there has been bad faith or corruption on the part of such members, or *where the terms under which the question was submitted to the tribunal have been disregarded,* or where the decision is absolutely contrary to right and justice. Hall, an English-speaking writer of world-wide reputation, sums up the matter as follows:

"An arbitral decision may be disregarded in the following cases, viz., when the tribunal has clearly exceeded the powers given to it by the instrument of submission, when it is guilty of an open denial of justice, when its award is proved to have been obtained by fraud or corruption, and when the terms of the award are equivocal."

It is also a well-recognized principle of national intercourse, repeatedly exemplified in the practice of the United States, and of which Venezuela herself has not been slow to claim the benefit, that no sovereign can in honor press or insist upon the recognition of an unjust or mistaken award, even though made by an inter-

* Vattel, Book II, ch. 18, par. 329; Heffter, par. 109; Phillimore 111, par. 3; Calvo, pars. 1512–1532; Hall, par. 119.

national tribunal invested with the power of swearing witnesses and of receiving or rejecting testimony.

The Republic of Venezuela has repeatedly exercised the right to protest against, and repudiate for cause, sentences of arbitral tribunals, and in the report of the Venezuelan Minister of Foreign Affairs to the National Congress of 1904 her attitude in such regard is stated as follows:

"The fact that Venezuela subscribed to the agreements to which I have referred [the protocols of 1903], and that by virtue of said agreements the Mixed Commissions entered upon an examination of the claims of foreign subjects, did not impose upon the Government the duty of indiscriminately accepting the sentences they might render. In such cases, the very faith that is to be placed in treaties, as well as the importance of arbitration in the solution of international litigations, make it incumbent upon the Governments availing themselves of it to become zealous guardians of the procedure of the persons to whom they confide such a high mission as that of settling their disagreements. The presumption that the arbiters must discharge their functions in a proper manner may at times be unfounded, and then the sentences ought not to deserve the respect nor do they have the authority which the protocol gives them. The character of a final decision cannot always be conceded to arbitral decisions merely because they proceed from the persons appointed to constitute an arbitration commission, for if the treaty attributes such a character to them beforehand, it is only in the belief that such decisions would not be vitiated in any manner that could render them ineffectual.

"The cause of arbitration would suffer severe injury if the principle should come to be accepted that all arbitral decisions must be carried out, whatever they may be. Publicists have already declared unanimously in favor of the right that Governments have to seek the invalidation of certain sentences, and well known are the causes that, in their opinion, may lead to that recourse."

President Castro himself, in his annual message to the same National Congress of 1904, as appears from the translation made thereof by Pedro Rafael Rincones, then consul-general of Venezuela at New York, which translation was largely circulated in this country, declared the view of his Government as well as of himself concerning national rights and duties in such circumstances in the following words:

"Of the awards made by the Mixed Commissions, it was necessary and obligatory for us to protest against the one relating to the claim made by the general company of the Caracas water-works. That award being in flagrant contradiction to the provisions of the protocol and the principles of equity, the Republic could not admit it, as its recognition

would have implied the abdication of its right and the discredit of the arbitration; since, if similar decisions were to be accepted, being in themelves null, the high ends which are sought by the institution of arbitration for the furtherance of harmony and justice would be turned to ridicule, as would also the trust and confidence which should be deserved by the judges. We had also to make a like protest against the sentence delivered by the respective umpires on appeal made from the Venezuelan-Mexican Commission. That sentence, which can only be qualified as absurd, occasioned surprise to everybody, and gave rise to an unpleasant situation for a diplomat who had until then been appreciated amongst us."

The fact that, upon reflection, President Castro and his advisers concluded that the protests so made by their Government were not well founded, and could not be sustained, and therefore caused them to be withdrawn, does not detract one whit from the principles of action which he and his Minister of Foreign Affairs so forcibly and with such good reason proclaimed.

If "international arbitration as at present constituted" is at all amenable to the rules and principles of international law above set forth—and who can reasonably doubt that it is?—what one, having regard for his own reputation, will venture to deny that upon all the facts and circumstances of the Orinoco Steamship Company's case the United States is not only acting in strict right, but also in full accord with equity and good conscience in disregarding the award of the umpire and in insisting that the claims of that company, which include among them at least one item of considerable amount which Venezuela herself had diplomatically admitted that she owed, shall be submitted to further arbitration before a competent and impartial tribunal?

It is true that our Government in this instance "has refused to abide by the decision of an international arbitrator, and has practically gone to the point of ultimatums to force a reopening," and it is asked, "Would such a course have been pursued against a stronger nation, and is our State Department justified in such action?"

It is our pleasure to be able to reply to this inquiry in the affirmative, and historical precedent in confirmation of such reply is easily at hand.

In 1827, when the general disparity in wealth and power between the United States and Great Britain was not totally dissimilar to that now existing between the United States and Vene-

zuela, it was agreed between the two first-mentioned Powers to submit to the determination of an arbitrator the pending question as to the true divisional line between the United States and the adjacent British possessions on the north, and a convention to that end was agreed upon and executed. The King of the Netherlands was chosen as arbitrator, and in his award, given at The Hague in 1831, he held that neither of the lines claimed by the contending Powers under the treaty of peace of 1782-83 sufficiently answered the calls of that treaty to require preference to be given to one Power over the other, and so, abandoning as impractical the attempt to draw the line described in the treaty, he recommended in his award a line of convenience. The agent of the United States protested the award on the ground that it was not in accord with the powers conferred upon the arbitrator by the contracting parties. The British Government signified its readiness to acquiesce in the recommendation of the arbitrator. President Jackson declined to do so, and subsequently submitted the question of acceptance or rejection to the Senate, which, by a vote of 35 to 8, resolved that the award was not obligatory, and "advised" the President to open a new negotiation with Great Britain for the exact ascertainment of the line. The matter was finally settled by the Webster-Ashburton treaty of 1842.

Other precedents to like effect are not lacking, but want of space forbids their citation.

The single instance referred to, however, would seem to be a sufficient refutation of the unpatriotic suggestion that in the case of Venezuela or any other minor power the United States has used or would be likely to use measures to which it would not resort in the case of a more powerful opponent.

As neither the United States nor Great Britain in that case found any insuperable difficulty or objection in the way of disregarding the arbitral decision of the King of the Netherlands, it would seem that in the case of the Orinoco Steamship Company the Government of Venezuela with even less difficulty and certainly with no greater loss of prestige might agree to disregard the palpably unjust decision of an umpire who is a mere subject of that country.

FREDERIC D. MCKENNEY.

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF WAGNER.

BY REGINALD DE KOVEN.

PROGRESS and development; these are the watchwords of Art! Progress, in its resistless march along the road of the inexorable law of the survival of the fittest, looms up dominant and overpowering; a very iconoclast to overthrow movements, shatter ideals, destroy theories, overturn idols from their pedestals, to rob many a laureate of his wreath, and snatch the mantle of fame from many a hero. And all this the world must face and endure as best it may; for without progress and development Art would lose vitality, that power of expansion and recrudescence which is the cardinal essential of its being.

To avoid a misapprehension which might deem the statement made in the caption of this article subversive, incendiary and even impertinent, a very *lèse-majesté,* as it were, to a monarch of Art, its intent and purpose should be defined and made clear *ab initio.* To Wagner the tone poet, Wagner the maker of a new musical epoch, Wagner the emotional philosopher who, like a Napoleon, has changed the map of the musical world and impressed his commanding genius and individuality on his art in ineradicable fashion that will endure as long as the Art itself, I do not refer. It is with Wagner the stage craftsman, Wagner the dramatist, Wagner the high priest and prophet of a new order of things operatic, the inventor of a new Art form, and the certain decline and probable fall of his works in popular estimation from this standpoint, that this article has to do.

And, first, as to the fact; and the indications pointing to a probable, or even possible, decline and fall of the works of a Master who, for years and until recently, has absorbed and held the practically undivided attention of the musical world.

During the season now drawing to a close, a condition of affairs operatic wholly without precedent in musical annals has

obtained in New York, in the simultaneous and successful financial existence and continuance of two Opera Houses, each giving performances of Grand and Lyric Opera of the highest artistic order of excellence, by an *ensemble* of artists which has included, first and last, the name of practically every great star now set in the operatic firmament.

Such conditions have never existed previously in any capital of the world; for, in cities like Vienna and Munich, where Grand Opera is given in more than one Opera House, there is no competition between rival managements; a single company being drawn on to supply their various operatic needs. In Paris the Opéra and the Opéra Comique, though trenching more than formerly on each other's peculiar domain through the present dedication of the latter house principally to Lyric Operas, like "Louise," are separate and distinct, both equally under Government patronage, and conducted without thought of interference, competition or rivalry, the one with the other.

These conditions, and the present likelihood of their permanence, make New York to-day the principal operatic centre of the world, and the cultivation and cosmopolitan character of its music-loving population insure a catholicity of taste in its audiences, the expression of which makes a sufficiently broad basis on which to rest an opinion and judgment justly applicable to Opera the world over.

Taking, therefore, New York as a reasonable criterion of operatic taste, and without delving into numerical statistics of the performances of his works abroad, the fact may be stated as incontrovertible that the decline and fall of Wagner, as a writer of musico-dramatic works and operas, in popular interest and appreciation is to-day marked and definite. New York has never known a season when fewer of Wagner's works have been performed; when performances of these works have aroused so little popular interest, or enlisted so scant a measure of popular support. At the newer Opera House no single performance of any one of the Wagner operas has been given, and a query to the manager as to the reason of this state of affairs elicted the reply: "Why should I give them? The public don't want them!" At the older house, where Wagner and all his works reigned supreme only a few years ago, to the practical exclusion of the standard repertory, Puccini is paramount, and

Verdi, whom ardent Wagnerites had consigned to a deserved and unconsidered oblivion, is triumphantly *redivivus*. A performance of one of the dramas of the "Ring," like "Die Walkuere" or "Siegfried," which formerly would attract an eager, enthusiastic throng almost reverential in interest and attention, is now greeted with a careless apathy amounting to indifference and half a house, the popular-priced seats being noticeably empty; while "Trovatore" with Caruso, which means a vocal performance, packs the house from pit to dome. The more formal operas, like "Tannhäuser," "The Flying Dutchman" and the once supremely popular "Lohengrin," meet with a like fate; so that it would seem that Wagner altogether, and not merely Wagner as an operatic theorist in a special field of his own discovery—the Music-Drama—is on the decline.

It may be urged to account for this that the work of artists, like the de Reszkes and others, who proved that Wagner was not unvocal and could be artistically sung, has spoiled our audiences for performances of less artistic merit; that the present presentations of the Wagner works do not equal those of former years in point of general excellence, completeness and the true Wagnerian spirit and tradition; but the position thus taken is not, to my thinking, a tenable one, or the contention thus raised a just one. The performances of these operas this year have been given by the best and most reputed singers obtainable anywhere, and, whatever their shortcomings, are at least as good as could be seen anywhere else in the world at the present time.

No; while the fact under discussion is undeniable, the reasons for existing conditions lie deeper, and must be found elsewhere. In three directions, as I hold, may good and sufficient reasons to account satisfactorily for the waning interest in and appreciation of Wagnerian opera and music-drama be looked for: in the inherent character of the works themselves; behind the curtain among the singers; and in front of it among the audience. And as it is the audience that constitutes the final court of artistic appeal—the audience in whose hands lie the ultimate fate and destiny of all works written either to entertain or instruct them, for which appeal is made to their favor; the audience, whose judgment, after all, formulates the opinion of posterity—it may be interesting first to note what conclusions regarding the subject under discussion may be drawn from their

tastes and sympathies, as evidenced by their attitude toward the works in question.

In the degrees and shades of their individual appreciation the adherents and admirers of Wagner might a short time since have been divided into four classes: the Exclusive, the Rational, the Intuitive and the Partial.

To the first, now practically done away with, belong the fanatic, frenetic Wagnerites, who in an extravagant admiration amounting almost to impertinence, worship the master of Baireuth as the only composer who ever lived or could live—thus robbing the art of music both of its past and of its future,—and who, in denying the works of all other composers, past and present, as unworthy of attention or consideration, only admit their own ignorance and lack of artistic intelligence and understanding. The disappearance of this formerly large class was inevitable, and has certainly tended to diminish the size of Wagnerian audiences.

To the "Rational" admirers of the second class belong the educated and cultured musicians, who, realizing that Wagner has crowned the progressive development of music as an art with the glorious crown of his wonderful genius, admire sanely and justly because they understand what there is to admire. This class still remains; but as the art moves ever forward in progress and development, the allegiance of even this class can no longer continue so exclusive, as their interest and admiration are constantly drawn away in other directions toward newer fields of progressive effort.

The "Intuitive," who might also be called the temperamental, admirer of the third class, depends for his enjoyment on mere feeling and sensation, rather than on any musical knowledge or training. The varied and rich color, the dynamic contrast, the impact force of the orchestra in its appeal to the sensitory nerves, attracts his attention and stimulates his emotions. Though ignorant musically, he is moved, he knows not why, and so admires; and his admiration continues so long as his senses are affected and these temperamental and emotional sensations are renewed. But the music of more modern composers who have out-Wagnered Wagner, who with added din and tumult of orchestral thunder hurl masses of strenuous sound down the spines of their listeners and thus outvie and go beyond in sensuous in-

tensity and power the temperamental influences which Wagner understood so well how to create, has weaned away many admirers of this class in giving them newer, bolder and more vivid musical sensations. Thus again has a part of the audience which Wagner once controlled and swayed exclusively, been lessened and diminished.

To the last class, perhaps the largest,—now that time has lessened the overwhelming dominance of the personal and contemporaneous influence of a mighty genius, has penetrated the mists of prejudice and extravagance for and against, and so brought about the possibility of calmer, saner and more considered critical judgment,—belongs the "Partial" admirer. The former doctrine that Wagner could do no wrong he disallows; he admires with reservations, admits the possibility of intelligent criticism, and, without being thought a Philistine and outside the pale, can express an opinion, now shared by an ever-increasing number, that the Wagner operatic works are almost invariably too long, are often dull, seldom vocally agreeable after the manner of other schools, and might generally be cut to advantage.

One may thus readily discover, in the attitude towards his works of each and of every class of Wagner admirers, a reason for the decline and fall in the popular interest and appreciation in and of those works, which is the subject of this article.

If we turn to the behind-the-scenes country, the world back of the curtain peopled by the artists and singers whose mission it is to realize and interpret the works of this great master, we find without difficulty a variety of new reasons and conditions, different indeed, but even more cogent and weighty in effect, bearing and influence on the question before us.

It is now generally admitted that Wagner wrote inconsiderately, if not unskilfully, for voices, using them like orchestral instruments without proper regard for their physical possibilities and limitations. In spite of this, and on the other hand, it has been successfully demonstrated by many great artists, and notably by M. Jean de Reszke (whose rendering of the rôles of Lohengrin, Tristan and Walther in "*Die Meistersinger,*" in showing us how effective they were vocally if properly sung, has spoiled us for all other interpretations), that Wagner's music could be artistically sung without violating the true Wagnerian spirit

and tradition. But at what cost? Where are the great Wagnerian singers to-day? The former ones used up, retired before their time by the effort to endue with vocal art irresponsive vocal conditions which admitted of it but hardly. The present ones, of inferior excellence generally speaking, struggle as best they may with the same well-nigh impossible vocal conditions, or, as is now often the case, refuse these conditions altogether and decline to sing Wagner's music at all.

And this same Wagner tradition has had much to do with bringing about these conditions which make the decline of Wagner as an operatic writer a certainty; his fall and relative desuetude merely a question of time. The ardent Wagnerite was wont to say: "Wagner need not be sung; indeed, should not be sung"! A marvellous dictum, truly, when the experience which Wagner has helped largely to make has shown that the human voice, properly used, as the most potent means of emotional effect known to musical art, cannot be disregarded or made secondary in any scheme or system broadly speaking operatic, involving any possible union of text and music, if that scheme or system is to remain vital or endure..

A few years ago I unearthed in a German newspaper, enthusiastically Wagnerian in sympathy, the following precious commentary on an authoritative enunciation of the Wagnerian vocal theory and tradition. If voices or vocal art have anything to do with opera or music-drama at all, the complete reasons for the decline and fall of Wagner lie imbedded in this remarkable utterance, this astounding pronunciamento of a well-known exponent of so-called Wagnerian theories:

"If I were to call a Dienstmann from the street, and placing before him a Wagner score, and allowing he could sing it at sight, the way that he would sing that music naturally and without previous training would be the way Wagner's music should be sung."

Small wonder, then, if singers, as now, are beginning to refuse to imperil natural vocal gifts or waste years of vocal training in singing music that "need not be sung." Where, then, as the present generation of singers is fast disappearing, are the future singers of Wagner music to come from or be found? If, as seems to be the case, Wagner's music, whether well sung, or shouted in Dienstmann fashion, is too exacting in its demands on the human voice to allow of voices successfully complying with those de-

mands for any length of time without permanent injury or complete disability, it is also evident that with the singers themselves lie perhaps the principal reasons for the inevitable decline and fall of Wagner for purposes operatic. If, again, the practicability of singing this music artistically be admitted, it is so much more difficult to sing effectively than music written with more regard for the possibilities of the human voice, that singers turn with natural preference to such music, and audiences, having once more become accustomed to the delights of *Bel Canto* from such artists as Tetrazzini and Sembrich, Caruso, Bonci, Renaud and their peers, find that even the best Wagnerian singers suffer by comparison and lose in both interest and charm, as well as in their capacity to provide artistic pleasure and enjoyment. And this is a reason in point which accounts for so much in the wane of the Wagner music-drama that it may not be lightly set aside or underestimated.

It may, therefore, I think, be admitted as having been shown conclusively that, in the attitude of the singers as well as in that of audiences regarding it, ample reasons may be found to justify the contention made, that there is a decided and rapidly growing change in the feelings of both musicians and the public at large toward Wagner's music in connection with the operatic stage.

If we turn our attention, sanely and without prejudice, to the inherent character of Wagner's art and his theories of it as exemplified in his operas and music-dramas, we shall again and without difficulty find satisfactory and convincing reasons for the decline of that art in popular estimation.

It has been said that the longevity of a work of art is in direct ratio to the nobility of its conception, and its humanity or truth to human nature. In like manner, it may be said that the proof of the truth of any theory lies in the universality of its possible application. To question the nobility of conception inherent in all of Wagner's works would be idle; but their humanity, and the universality of application of the theories which governed their construction, in view of present indications affecting their enduring qualities, may well be doubted.

Wagner held that legendary and mythological lore was the only source from which subjects proper for musico-dramatic

treatment could be drawn, and it is largely the character of the subjects of his music-dramas which seems to-day to militate against them with the public. Life now is very real, very intense; day by day the world goes further away from the romantic and nearer the practical. The problem-play has ousted the play of romance; the drama of action has taken the place of the drama of emotion. Events move too rapidly, life in its kaleidoscopic change and variety is too vivid, too restless in nervous perfervid energy, to allow of our sitting contentedly through long hours in contemplation of the actions of giants, dwarfs and dragons, of the doings of mythical heroes and demigods and their impossible sexual relations, which touch real human nature at no point. It is this lack of humanity in the Wagner operas and music-dramas which transgresses the axiomatic canon governing the longevity of a work of art, and in so far is a fruitful cause of their present decadence.

Other causes lie in their inordinate and anything but divine length, for Wagner, intense egoist that he was, never thought he could say too much; in their depressing lack of movement and action through long and arid wastes of dreary monologue and dull soliloquy; and in the lack of opportunity for effective vocal display, and the heart-breaking demands on vocal endurance alluded to above. All reasons enough and to spare, one would think, to fully account for and explain existing conditions which may hardly be denied. In the rush and turmoil of present-day existence people like their emotions short, sharp and to the point; —hence the vogue of Puccini and the modern Italians,—and go more and more to the theatre and opera for mental relaxation and amusement. However interesting, artistic and moving the Wagner music-dramas may be, the wildest stretch of imagination could hardly call them amusing; while to properly appreciate the wonderful beauty which cannot be denied them is more often a severe mental strain than a relaxation.

Wagner himself is responsible for the statement that Love was the subject of all his dramas from the "Dutchman" to "Parsifal," and it is in the character and treatment of their love-stories, as it seems to me, that these dramas are lacking in that real humanity and human interest which must be inherent in any work of art to insure its lasting vitality. The passion, the love, which is the supreme law of nature, of "Tristan and Isolde"

is too tense, too physical, to fail in its universal, sensuous appeal. But apart from their mythological character, which makes them inhuman rather than human, the love-stories of the "Ring" dramas, in their wanton defiance of natural law in love, are repellent rather than attractive; and which one among the Wagner heroines, Senta, Elsa, Elisabeth or Eva, really enlists our sympathies or holds our interest? The mystic atmosphere of legendary lore which through each one moves seems to rob their characters of that intangible something which touches the answering chord of understanding and sympathy in our hearts. They do not seem of our world, these poetically imaginative heroines, but look out at us as through a veil of unreality; shadowy, remote, apart.

How far the character of the absolute musical structure of these dramas may affect their permanence is still a debatable question. The idea of Wagner's lack of melody has been so completely exploded as to be unworthy of discussion. But for all their melodiousness it may well be that the lack of more formal, salient, fluent melody, of melody which sings itself naturally like that of Mozart, in these dramas, has had not a little to do with their present decline in popular favor. And yet how simple, and even obviously melodic, passages formerly thought discordant and recondite now sound! Wagner's theory of the "*Leit-motif*" or illustrative theme, and his magnificent development of the orchestra as a factor in the general scheme of construction and effect, seem so firmly engrafted on modern musical thought and methods, and their influence is everywhere so apparent, that they strike one as the elements in these dramas most likely to obtain permanently. It must be borne in mind, however, that the Wagnerian music-dramas have, so far, been without successors; that no musico-dramatic work of real importance and significance—unless it be Strauss's "Salome"—in strict exemplification of the Wagnerian theories has yet been written, so that it would be dangerous and misleading to accept the success of special instances of transcendent genius as indicating the permanent artistic value or universal applicability of the means whereby this success has been achieved.

The Wagnerian theories have not yet been proved to be practical working theories susceptible of general application to musico-dramatic art, and it is their continued empirical charac-

ter which is responsible for the unrest which pervades the musical world to-day, and has beyond question much to do with their present decadence and may account for their ultimate downfall.

The influence, on the art of music as a whole, of the existing uncertainty as to the eventual fate of the Wagner music-dramas, is another question, and quite outside the intent and scope of this article, but one which need cause no disquietude. Beethoven built on the foundations laid by Bach; on the structure thus created Wagner reared his mighty superstructure. Music, the youngest of the arts, is still young, instinct with vitality and susceptible of continued further progress, as recent modern development conclusively proves. Who, then, shall say that another epoch-making genius will not arise to crown the edifice in the upbuilding of which Wagner, with Bach and Beethoven, played his mighty and significant rôle?

In view of obvious existing conditions, the fact suggested by this article can hardly be intelligently doubted; the reasons adduced to adequately account for it seem both good and sufficient; and if within so short a time the whilom "Music of the Future," as may hardly be gainsaid, has become the Music of the Present, is it unreasonable to predict that with corresponding rapidity —for the world moves fast these days—it may in its turn become the Music of the Past?

REGINALD DE KOVEN.

JOURNALISM, POLITICS AND THE UNIVERSITY.*

BY THE EDITOR.

UNFORTUNATELY, no definition of journalism has yet found general acceptance, and none probably could be made that would stand the test of critical analysis. Its most famous exemplars achieved power and distinction by methods so varied, and from motives so diverse, as to render exact induction impossible. To Franklin, the printer, it was a trade; to Bryant, the poet, it was literature; to Greeley, the apostle, it was evangelism; to Raymond, the disputant, it was polemics; to Bennett, the cynic, it was manufacture; to Dana, the satirist, it was an art; to Godkin, the caviller, it was hypercriticism. Each earned and won renown in a manner peculiar to himself, not because he was a great journalist, but because he was a great man—and in this respect of actual, personal achievement the name of Garrison, the zealot, leads all the rest. In breaking the bonds of traditional political thraldom, these eager minds rendered superb service to the cause of free thought and independent expression, but in one or more of the essentials of true journalism in its highest and broadest meaning each was singularly deficient.

THE MASTER JOURNALIST.

The master journalist must have stability of purpose and coolness of judgment. Greeley had neither. Impulsive, erratic, heedless in thought, violent in expression, eager to lead, no matter whither, impatient of restraint of any kind, the mighty influence acquired by his undoubted genius, reinforced by public faith in the purity of his intentions and the worship even of his obvious faults by the multitude of his followers, was wielded for ill almost as frequently as for good, and more than

* The substance of the Bromley Lecture delivered at Yale University on March 12th, 1908.

once seriously imperilled the very existence of the nation which he loved with the fervor of a votary.

The master journalist must have perspective as well as perception; his is a jealous calling demanding the exercise of every mental and moral fibril, and exacting above all that consistency which is inseparable from conviction. Keen and brilliant as he was, Raymond could make no discrimination between essentials and non-essentials when opportunity for contention offered. Peddler or archbishop could draw his fire by the merest allusion; no threat of controversy was too absurd, no source thereof too insignificant, to absorb his entire interest and distract his attention from public affairs. Yet more serious was his subordination of a great journal to the petty purposes of a political party, in the machinery of which he most prided himself upon being one of a hundred cogs—hence his variableness of policy, which became a byword and sapped his authority.

The master journalist must have conscience, character, conviction; his aim must be to uplift humanity, not to profit by its degradation. Bennett had personal integrity; he never sold an opinion; he never cheated or lied or bowed before mammon—and he was the most energetic and successful gatherer of news the world has produced. But he was indifferent to principle, contemptuous of things held most sacred by his fellow beings, and strove solely to detect the trend of popular sentiment that he might hasten to please the mob and pay additional tribute to his great and only god—Success! a curiously complex, marvellously self-developed manufacturer of food and poison, pilled and labelled to gratify any palate and to meet all conceivable demands.

The master journalist must cherish no personal animosities; though relentless in pursuit of wrong-doers, he must be just and forbearing when vindictiveness could only inflict pain upon the innocent and serve no useful purpose. Dana was the prince of his craft, the skilled workman, the artist, the developer of style, the first and so far the last hand at the loom from which spins the finished product. To the intensity of his nature we must attribute the unforgiving spirit which marred a professional career otherwise unmatched in proficiency.

The master journalist is suggestive, constructive. Godkin's talent was great and facile, but his instrument was the rapier; his hand never knew the trowel.

SAMUEL BOWLES.

A significant omission from this enumeration of men, the mere mention of whose names even in illustration of their defects evokes recognition of their distinction, is that of Samuel Bowles. It was not inadvertent; it was deliberate and purposeful. Bowles embodied a combination in greater or less degree of the finest qualities possessed by his famous contemporaries. Though in the view of the people he was less appealing than Greeley, in fact he was quite as earnest, quite as enthusiastic, quite as resolute in determination to supplant wrong with right at whatever hazard. His expression, except upon rare occasions when excitement burned through his veins, was less vivid, less brilliant than Raymond's, but it was always forceful, always rang true, and his discernment never wavered from the line of accurate diagnosis and the logical remedy. Unlike both Greeley and Raymond, he was able to curb his natural impetuosity and enhance by his very restraint the ultimate effect of his utterance — and his sound, sane judgment always sat at his elbow. He was not and could not have been, under the same conditions, a peer of Bennett in the gleaning and purveying of news; his didactic instincts were too dominant, his other interests too varied; but in his comparatively circumscribed field his work was characterized by no less painstaking thoroughness. His editorials lacked the finish that stamped those of Dana and Godkin, because his intellectual training was derived from association with men, while theirs came from intimacy with books. But take him all in all as a journalist, and few essentials will be found wanting. He was bold yet not daring for daring's sake, conscientious, both high minded and broad minded, firm in conviction, self-respecting, considerate of the weak, independent of the strong, unsordid, resolute in purpose, lucid, direct, convincing, able to perceive with the quickness of a lightning flash, to comprehend with the wisdom of a sage, and to deduce conclusions that seemed irrefragable to other minds because so they were felt to be by his. Despite the restrictions imposed upon him, it will not be surprising if the history of his generation shall accord first place in American journalism—as journalism pure and simple—to Samuel Bowles.

Herein we find a lesson. If it be true that Bowles outranked his gifted contemporaries, retaining to the end a truer perspective

and sounder judgment, his pre-eminence obviously cannot be attributed to either mental or moral superiority; it must have sprung necessarily from another underlying cause. Such, in truth, is the fact. Bowles was free. Almost all of the others at some stage in their careers wore the shackles of personal political ambition. Greeley was a fitful aspirant to public office from the day his journal became a power, and he died, finally, broken-hearted by his inability to attain the Presidency, for which hardly a man then living was less fitted. Raymond, after years of active participation in practical politics, perceived the folly of his course and foreswore further entanglements, only, however, to discover that the habit had become irresistible, and at the time of his death he was chairman of a State committee. Dana's life was embittered and his judgment clouded by the refusal of a President and a Governor to recognize his personal claims. Even the incorrigible Bennett was hushed by the offer of a diplomatic mission. From the day when the first note of independence was sounded to the very present, the bane of journalism has been the political ambitions of the journalists themselves. Politicians have profited steadily and increasingly, and the public has suffered correspondingly, from this insatiable craving for public position. Nor have our foremost statesmen hesitated to avail themselves of the opportunities thus presented. President Lincoln may have been warranted in considering that the end justified the means when he offered to Bennett the ministry to France, but his act served only to silence criticism of Johnson when that President tendered the Austrian ministry to Raymond in return for support which could not otherwise have been obtained. To this day not only has the custom been maintained, but, judging from the fact that never before have so many editors and writers held appointive political positions as at present, it seems by no means to be waning.

The fitness or unfitness of those selected is not a point in issue. It is the practice only which we deprecate. And call it what we may—a bribe to ensure a continuance of allegiance or, less obnoxiously, a reward for services rendered — the outcome of every one of such transactions is the same, the people's loss of a champion, and a newspaper's sacrifice of its birthright for a glittering bauble.

What, then, shall we conclude? That an editor shall bar acceptance of public position under any circumstances? Yes, abso-

lutely, and any thought or hope of such preferment, else his avowed purpose is not his true one, his policy is one of deceit in pursuance of an unannounced end; his guidance is untrustworthy, his calling that of a teacher false to his disciples for personal advantage, his conduct a gross betrayal not only of public confidence, but also of the faith of every true journalist jealous of a profession which should be of the noblest and the farthest removed from base uses in the interest of selfish men.

JOURNALISM AND POLITICS IRRECONCILABLE.

There is but one conceivable conclusion in logic or in morals, namely, that true journalism and the politics that seeks personal advancement are not and cannot be made co-operative; from the radical difference in their very natures and the impossibility of reconciling what should be the idealism of the one with the practicalism of the other, they must be essentially antagonistic. That in fact they are is evident. The chief, if not indeed the sole, aim of the politician is to win the favor of the majority. To achieve this purpose he does not scruple; in the language of his craft he "keeps his ear to the ground," and the magnitude of his success is measured by the shrewdness with which he divines popular tendencies sufficiently in advance of their general manifestation to appear to be the leader of a movement to establish newly discovered principles rather than a skilful conjecturer of evanescent popular whims. It follows necessarily that the journal animated by any other than a like motive, that is, the desire to profit from pandering to mobilized selfishness, is so hateful to the aspiring politician that in his view it must be discredited. Hence the frequency and virulence of assaults upon newspapers which for one reason or another dissent from views expressed by politicians, sometimes no doubt in sincerity, but always in hope of currying public favor. The reasoning of such a journal is seldom combated; a mere questioning of its motives is deemed and generally is found to be vastly more efficacious. So it often happens in even these enlightened days that a newspaper undergoing no change in control may to-day be pronounced patriotic and devoted to the cause of the people and to-morrow be denounced as a servant of special interests and an enemy of the country, in precise accord with its defence or criticism of political measures and men.

One of our most conspicuous statesmen—if the term, despite its apparent obsoleteness, may still be applied to the holder of a high public office—recently declared that the sole mission of journalism is to detect and encourage popular tendencies. In truth, such a conception is the basest imaginable, but it is the politician's and probably always will be. Nor can we honestly deny that it is the easier and likely to prove more profitable and more comfortable. Surely any one possessing human sensibilities would rather be heralded as a tribune of the people than as a hireling of capital, a panderer to labor or a common mercenary—and yet such detraction is a form of misery that the politician may avoid, while the journalist must endure it, for the simple reason that the god of the one is expediency, and of the other, principle.

I do not criticise the politician for following the mob; success in his trade is dependent upon his ability to satisfy the cravings, whatever they may happen to be at the time, of the majority; nor do I complain of his pretending to lead when really he only follows by catering to prejudice, since it is well within his province to deceive as many of the voters as much of the time as his talents permit. Even his traditional championship of, and appeals to, the "common people" may be condoned. So many millions have not only borne with equanimity but accepted with gratefulness for so many years that transparent insult, that its constant repetition engenders mild amusement rather than the deep indignation which rightfully it should evoke. My sole purpose is to mark the complete antithesis in theory and in practice of journalism and politics, in order to emphasize the inevitable antagonism to which I have referred between a profession that should be noble and a trade that is essentially sordid. To be the first to detect and the most eager to satisfy popular caprice is the acme of personal political achievement; to protect the people from themselves, to point out their errors and urge rectification, is the true mission of journalism. "Gathering the wisdom of ages as into a sheaf of sunbeams, it shows that progress springs from the minority, and that if it will but stand fast, time will give it victory." Into a single familiar stanza Bryant, the journalist, compressed the battle-song:

> "Truth crushed to earth shall rise again;
> The eternal years of God are hers;
> But Error, wounded, writhes with pain,
> And dies among his worshippers."

The distinction lies between dependence upon and independence of the majority—and in this respect great strides have been made in American journalism. The asperities of to-day seem innocuous when compared with those of the good old times when charges of treason filled the air, when Republican journals solemnly accused Federalists of plotting to establish a monarchy by force of arms, when Federalist newspapers denounced Republican statesmen as Jacobins, when Jay was anathematized as a scoundrel and Jefferson as an atheist and satyr, and when, as on the morning after Washington retired from the Presidency, the principal organ of the Opposition devoutly thanked God that at last the country was rid of the man who had been the source of all its misfortunes. Even so late as the era of the brilliant men to whom I have referred, public journals were the slaves of political parties, but whatever the shortcomings of the present, the pall of partisanship at least has lifted, and there is no press in the world comparable to that of America in freedom from venal influences.

PROVINCIALISM OF THE PRESS.

"A chartered libertine," the American press may be as distinctly to-day as when the discriminating Curtis so designated it twenty-five years ago, and yet, how true it is now as then, as he hastened to add, that "No abuse of its privileges can be so great as the evil of its suppression." There remains only the necessity of refining the expression and enhancing the independence which constitutes the real soul of a public journal. At this point exacting human nature raises obstacles. The vast majority of men are technically honest, but few are honest in their minds. So, too, while all really influential newspapers are nominally independent, few proprietors and editors are unaffected by one consideration or another. Environment wields the greatest force, and so it should. It is right and proper, no less than inevitable, that a newspaper should reflect the sentiments of the community in which it has its being, and upon whose support its very existence depends. In the fact that a journal published in a manufacturing city in New England upholds protection, or that one speaking for the farmers of the West advocates free trade, or that one printed in New York demands rigorous laws bearing upon finance, we find no cause for censure. Each voices the spirit of its own community in perfect conformity with the democratic theory which forms

the basis of our institutions; but it is a grave question whether at this time, when the bands of steel have knit so closely together the various sections and rendered all so wholly interdependent, the growth of tolerance and consideration has kept pace with material progress. Provincialism has ceased to be dominant in American journalism, but it continues to be a factor of no little magnitude, irritating, harmful, even pregnant with danger unless modified by a broader recognition of the rights and privileges of all who constitute a mighty population that must be united to withstand the baleful forces which hitherto have wrecked republics.

TRUE INDEPENDENCE.

The journalist, then, must be independent, not only of politics, but of his community. His interest is its interest, but his entire obligation is not fulfilled by mere representation of that interest, however accurate it may be. He is, above all, a teacher who through daily appeals to the reason and moral sense of his constituency should become a real leader. Nor should his independence be confined within city or State lines. His responsibility is to the whole people, but to perform fully his part he must be independent of the whole or of any portion. Nothing can be clearer than that the occasional supersession of statesmen in public authority by heralds of dubious evangels makes doubly important the rigorous application of common sense to even an uncommon people. Above capital, above labor, above wealth, above poverty, above class and above people, subservient to none, quick to perceive and relentless in resisting encroachments by any, the master journalist should stand as the guardian of all, the vigilant watchman on the tower ever ready to sound the alarm of danger, from whatever source, to the liberties and the laws of this great union of free individuals.

CAN JOURNALISM BE TAUGHT?

Can such an ideal be attained through education? Or, as is often asked, Can journalism be taught? Greeley not only dismissed the suggestion contemptuously as unworthy of consideration, but even went so far as to decry the academic training of the intellect, and he prayed for deliverance from "those horned cattle, the college graduates." The scholarly Dana also maintained that the only successful school of journalism is a newspaper-office; and this, I suspect, would be found upon inquiry to be the opinion of practically all journalists now in the front

rank, with one notable exception. But will the common saying that a journalist is "born, not made," stand the test of analysis? Is it any more than assertion? Has any one ever tried to demonstrate its truth by process of reasoning, or could one hope to succeed in such an attempt in these days of wider and freer intellectual development in the universities? True, the familiar declaration that journalism cannot be taught as surgery or engineering is taught seems plausible, but is it indeed the fact? We may grant that certain technical knowledge respecting the mechanical construction of a newspaper can be derived most easily, if not solely, from actual experience; but that experience can be obtained as well without as within a newspaper-office if the facilities be afforded. This form of proficiency, moreover, is of the smallest comparative value, and bears a relationship to the practice of journalism as a profession hardly closer than the ability to conduct an advertising department. Surely, too, one can be taught how to write, edit, think, even how to perceive, as readily in a college as in a newspaper-office, the only conceivable advantage of the latter being that—of inestimable value, to be sure—which is derived from enforced practice; but even this cannot be regarded as unattainable, if the mental energy and ingenuity said to be exercised by some undergraduates in striving to avoid work could be diverted into other channels.

SELF-EDUCATION.

There is no novelty in the interminable parading of the exclusive or superior advantages of service in the "hard school of experience." Such prattle has issued from shallow intellects since systematic training of the mind began. We hear it at intervals even now from the lips of men whose self-sufficiency, flourishing like a noxious weed amid flowers of material achievement, prompts a tawdry display of dogmatism. That results alone constitute arguments, is their confident declaration deemed to be conclusive, and any lingering doubts are supposed to be quickly dispelled by contemplation of the handiwork of the complacent self-manufacturer. It is difficult at the beginning of the twentieth century to listen to such absurdities without manifesting impatience; and yet we may not with propriety disregard the obligation of tolerance in considering the opinions of men incapable of fixing the bases of their own prosperity. What

logic would pronounce effect they almost invariably believe to be cause, and the most obviously helpful circumstances win no recognition from their restricted imaginations as salutary or even contributory to equipment for achieving success. Examples without number, from Cavour, whose monument is united Italy, to Lincoln, whose glory is emancipation, are adduced as evidence that time utilized in training the intellect is wasted, and that liberal education is a bar to possible achievement through concentration. Wholly similar is the common misapprehension respecting the training of an American journalist deduced from the triumphs of Franklin, Greeley, Bennett, Bowles and some now living. Scorning to make the obvious retort, disdaining to instance the innumerable contrary examples from Pericles to Balfour, from Bacon to Godkin, it serves well our purpose to raise the simple query, whether the successes of those mentioned were accomplished because of or in spite of disadvantages that to the impersonal judgment seem apparent.

RESPONSIBILITY OF THE UNIVERSITY.

But all these are minor considerations. It is in a vastly broader sense that I shall try to show that if it be true that, in these days, a printer's devil who works his way up to an editorship is better equipped for the practice of journalism than a college man having like aspirations, there is on the part of trustees and faculty a woful deficiency in comprehension of the duty of the university to the people. Assuming general acceptance of the hypothesis that the power of the press for good or ill is very great and not diminishing, it is manifest that all available agencies should be utilized to render that influence as much for good and as little for ill as possible. Of these instrumentalities many might be enumerated, but not one, in this particular stage of commercial, scientific and moral development of the American people, can approach the university in effectiveness. We call this an age of specialism, and such indeed it is in all callings but one—and that one is journalism. We have only to refer to the stupendous and constant growth in population within our borders and the recent lightning-like expansion of our interest abroad to emphasize the fact that never before was such need of breadth of knowledge among those charged with the daily teaching of our millions.

Whatever may be our attitude towards the doctrine of "utility,"

whether we stand with Oxford or with Edinburgh, we may rest assured that not even Locke would deny the need to the modern journalist of liberal education, for the very simple and conclusive reason that universal knowledge is his requirement. And where can he obtain it if not from the university? And whose duty, if not the university's, is it to supply not only that liberal education itself, but also all minor helps pertaining to journalism, so that when the graduate begins his work his mind need not rust while perforce he is mastering the mere incidentals which constitute the sum of the knowledge of his office-bred competitor?

Hardly second in value to wide comprehensiveness of knowledge are clarity in thought and lucidity of expression; and from whom may we rightfully demand the development of these acquirements if not from the university? Criticism is an important function of journalism, but only a phase. It does not suffice to walk in the footsteps of the sages who taught Rasselas and the princes of Abyssinia, and who, according to Doctor Johnson, told them of nothing but the miseries of public life, and described all beyond the mountains as regions of calamity where "discord was always raging and where man preyed upon man." The ability to apprehend the correct viewpoint concerning a vital subject is vastly more important, calling not merely for the bodily eye provided by nature, but for what Newman so aptly designates as "the eye of the mind," whose object is truth, and itself is "the work of discipline and habit." Where, if not to the university, may we look for the maintenance of the discipline and the forming of the habits essential to the training of the intellect to so fine a point that, in subsequent public service, which is all that journalism really is or should be, discrimination between the true and the false shall require so little effort as to seem to spring from very instinct?

Journalism can never be history; its unceasing activities deprive it of the advantages of scientific inquiry. It cannot even be the rounded truth, since the necessity of prompt presentation of what seems to be fact renders impossible the gathering and weighing of all evidence which bears upon an event that must be chronicled. As a purveyor of what we call news, the newspaper cannot present daily a photograph of happenings; it can only give a picture, imperfect because painted by fallible beings. As a guide, it must form opinions and pronounce judgment instant-

ly; the delay of a day or even an hour at times would be fatal to full effectiveness. Hence the necessity for the most complete and finished mental training; and where, pray, can we look for the building of thoroughbred minds if not to the university?

INTELLECT, CHARACTER, CONSCIENCE.

Intellect! Independence! Each is essential and each can be cultivated. There is yet another trait whose possession is more vital than that of both combined. That is character, the foundation of all real achievement, which in turn finds its inspiration in a quality fortunately inherent in all men. The equality with which, according to our republican doctrine, human beings are endowed in common at birth is the equality of right alone—the right to exist unmolested, to enjoy freedom, to share evenly with others the opportunities vouchsafed by God to His children. The capacities to feel, perceive and express multifarious emotions which in the course of years crystallize into genius, talent or mere industry are distributed in widely varying degrees. No training of the mind can evolve a poet, no cultivation of the sense of hearing can create an understanding of music, no practice can imbue a sterile spirit with appreciation of humor. With respect to these and all similar attributes, so far from all being born equal, no two among the uncounted millions are born alike.

But there is one divine possession common to all men, from the most highly educated to the most ignorant, from the most spiritual to the most brutal, from the finest to the coarsest of natures. It is the faculty which compels men to regard their own acts and the acts of their fellows as possessing a moral quality, and which, when fully enlightened, puts upon the right the imprimatur of its conscious approval and upon the wrong the stamp of its conscious condemnation. In Christian theology it is the still small voice speaking a word of warning when such an one is needed; in modern philosophy it is the moral sense, conscience or, most exactly to the discriminating understanding, the spirit of truth. What it is we do not know. Whatever it may be, believers and scoffers alike admit its existence in every human breast—as a force, though latent, the most potent known agency in the control and direction of human conduct; and it is this element, this divine spark, that smoulders or leaps into flame, as it is neglected or encouraged, that becomes the core of character.

But while character is as dependent fundamentally upon the impelling force of conscience as the human organism is upon the pulsing of the heart, other qualities, although secondary in importance, are no less essential to the entire composition. Chief among these is a sense of personal honor. This trait can be acquired only through cultivation, which in turn is most naturally and readily realized through the traditions and associations afforded by the university. The motives which engender it are various and not inevitably, in the nicest sense, wholly worthy. The primary teaching, for example, that honesty should be practised simply for the sake of policy does not seem to conform with the spirit of high-mindedness, and yet it is too often the sum of the reasons derived from early secular schooling. The prompting of pride or even of the form of vanity which impels the wish to stand high in the estimation of one's fellows is far more meritorious, and it is this impulse which stirs within a man from the day on which he comes into contact with the standards which have become fixed by practice within the university. To the moral atmosphere of the gridiron and the baseball field, hardly less than to the shame of reflecting discredit upon one's Alma Mater, may safely be attributed the keen sense of personal honor to-day found almost invariably in the college graduate. And, if it be conceded, as it must be, that university life produces nobleness of mind, it is but a step to the conclusion that it must also refine the conscience, and it thus makes the perfect blend which we call character,—the first and indispensable requisite of true journalism.

FOR TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION.

Already, as we have seen, the university is building the fundamentals. Why should it not also supply the accessories and send forth to teach and lead the people, men so thoroughly equipped technically as well as mentally and morally that the mere fact of graduation, by opening the door of opportunity, would gradually but inevitably tend to subordinate materialism to a practical idealism which would raise the American press to its true position as foremost among God's agencies for the uplifting of the American people?

"I can hear a sound
As from waves beating upon distant strands;
And the sea creatures, like a surf of light,
Pour eddying. . . ."

I call up the memory of a boating adventure of bygone days, when Willie Yeats and I set forth from the harbor of Howth to explore an islet where monks once lived; where, drawing up our boat incautiously among the sea-weed mantled rocks, we were left high and dry, and spent all the day and most of the night watching first the gulls, and then the rippling luminous creatures of the sea as darkness came on us. Or, again, when Cathleen tells Aleel:

"Men say that the wise people of the raths
Have given you wisdom,"

I think of a day when, exploring cromlechs and circles of Druid stones, we dug for the treasure-chamber in a rath, but did not find it; consoling ourselves with creeping into a rock-hewn Danaan chamber that overlooks the sea. So, too, such lines as these, in the Indian poems:

"O Brahma, guard in sleep
The merry lambs and the complacent kine,
The flies below the leaves, and the young mice
In the tree-roots, and all the sacred flocks
Of red flamingo,"

bring back into memory the time when we sought a pathway through the mazes of Eastern lore, gloating over the Light of Asia, the Song Celestial and the tales of the Great War. And such a passage as this:

"I, too, await
The hour of thy great wind of love and hate.
When shall the stars be blown about the sky,
Like the sparks blown out of a smithy, and die?
Surely thine hour has come, thy great wind blows,
Far off, most secret, and inviolate Rose,"

speaks of a later time, in London, when Yeats was busy with the Prophetic Books of Blake, the Kabbala and the Rosicrucianism of his friend MacGregor Mathers, with which I had less of sympathy.

Above these varied tones, Indian, Moorish, Hellenic, Norse, at last arose that clear note of Celtic melody which has carried his songs around the world. The day came when, turning

from early Darwinian enthusiasm, Yeats began to haunt the reading-room of the Irish Academy in Dawson Street, filling his heart with old Gaelic tales and epics. The spirit of Ferguson brooded over him, guiding him through the by-paths of Erin, and presently, like returning Oisin, he came back with wonderful tales of mystic lands. In Oisin's "Wanderings" are records of his own:

"I mused on the chase with the Fenians, and Bran, Sgeolan, Lomair,
And never a song sang Niamh, and over my finger-tips
Came now the sliding of tears and sweeping of mist-cold hair,
And now the warmth of sighs, and after the quiver of lips.

"Were we days long or hours long in riding, when rolled in a grisly peace,
An isle lay level before us, with dripping hazel and oak?
And we stood on a sea's edge we saw not; for whiter than new-washed fleece
Fled foam underneath us, and round us, a wandering and milky smoke."

These songs and dramas of Erin, which have made him laureate of his land, are too well known to need quotation here. They depict an Erin mystical, ghostly, full of dreams; something that lacks the red blood of a land famous through thirty centuries of war. Take, for example, such lines as these, spoken by Dectora:

"O ancient worm,
Dragon that loved the world and held us to it,
You are broken, you are broken. The world drifts away,
And I am left alone with my beloved,
Who cannot put me from his sight forever. . . .
O flower of the branch, O bird among the leaves,
O silver fish that my two hands have taken
Out of the running stream, O morning star,
Trembling in the blue heavens like a white fawn
Upon the misty border of the wood,
Bend lower, that I may cover you with my hair,
For he will gaze upon this world no longer."

Compare with these exquisite verses an authentic passage from the Old Gaelic of the Book of Leinster, concerning the brother of the real Dectere:

"At that time Conchobar came on with nine hundred, threescore and five men to the mouth of the water of Luachann. And a house of drinking and high merriment was prepared by him in the bright-faced fortress of Delga. It was not long for Conchobar, when he was there, till he saw the bent spars of a sail and the full-crewed ships, and the

bright scarlet tents, and the beautiful, many-colored flags, and the engines of battle, and the blue bright lances, and the weapons of war. . . ."

He sings the Sorrows of Erin, yet wears his rue with a difference; having, indeed, brought into his song some of the shimmering mist of the modern romantic, the exotic color of the pre-Raphaelites, the gauze veils of Maeterlinck. I have often thought that it is not so much as the prophet of mystical Ireland that Yeats will at last stand, but rather as a master of the music of words. The modern melody of verse, which Shelley created, which Rossetti and Swinburne developed, finds in Yeats a marvellous expression. His rhythms are living, sensitive, magical; his ear for word-melody is faultless. Take lines like these:

"The wind blows out of the gates of the day,
The wind blows over the lonely of heart,
And the lonely of heart is withered away,
While the faeries dance in a place apart,
Shaking their milk-white feet in a ring,
Tossing their milk-white arms in the air;
For they hear the wind laugh and murmur and sing
Of a land where even the old are fair. . . ."

One could find no better training for the ear, no better way to gain the sense of the beauty of sound and rhythm, which fills so large a place in the best writing of all times, whether verse or prose, than the habit of reading aloud the poems in these two volumes;—such verses as those which cast their spell over Stevenson:

"I will arise and go now, for always night and day
I hear lake water lapping with low sounds by the shore. . . ."

It is a fancy of mine that Yeats was indebted, for this rhythm, to a half-conscious memory of the Prodigal: "I will arise and go to my father. . . ." For the men of Shakespeare's day, who made the King James's version of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer, were so trained in the music of words by the great Elizabethans that they have imbedded a thousand beautiful rhythms in Scripture and Prayers alike; for example, that wonderful Invocation for the Evening: "Lighten our darkness, O Lord, we beseech Thee, and by Thy great mercy defend us!" is almost purely dactylic; and the Prayer-book is full of the same high beauty. To develop the feeling for this magical art,

to win the delight which is its gift, no better training could be imagined than a study of Yeats's verse; and I believe that he will live, not so much as a dramatist or revealer of spiritual things, as a consummate musician in words, creator of lovely rhythms and faultless melodies.

CHARLES JOHNSTON.

THE AWAKENED EAST.*

JOURNALISM must be accredited with another remarkable book of travel. Recently the world had to thank an English special correspondent, Percival Landon, for his volume on the British expedition to Lhassa; the year just begun brings to us a wholly admirable narrative of Prince Borghese's path-breaking journey from Peking, over the desolation of Mongolia, across Siberia and the Urals into Russia proper and thence, by way of St. Petersburg, to Paris. The large volume is the work of Luigi Barzini, correspondent of "*La Corriere della Sera*" of Milan and the "Daily Telegraph" of London. He gives us the latest and the best pictures of the awakened East!

Every hour of a fortnight's detention in the Chinese capital, enforced by obstacles placed in the path of the travellers by Chinese red tape, is interesting. We are veritably in Peking, dealing with the Chinaman as he is.

Justice cannot be done to Barzini's charming description of the Great Wall, one of the sublime wonders of the world, in words other than his; but space forbids. We feel the thrill of a great past when, through Barzini's eyes, we detect afar the hazy, tremulous crenelations of this tremendous work of man that shames the Pyramids at Gizeh into insignificance. On nearer approach, past temples clinging to the sides of precipices, temples in which bats are custodians and in which the sacred fire of Buddha has gone out forever, we are imbued with the awe that the writer unmistakably felt. Amid this desolation a line of telegraph-wires threads its way—an almost human friend; the only connecting-link with the newer world, of which China is almost ignorant. The Chinese people spent a thousand years in building walls against the West; "their labors were only interrupted three

* "Peking to Paris: An Account of Prince Borghese's Journey Across Two Continents in a Motor Car," by Luigi Barzini. One hundred illustrations. New York: Mitchell Kennerley.

centuries ago, when the Chinese throne was occupied by the very Tartars against whose advent were raised these structures of bricks and mortar. To our modern mind, the Great Wall is an amazing monument to fear, huge and senseless, both magnificent and ridiculous: we admire and we deride it!" But be it remembered that in China everything is surrounded by walls,—the Empire, the cities, the temples, the houses,—for the Chinese ideal of life is tranquil captivity.

Next we find ourselves in the quaint city of Kalgan, with its sleek, pudgy, porcelain-like mandarins that are forever bobbing their heads, as if meaning "Yes," but never speaking. Before us, on the other side of the Solki range, are the verdure-covered Mongolian prairies that the awakened Chinese are colonizing with surprising activity. These abandoned farms have not been worked for centuries; but already the population is dense, and thousands of farmers have begun their migration thither from remote confines of the Empire. Travelling afoot, they cannot reach their destinations for months to come. Agriculture, a stronger invading force than an army when backed by the keen commercial sense, is driving out the nomad who cares so little for the earth that he scorns to defend it. Balked on the sea-coast by the combined self-interests of the "civilized" Powers, Chinese expansion is making for itself a landward outlet. Barzini gives to us delightful descriptions of these people. During their stay amid this teeming population the strangers were avoided at night as if they were bandits, but approached in daylight with manifestations of good-will. In two days this rural picture ends, and the real terror of the entire trip is confronted.

Before us is the Gobi Desert, into which we descend by a series of terraces. The awful fascination of the desert overtakes us! The sand is like molten lava; the Gobi is a personality, a thing to be watched that it may not come upon us in the majesty of a sand-cloud and smother us. We feel as we did when in caravan with Hichens on the Sahara, or when crouching upon a camel of Fadlalla Abdalla amid the pink waste outside the Fayoum, or rolling over Kitchiner's road across the Nubian wilderness that separates Wadi-Halfa from Abou-Hamed. But here in the Gobi we have taken leave of even rudimentary civilization; we are among counterparts of the Kirghese and the Turkomans of the Aral and Oxus, with whom MacGahan made us so well acquaint-

ed. Their line of descent from the great Mongolian trunk is clear! Confucianism has given place to Buddhism. There are shepherd Llamas at the oases; there are Llamas *fainéants* in the desert fastnesses. Meditation seems idleness to him who respects not its theme. We overtake a lone worshipper of the ever-to-be-glorified Gautama; he is bound to Urga, home of the Grand Llama since his flight from Lhassa, and has trudged, as we see him, more than a thousand miles in vague hope that he may be permitted to look upon the face of a simpering idiot boy, believed by him to be the living personification of the divine Buddha. Benares, on the Ganges, where "The Enlightened One" daily walked and talked for fifty years, is, indeed, sacred to Buddha; but far beyond the death's valley in which we wander, at Urga, dwells in visible form the successor of the first teacher who inculcated love of man for man! The pilgrim looks straight ahead. Sleeping when darkness falls, eating when he has food, fasting when he hasn't any, intent upon his search for earthly happiness in order that he may enjoy to their fulness the sweets of oblivion, he cares not for science, for Paris, for Italian princes. He is too busy wasting his life in a dream to glance at the travellers.

The only live things of the Gobi are the telegraph-poles listening to the news of the world that passes over their singing wires. At this point in his narrative Barzini excels any man of our time in imparting to his reader the mysterious, shivery silence of the desert. Temples, white as cameo in the shimmering sunlight, crown isolated peaks: mirages, they seem; but no, they are real! The inward slope of their walls is not due to the perspective effect when gazing upward at a lofty structure: here are the same pylons found at Edfu and Philæ on the Nile and that Landon photographed at the palace of the Dalai Llama in Tibet.

We cannot dwell upon the desert city of Udde. Like others in Mongolia, it is silent; its merchants barter in whispers; camels may yawn, but donkeys never bray: nowhere does one hear the boisterous, happy voices of children at play! Ah, yes; in the darkness that precedes dawn dogs do bay the moon or the ever-constant stars. How weary one grows of a sky without clouds!

Leaving this land that lived too soon for the human race, we plunge into the vast forests that encroach upon the prehistoric

tide-line of a vanished sea that exceeded Lake Superior in size. How sociable are the trees; they are to be companions as far as the steppes of Siberia. And later, clouds appear overhead to cheer the reader like the shadow of a tender caress. He is re-entering the zone of life; it is good to be alive; when travellers do not talk they sing together. Urga! How one would like to read a whole book given up to the sacred city and its three separate, irreconcilable communities,—between Slav, Mongol and Chinese is the bulwark of age-long hatreds. Each town is several miles distant from the others; each is an intrenched camp, always on the defensive, more from tradition than present danger. Here for the first time since leaving the vicinity of Peking we encounter real money,—coin. Overshadowing the three towns is Bogda-ola, "the holy mountain," upon the crest of which is the unmarked grave of Jenghis-Khan, a conqueror who slew his enemies by millions. Nobody knows the truth about this grave, because to disturb the sleep of the demigod would be sacrilege unatonable. Like most primitive dwellers in vast plains, the peoples of this city feel veneration for lofty heights, created to bring nearer together the earth and sky.

We must say farewell to Mongolia, and we do so at Kiakhta, a twin city through which runs a green strip of sod, the frontier-line of Siberia! The town on the Mongolian side is called Maimachen, the Slav city Kiakhta; the latter has come to fetch the tea, the former to deliver it. Russia and China doing business! When one reads that Maimachen is a habitation composed of men he recalls the cruel, bitter taunt of Mme. Nazimova when she says, "Ah, yes; I came to Paris, the City of Man!"

The journey through Trans-Baikalia to Irkutsk discloses an awakened land. It is Russia, the same as on the banks of the Dnieper, the Volga or the Neva,—neither Asiatic nor European, but as different from China as it is from France. Russia enfolds writer and reader. When we hear the first whistle of a train passing along the Trans-Siberian Railway we feel that we are at home, although 5,000 miles are yet to be traversed before goal is made. The capital of Siberia, Irkutsk, Tomsk "the learned," Omsk and the Steppes, the Urals, Nijni-Novgorod, Moscow, St. Petersburg, Berlin, Paris,—all names to conjure with and Barzini has a wizard's art.

JULIUS CHAMBERS.

WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON: ST. PETERSBURG: WASHINGTON.

London, *March, 1908.*

Education and licensing are the topics, the somewhat deafening topics, of the hour. And not of the hour merely. They will continue for many weeks, possibly for many months, to engross the attention both of Parliament and of the country. It is difficult to explain to a non-English audience the intensity of passion they never fail to arouse in England. That streak of sectarian rancor and fanaticism which lies not far below the placid surface of English life and character is responsible for the unvarying heat of all debates on education; while anything that touches the drink question brings into the arena all the temperance extremists, on the one hand, and, on the other, lines up in fighting array the vast resources of one of the wealthiest and most strongly organized interests in the country. English people feel in discussing education—just as Americans felt in discussing slavery and Free Silver—that they are debating what is pre-eminently a moral issue; and nobody at this day needs to be reminded of the peculiar susceptibility of the British temperament to the moral appeal. As for the drink traffic and the problems it propounds, the fury injected into their consideration becomes partially explicable when we regard them as similar in kind to the central question which Mr. Roosevelt has raised in America—the question whether democracy or the trusts are the stronger. Both issues, therefore, are of the first order of contentiousness, and their simultaneous irruption dooms England unescapably to a period of well-nigh ferocious clamor and dissension. Both, too, are issues that have more than once overthrown Governments and that promise, not indeed to wreck, but certainly to shake, this one.

I need scarcely say that, when Englishmen engage in an educational controversy, the last subject they mention is education. An Education Bill in the British Parliament always resolves itself into a battle, not between educational "experts," but between rival sets of theologians, or, more specifically, between the Church of England, backed by the Catholics and the Jews, on the one side, and the variegated forces of Nonconformity on the other. How to reconcile the claims of these sects in the matter of educational authority and control is the essence of the problem that England is engaged in tackling. Certain broad principles may fairly be taken as governing her attitude towards it. The country, to begin with, is opposed to a purely secular system of public education. With every year that prolongs this barren feud of the sects, it is becoming less so; but at present it has no wish to banish religion from the schools. On the other hand, it is equally opposed to paying, out of public moneys, whether rates or taxes, for the teaching of one denominational creed in preference to another, and it is scarcely less willing to accept the theory that the State should provide instruction in all denominational creeds. Between furnishing equal facilities for all sects and no facilities for any sect, it has for the last seven-and-thirty years adopted a compromise. This compromise found expression in the famous Cowper-Temple clause of the Act of 1870, the Act which first gave to England the semblance of a public-school system. The effect of that clause was, roughly, to forbid denominational teaching in the public schools and to set up simple Bible instruction of a non-sectarian character. The clause, however, did not and could not apply to the voluntary schools—that is, to the schools built, endowed and owned by the Established Church. In these schools, purely Church of England doctrines continued to be taught; but, under the operation of a "conscience clause," any Nonconformist pupil was at liberty to cut the religious lessons.

Thus two broad types of schools divided the field of elementary education, (1) the public school supported from the rates and from Parliamentary grants-in-aid and expounding the fundamental truths of Christianity without any admixture of dogma, and (2) the voluntary school, supported partly by private subscriptions and partly by grants from the Government, and inculcating the doctrines of the Established Church. A child could

see the defects of a system under which these two types of school existed side by side, but on a different financial footing, with unequal educational standards, and with no unity either of aim or policy. What complicated the situation was that the voluntary schools drifted into a very unsatisfactory condition. Their subscription list fell off; their buildings were defective and ill equipped; and the education provided in them failed to reach even the moderate level attained by their rate-aided, publicly controlled and non-theological rivals. Yet over half the children of England are educated in these schools, and in about eight thousand areas the voluntary school is still the only school.

Two main reforms were indicated by this state of affairs. First of all, the voluntary schools had to be made efficient and they could be made efficient only by being thrown on the rates. Secondly, it was clearly essential that the disconnection between the voluntary and the public schools should cease and that both should be placed under one and the same authority empowered to regulate and harmonize their secular curricula. But the voluntary schools, as I have said, belong to the Established Church; they were founded and endowed by the piety of the members of that Church; and their trust-deeds frequently enjoined upon them the duty of teaching the doctrines of the Church and no other. They were, in short, private organizations performing public functions, partly from their own resources, but mainly with the assistance of Parliamentary subsidies. On what terms were they to be taken over by the State? If they were henceforward to be placed on the rates, if the Established Church was to be relieved of the necessity of supporting them, if they were to be made subject, like the public schools, to a popularly elected authority, what were the conditions that would most equitably govern the transaction? Should the Church retain the right of appointing the teacher? Ought the teacher in all the transferred schools to be a member of the Established Church? What facilities should be allowed for the continued teaching of Church of England doctrines? Were they to be taught as part of the regular curriculum, or out of school hours altogether? To what extent should the principle that the provision of public moneys should carry with it the right of public control be pushed, and how far might it safely be toned down to meet the special circumstances of the case?

These are but a few of the difficulties of the problem. The Act of 1902 met them or essayed to meet them in the following way. It began by making the local County or Borough Council the supreme education authority for the district, with equal power over the secular teaching in both public and voluntary schools. The voluntary schools were thrown on the rates and made a public charge, and their owners and managers were required to provide the school buildings, free of charge, for use as a public elementary school, to keep them in repair, and to make reasonable alterations and improvements if required. On the other hand, they retained the right of teaching their own doctrines in the schools; no teacher appointed or dismissed by them could be discharged or reinstated by the local education authority except on purely educational grounds; and in the management of the voluntary schools four directors were to be appointed by the local churchmen and two by the local education authority. Against these provisions the Nonconformists strongly protested, carrying their protest so far as to organize a movement of passive resistance and going to prison rather than pay the new education rate. The grounds of their protest were that the rates were being used to support a denominational creed; that, while the people were finding the money for the maintenance of the voluntary schools, they had only a very partial and incomplete control over them; and that the Act practically excluded qualified teachers from the majority of the schools because they were not members of the Established Church.

The Act of 1902 played a very great part in the election of 1906. The Liberals were returned to power with a clear mandate to amend it. The result was Mr. Birrell's ill-fated Bill. Mr. Birrell brought the voluntary schools under the full and entire control of the local education authority. The teachers were to be free from any and every kind of religious test. The religious instruction to be given by them was to be purely undenominational—the "simple Bible teaching" which has obtained in all the public schools since 1870, and which the Church has not objected to until now; but on two mornings in the week, out of school hours, at their own expense and through the medium of specially imported teachers, the owners of any voluntary school might provide religious instruction according to their own creed for such as cared to receive it. Where the parents of four-fifths

of the children desired it, a school in an urban area might still continue to exist as a denominational school, and the teachers employed in the school might dispense the religious instruction required, but not at the public expense. The local education authority was to lease the schools from their present owners, paying rent for their use on five days in the week from nine in the morning till four in the afternoon, and bearing all the cost of maintaining the buildings, but leaving the present owners in exclusive possession of them during the whole of Saturday and Sunday, and on week-day evenings. Such was the main outline of Mr. Birrell's measure. The commonest criticism passed on its provisions was that they remedied an injustice against the Nonconformists by creating one against the Church. That was the view taken by the Lords. In a succession of amendments, they vitiated the principles and destroyed the purpose of the Bill, and sought apparently to reimpose upon the country a system even more favorable to the Established Church than was the Act of 1902. The Government refused to accept the amendments; the Lords refused to withdraw them; and the Bill was lost.

And now comes Mr. Birrell's successor, Mr. McKenna, with another solution. It follows Mr. Birrell's in its main principles. That is to say, the public, where it provides the funds, is to manage the schools and to appoint the teachers. The latter are to be free from all religious tests. The religious instruction permitted in the schools at the public expense is to be "simple Bible teaching." A school of this type is to be considered the standing model of elementary educational establishments in England, and it is only to a school of this type that children will be compelled to go. That is to say, in areas where the only school is a voluntary school, Nonconformist parents will not be punished by the law, as they are at present, for failing to enforce their children's attendance. The Bill, however, does everything it can to reduce such cases to a minimum. It provides that, in the present single-school areas where only a voluntary school exists, that school, if it wishes to receive the Parliamentary grant and rate-aid, must be transferred to the local authority. On the off-school days (Saturday and Sunday), and on other days out of school hours, Church teaching may be given if the parents desire it, but it must not be given either at the public expense or by the regular school teacher. In larger areas, where a choice of

schools exists, the voluntary schools are allowed an option. They may, if they like, continue exactly as they are, privately managed, appointing their own teachers, maintaining their own doctrinal atmosphere; but, in that case, they will not receive any aid from the rates, and they will only receive a Parliamentary grant on condition that they reach a certain standard of size and efficiency, and are not carried on for private profit. If, on the other hand, the voluntary schools in the larger areas decide, as it is most desirable that they should, to come within the four corners of the national system, and to submit to public control, then they will continue to receive both rate-aid and the Parliamentary grant, they will be provided with facilities for denominational teaching on Saturdays and Sundays, their present teachers will continue in office, and the school buildings will be furnished, warmed, cleaned and lighted at the sole expense of the education authority, which, however, is to pay no rent for them. I should add that the Parliamentary grant, above referred to, is to be largely increased, and though not sufficient in itself to maintain the efficiency of any voluntary school that elects to forego rate-aid for the sake of remaining a purely denominational institution, it will only need to be supplemented by a very small donation from the pockets of private sympathizers.

If the Bill becomes law, there will, therefore, still remain three types of public elementary schools in England: (1) the ordinary type, over which the public control will be absolute and in which no distinctive catechism or formulary will be taught; (2) the public schools which will furnish special facilities, not at the public expense, for denominational teaching; (3) voluntary schools that have "contracted out" of the Bill, have chosen to do without aid from the rates, and that so long as they are educationally efficient will be permitted to manage themselves in their own way by the combined help of a Parliamentary grant and private subscriptions. The first two types will be both rate-aided and grant-aided; the third will receive the Parliamentary grant only. This is, of course, from the strictly educational standpoint, a very unsatisfactory and complicated arrangement, but it is probably the best, or nearly the best, that the conditions of England permit. I have gone into the matter at length partly because to have it thus set before them in some detail may lead Americans to realize anew how much they owe

to the good sense that has enabled them to preserve the cause of education from being made the victim of a barren sectarianism. I dare not prophesy the fate of Mr. McKenna's Bill. Some of the Nonconformists denounce it as too liberal to the Church, while the Church itself professes to stand aghast at the stringency and unfairness of its provisions. I see no signs that it will succeed in conciliating those whom Mr. Birrell's Bill of two years ago drove into revolt. On the right of the public teacher (a right denied to him by the Bill) to give denominational teaching out of school hours, if he so pleases, a fierce battle is certain to be joined; and the Church will probably endeavor to extract some guarantee that the teachers appointed by the local education authority will be qualified to give religious instruction. The financial arrangements and the nature and extent of the facilities to be granted to the Church will also come in for sharp criticism. Altogether I can conceive the defeat of Mr. McKenna's Bill as something quite within the bounds of possibility. And there are many Englishmen who, zealous for education and wholly repelled by these endless theological squabbles, would welcome its defeat as bringing the secular solution they desire a long step nearer.

ST. PETERSBURG, *March, 1908.*

WHAT Russia needs most of all is to be purified. For it matters little whether the Government is constitutional or autocratic, if the wrongs under which the population has been suffering for ages continue unchecked. And this contingency appears highly probable. Take, as a symptom, the trial of General Stoessel and three of his comrades for surrendering Port Arthur. The court, people hoped, would lay bare the wounds of the Russian army with a view to their treatment and cure. But the judges, shrinking from the task, confined their attention to the charges against the four distinguished prisoners, upon one of whom, General Stoessel, they formally pronounced sentence of death, which will doubtless be commuted into confinement in a fortress for ten years. Although the tribunal rigidly eliminated all evidence as to the condition of Port Arthur when the war broke out, or the part played by the navy there, it casually let in a few rays of light on the hidden causes of Russia's defeat by

Japan. And one of these causes was, undoubtedly, the well-meant, but unwarranted, interference of the Crown in the plans of the commander-in-chief.

It is certain that General Kuropatkin made a series of fatal blunders. And it is equally true that Russia was quite unprepared for offence or defence against Japan. But, when every allowance has been made for these factors, there still remains one other important cause of defeat—the interference with Kuropatkin's plans practised by the Crown. The Tsar appointed Admiral Alexeyeff generalissimo of the land and sea forces. Alexeyeff resolved not to yield one rood of soil to the enemy, and therefore to try issues with him in the south. Kuropatkin's plan of campaign, devised for the north, was very different, but he could not carry it out because he was placed under Alexeyeff. What he would have done, had he been a free agent, was to leave Port Arthur to do what it could, to withdraw the troops from the south to Harbin, to entrench himself firmly there, and then to await the Japanese onset.

Here is an interesting episode which throws light on the matter, and has never yet been published. On the eve of his departure for the seat of war, Kuropatkin called upon Witté and unfolded his plan of campaign. "How does it seem to you?" he inquired, when he had finished the sketch. "It seems the only scheme likely to prove successful," was the answer. "Now, I want you to give me a piece of sound advice," Kuropatkin went on. "You know my difficult position. What, in your opinion, should I do on arriving in Mukden?" "But I am not a strategist; how can you expect me to advise you?" "You know the country, the conditions and much else. So speak out." "Well, if you insist, I comply. Instead of saying what you ought to do, I will tell you how in your place I would act. You are going off amid the sound of pæans. Your future successes are being discounted by the nation. No man in the Empire can vie with you in popularity to-day, and popularity is latent power. You, therefore, can do what many would not dare. Very well; I in your place would wield that power. On my arrival at Mukden, I would say to my aide-de-camp: 'Go to Alexeyeff at once. Arrest him and bring him to me.' And when Alexeyeff was thus conveyed, I should say to him: 'Your presence here is pernicious. You must quit the theatre of war without a moment's delay.

I am sending you to St. Petersburg in my own special train. Good-by.' I should then forward a telegram to the Emperor, saying: 'May it please your Majesty: Deeming it my duty to arrest Alexeyeff in the interests of the Empire, I am sending him to St. Petersburg. If your Majesty condemns my action, I humbly pray that I may be shot. If, on the contrary, the step I have taken has your Majesty's approval, I will return from the theatre of war only after the conclusion of an honorable peace.'" At this Kuropatkin laughed heartily, and exclaimed, "Ah, you are in a facetious mood." "But I am not. I assure you, I am not. What I have said I mean. I am most serious."

Kuropatkin went to the south against his will and contrary to his better judgment and original intention. And during the campaign he often said to those who were intimate with him: "I have a war to wage with two fronts: in the south with Oyama, and in the north with Alexeyeff." If Kuropatkin had arrested Alexeyeff at Mukden he would have had no battles in the south. Port Arthur, no doubt, would have fallen; but the upshot of the war would probably have been very different from what it was.

At Stoessel's trial a telegram was divulged which the Tsar sent to Alexeyeff during the war. It enabled one to guess what Kuropatkin meant by his war with Alexeyeff. Here is an English translation of it: "Mukden. To Adjutant-General Alexeyeff. The fate of Port Arthur is arousing grave apprehensions; therefore, I consider it absolutely indispensable that most decisive measures be adopted to draw away from it the onset of the Japanese troops. I refrain from indicating the methods, the direction or the means of rendering assistance to Port Arthur, because I leave that to the discretion of the person who is invested with the full powers of commander-in-chief. I do, however, consider that the question of the Manchurian army proceeding to action has, thanks to the conditions which have arisen, become perfectly mature, inasmuch as one of the results of further waiting for reinforcements may be that the rainy season will come upon us while we are still waiting, and Port Arthur will receive no succor from the army. Tell Kuropatkin that I make him entirely responsible for the fate of Port Arthur. Nicholas."

The trial of General Stoessel and his three comrades was hardly over when that of another set of state prisoners began, whose existence is a permanent *memento mori* to the Imperial family

and to the most prominent members of the Government. The individuals in question are members of the "revolutionary flying column," whose object is to slay the Grand Duke Nicholas, the Premier, if possible the Tsar, and generally to strike terror among the rulers of the Empire. During the past few months a desperate game of mine and countermine has been played between the police and the would-be regicides, under fanciful conditions, and with dramatic incidents which would bring grist to the mill of a sensational novelist. Espionage of a most complicated sort is frequent—the terrorist spy entering the police service the better to help his comrades, then betraying them to the authorities, and, finally, to redeem his life, returning to his former friends with information about the designs of their pursuers. Then there are the comedies of errors that arise from the dressing up of terrorists as police officers and the appearance of detectives as terrorists, and the confusing action of the common police, some of whom were on the side of the terrorists, but mistook them for their enemies.

As the members of the Imperial family are, happily, beyond the reach of the assassin's bomb and bullet, personages of lesser importance have been singled out as victims, and foremost among them Premier Stolypin and the Grand Duke Nicolai Nicolayevich, who commands the troops of the St. Petersburg Military District, and is the only Grand Duke who is still believed to wield a certain degree of influence over the Emperor. Several attempts on his life have already been frustrated, mostly by chance. A few days ago a new, elaborate plot was hatched, the deadliest of weapons were chosen, an unusually large number of conspirators volunteered to do the work, for safety's sake the headquarters of the plotters were removed to Finland, and, in order to make assurance doubly sure, an officer of the gendarmes was won over to co-operate. Everything went smoothly up to a certain point.

The gendarme officer, Bogdanoff, was arrested first. And there was no doubt that he was thoroughly a convert to terrorism, for he carried a bomb on his person which was the most destructive yet used in the revolution. The arrest of another individual in Finland led to the discovery of the head office of the gang, where most important papers were seized. Everything else followed as a matter of course. On February 20th the plot against

the Grand Duke and the Minister of Justice was to have been executed. Two hundred detectives, aware of the design, were ready to thwart it. Some dressed as common sleigh-drivers took up their positions hard by the Grand Duke's palace in the centre of St. Petersburg. Others were disguised as harmless peasants or laborers. All were watchful and all were well armed. From the house adjoining the palace a well-dressed young woman issued forth, together with a man. Seeing the agents approach her, the lady scampered off, levelling a revolver and shooting at large as she retreated. Having missed her pursuers, she turned the weapon against herself, missed again and was captured. In her muff she was carrying twelve pounds of dynamite. Her male companion, who was also taken, wore a belt round his waist and in it an infernal machine charged with five pounds of dynamite.

Not far from the Grand Duke's palace, another girl of seventeen, bright and comely, was also arrested and led to the station by two agents, each holding one of her hands. At the station, one of her captors let go of a hand in order to open the door. The girl pulled out a revolver and in a twinkling sent a bullet through the man's skull. Sixty persons in all were arrested, but only about twenty were charged with complicity in the plot.

This nefarious plot, then, has also been balked like so many others. But how long will the advantage in the game of mine and countermine remain on the side of the feeble police? Many of the leaders of the gang have escaped; and this is but one of several secret bands which are plotting, preparing and biding their time. And that is an inexhaustible source of possible mischief to the Russian Empire. For these revolutionists fear nothing. The State is powerless to intimidate them. They themselves have no horror of death, even in the most appalling shapes. They court it. They are eager to blow themselves up if they can slay their victim thereby. One of them, who was confined in Yalta prison, gave a gruesome proof of this a few days ago. He burned himself to death under conditions which seem almost incredible. He had but a little petroleum—hardly enough for his fell purpose. Pouring it over the breast and back of his garment, he set fire to it, suffered agonies in silence. When the warders entered they found a half-charred corpse. A band of such fanatics leagued against an individual, a family or a corporate body is in truth a formidable danger.

WASHINGTON, *March, 1908.*

IT would be hard to exaggerate the depth of the impression made on the representatives of foreign Powers in Washington by the arrival of our battleship fleet in Magdalena Bay ahead of scheduled time and in a more efficient condition than it exhibited when it left Hampton Roads. A more startling contrast to the series of mishaps lately suffered by French war-ships, or to the dismal experience of the great fleet despatched by Russia to Eastern Asia under Rojestvensky could hardly be conceived. Admiral Evans has demonstrated the feasibility of taking an American Armada around South America within a time specified beforehand, and of bringing it to the waters of the North Pacific in a state fit for immediate fighting. To appreciate the effect of this achievement on the professional mind, we need but ask ourselves what would have been thought of the American Navy if the progress of the fleet had been interrupted by long delays, or if it had been attended with the loss or grave injury of any of the battleships.

Now that we have proved what we can do, the chances of our being called upon in the immediate future to show the magnitude of our sea power in the Pacific have sensibly diminished, if they have not vanished.

The decision reached by our Government that the battleship fleet, on its homeward voyage shall stop at Melbourne and Sydney, may have in the end important consequences. Of all Britain's colonies, Australia and New Zealand have begun to feel themselves not only the most exposed to aggression, but also the least protected by the Mother Country. England has never had in the Pacific a fleet for a moment comparable to that which within the year will fly the Stars and Stripes in Australian waters. Not only is this true, but in view of the necessity of maintaining strong naval forces in the North Sea, the British Channel and the Mediterranean, the British Government never can afford to send for the defence of Australia so many battleships as we have now assembled in the Pacific. How can the visit of the American Armada fail to plant in the Australian heart a feeling that hereafter she should look for a champion, not to Britain, but to the United States? What is true of Australia and New Zealand will be true also of the British West Indies after the completion of the Panama Canal. Those islands will

be impelled by a force as strong as that of gravitation to union with the great North-American Republic.

Well-informed persons here believe that, when the secret diplomatic history of the last year is divulged, it will be found that the present friendly relations of Japan and the United States and the satisfactory settlement of the Japanese emigration question are due largely, if not mainly, to the influence quietly exerted by the British Government through its representative in Tokio, or through the Japanese Ambassador in London. It is impossible to overrate the extent of that influence, for the alliance with Great Britain, concluded on August 12th, 1905, is indispensable to Japan. Had she possessed that alliance in 1895, the war with Russia would not have occurred, for she would not have been deprived by a Russo-Franco-German combination of the ascendancy in Korea and Southern Manchuria, together with the lease of the Liao-tung peninsula which constituted parts of the fruit of her victory over China. One obvious reason for the Tsar's feverish anxiety to hasten the reconstruction of the Russian Navy is the knowledge that the Anglo-Japanese alliance, if not previously renewed, expires by limitation in 1915, and that if, thereafter, Great Britain should hold herself aloof, as she did in 1895, a new coalition of Germany, France and Russia might succeed in annihilating Japan's sea power and wresting from her a second time her acquisitions on the Asiatic mainland. In view of all the circumstances, past, actual and prospective, the influence of the British Government must be irresistible at Tokio, and we have but little doubt that it was exerted promptly and energetically to avert a collision between Japan and the United States, the principal purveyors of food and cotton to the British people.

Although, at the hour when we write, it is still problematical whether Mr. Roosevelt will send another Special Message to Congress repeating in a condensed form the recommendations embodied in his Message of January 31st, there is no doubt that he will try in one way or another to bring about the enactment of certain legislation at this session. He wants, for instance, to see the adoption of a new Employer's Liability Bill, modified so as to meet the objection made to the former law by the United States Supreme Court on the score of constitutionality. This particular wish seems likely to be gratified, and so may be his

desire to have the anti-trust law amended so as to permit railroad corporations to enter into pooling arrangements subject to the approval of the Interstate Commerce Commission and to acquire connecting lines. We may, on the other hand, affirm with confidence that Congress at this session will not consent to amend the law so as to exempt labor unions from the provisions concerning combinations in restraint of trade. The proposal is too barefaced a bid for the labor vote. It is also improbable that the Erdman Law for the adjustment of disputes between labor and capital will be re-enacted in such a way as to eliminate the part which was pronounced unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. The leaders of Congress wish to adjourn by the middle of May, in order to co-operate actively in the Presidential campaign.

That the Aldrich Bill will become a law seems likely enough, now that it has been amended, so as to exclude railroad bonds from the basis of emergency circulation, and also so as to limit the issue of such circulation to the par value of the securities deposited, no matter how much above par the securities may be selling for on the New York Stock Exchange. Another amendment accepted by Mr. Aldrich provides that the limit of circulation to be retired by the national banks in any one month shall not exceed nine million dollars. Senator La Follette, who is an assailant of the Currency Bill, afforded financiers some amusement on March 17th by his heated altercation with Senator Aldrich. He charged that the national banks of New York City were behind the bill, to which Mr. Aldrich replied that, as a matter of fact, all the national banks in New York City are opposed to it. He had, he said, a letter from the New York Clearing House which declared that it would be better to have no bill at all than the pending measure. He also asserted that Vice-President Vanderlip, of the National City Bank, had written to him in opposition to the proposed currency measure. It is doubtful whether Mr. La Follette can influence the vote of a single Republican Senator except himself. In the House of Representatives, on the other hand, the bill is likely to encounter considerable resistance, but there is an agreement of opinion that in the end it will be passed. Undoubtedly the President will sign it.

THE EDITOR'S DIARY,

The Political Situation.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT shows no sign of weakening in his determination to effect the nomination of Secretary Taft as his successor, and the worthy Secretary himself is prosecuting the quest with characteristic assiduity. How much actual progress he has made is not apparent, because of the autocratic authority held by political bosses in so many States. His triumph over Senator Foraker in Ohio seems to be definite and conclusive, but this was to have been expected from the day when Boss Cox rallied to his standard. That he could have made an excellent showing against Governor Hughes in New York, moreover, there can be no doubt, had he not considered it the part of wisdom to avert a serious party disruption. So, too, in Indiana, Illinois and Pennsylvania, President Roosevelt's popularity and the great influence of the Federal officeholders could easily have been utilized to divide the delegations with the "favorite sons." But it is not in Mr. Taft's nature, and apparently not within the scope of the President's policy, to create antagonisms which might prove to have been both hurtful and unnecessary. So the candidate pursues the even tenor of his way, guardedly upholding the administration on all occasions, and winning distinct favor on his own account whenever he comes into personal contact with the people. But for the stealthy and resolute opposition of powerful conservative Republicans, his nomination and, in our judgment, his election would be assured.

That opposition, however, must be reckoned with. It is much stronger and far more bitter than is generally supposed, and finds its home in the hearts of men accustomed to dominate, without whose active aid no Republican has ever been elected President. The reasons for the frank antagonism of this powerful group are

well known. Those comprising it—capitalists, bankers, manufacturers and business men generally—would have welcomed the nomination of Mr. Taft two years ago; his judicial temperament and his record, especially with respect to labor-unions, were wholly to their liking; and his engaging personality would have been recognized as a most useful factor in maintaining the dominance of the Republican party without the need of making the enormous expenditures which in recent campaigns have been deemed essential to the accomplishment of that purpose.

Hostility was engendered primarily by the fact that he was the President's candidate, whose success could be regarded as second only to Mr. Roosevelt's own re-election as evidence of approval of a radical departure in executive administration which is considered to be pregnant with danger to stability in government. Even so, this apprehension might have been allayed had not Mr. Taft voluntarily or under pressure from his chief declared his personal adherence to nearly, if not quite, all of the so-called "policies" which have come to be regarded as highly objectionable. But two alternative conclusions could be reached by the conservatives: Either Mr. Taft had been really converted to the new ways by the persuasive President, or he was ready and willing to forswear his own convictions to gratify his personal ambition. In either case he could not be regarded as trustworthy or likely to prove a satisfactory Chief Magistrate, especially at a time when calmness and caution are believed to be the most requisite of qualifications.

There is no gainsaying the logic of this conclusion from the point of view indicated; but, to our mind, it is fatally defective in that it gives no heed to attendant circumstances and closely related conditions of vital importance. Whatever may have instigated the present popular trend towards radicalism, there can be no question that it exists in an aggravated form, and that in the eyes of the masses it has but two dependable exponents. This fact, indeed, is so well recognized by both President Roosevelt and Mr. Bryan that each takes particular care to avert possible loss of his own popularity by complimenting the other whenever opportunity offers. The two being the undoubted leaders of their respective parties, and there being practically no differences in policy between them, except in so far as "regulation" differs from "ownership" of railways, it is plain that a

wholly unprecedented situation has arisen in American politics; and that an attempt to resolve it by appealing to party sentiment or by purchasing votes, as in the past, would be hopelessly futile.

We do not take seriously the implied threats which emanate at intervals from the White House to the effect that the conservatives must accept the President's nominee or abide by his own renomination; we regard that as no more than a thoroughly characteristic and somewhat amusing play in the interesting game. Mr. Roosevelt proposes to have his own way in naming his successor or know the reason why, but he has no intention of becoming the candidate himself. It may be, although we cannot so believe, that he might not consider his voluntary pledge of restraint an insurmountable barrier to recognition of so great a popular demand, let us say, as would be evidenced by nominations by both political conventions; but the breaking of his given word under any less importunate call is hardly conceivable.

Even though the people should show in some such manner virtual unanimity in insisting that the President continue the work of moral regeneration of whose beginning he is naturally proud, we are assured upon the highest authority that he would flatly refuse to comply with the demand. Contrary to an opinion which has become quite general, the President cherishes no illusions respecting his own character or temperament. He appreciates the irresistibility of his impulse to seize and exercise to the fullest extent the greatest measure of power attainable, and, being alive to the danger to the Republic of further absorption, he reluctantly, we may well believe, but firmly and patriotically, renounces an extension of authority which might lead to kingship or revolution. While all will not concur in the President's opinion that he would be reelected by an overwhelming majority, there is no doubt of the sincerity of his own belief to that effect. His present attitude, therefore, must be regarded by friends and foes alike as highly commendable, and comparable in our history only with the act of George Washington in rejecting the proffer of a crown.

The Republican situation, then, is resolved to a choice between Secretary Taft and one of the more conservative candidates, and the question of availability immediately arises. The most pertinent query, Could any candidate except Mr. Taft poll the full "Roosevelt vote"? must be answered in the negative. That Mr.

Roosevelt personally would loyally support the candidacy of Speaker Cannon, Governor Hughes or even Mr. Fairbanks may be taken for granted, but the like could not be said with confidence of the multitude of followers. The fact that a nomination had been made in flat contravention of the President's strong desire would act as a deterrent even more effectively than the precisely similar feeling whose manifestation among Mr. Bryan's adherents resulted in the crushing defeat of Mr. Parker in 1904. There can be no reasonable doubt that Mr. Roosevelt's enthusiastic championship of his own candidate would hold his radical supporters for Mr. Taft; but it is by no means certain that the nomination of another would not open wide the door to Mr. Bryan to pose successfully as the President's real legatee, and draw from the Republican ranks hundreds of thousands of resentful radicals. To our mind, at any rate, in a time of hardship which will be greatly intensified before November such a result seems not only possible, but highly probable.

Moreover, the fact should not be overlooked that the nomination of an anti-Roosevelt candidate by the Republicans would leave to conservative Democrats little argument against Mr. Bryan at Denver. The present growing feeling of certainty that Mr. Bryan could not possibly win against Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Taft is weakening his candidacy daily, and may yet encompass his defeat in the Democratic convention; but what answer likely to prove convincing to the delegates could be made to the query, Who can poll as many votes as Bryan against Fairbanks, Cannon or even Hughes? In the event of Mr. Taft's nomination with substantial unanimity, we should not be surprised to see Mr. Bryan voluntarily withdraw in the interest of the party to which he is so greatly indebted; but if he should be blessed with the privilege of opposing another, nothing could prevent his nomination by acclamation, and grave doubts respecting the ultimate result would exist till the ballots had been cast and counted. In any case, the period of unrest, uncertainty and business depression would surely continue.

In view of these considerations, and of certain positive arguments that may properly be advanced in favor of Mr. Taft,—such as his record on the bench, in the Philippines and in the cabinet, his undoubted personal fitness, his recognized intellectual, judicial and moral equipment, his tact, popularity and sweetness

and humor of disposition,—the present antagonistic attitude of the group of Republican conservatives to whom we have referred impresses us as short-sighted and unwise, if not, indeed, unpatriotic. Surely mere pique at the President for insisting upon naming his successor and a desire to humiliate him cannot be held to justify conduct almost certain to bring yet further distress to our harassed land. Nor is there any real ground for the suspicion that Mr. Taft as President would represent anybody but Mr. Taft himself and the whole American people. His guarded expressions of approval of Mr. Roosevelt's medley of "policies" are insignificant when contrasted with his firm declaration that, now that the President's moral crusade has been crowned with general adoption of better business methods, the time has come to refrain from enacting further coercive legislation, and to open wide again the door to American enterprise and progress.

For ourselves, we cannot but feel that these practical considerations greatly outweigh any proper feeling of resentment at the President's autocratic insistence, and that it is the part of wisdom for all good citizens to acquiesce in the nomination of Mr. Taft as not only excellent in itself, but likely to effect a suitable Democratic nomination as well, and thus permit the immediate restoration of confidence which has become so vitally essential to the well-being of the whole people.

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THE CLAIMS OF THE CANDIDATES.

BY HENRY S. BOUTELL, JAMES D. WHELPLEY, ADDISON C. HARRIS, CHARLES DICK, FRANK H. SIMONDS, EDWIN S. STUART, JOHN R. COMMONS, THEODORE E. BURTON.

JOSEPH GURNEY CANNON.

"Energy in the Executive is a leading character in the definition of good government. It is essential to the protection of the community against foreign attacks; it is not less essential to the steady administration of the laws; to the protection of property against those irregular and high-handed combinations which sometimes interrupt the ordinary course of justice; to the security of liberty against the enterprises and assaults of ambition, of faction, and of anarchy."—*The Federalist, No. LXX.*

THE Presidents who have been most conspicuous for executive energy are Jackson, Lincoln and Roosevelt. To President Roosevelt belong the credit and distinction of having pointed out the existence, under the administration of our dual system of laws, of a sort of No-man's-land, where wrongdoers seek refuge behind the claim that State laws do not and Federal laws cannot apply; and of having made this land well-nigh uninhabitable. Under a broad construction of the Federal Constitution, he has urged the passage of National laws to meet conditions with which State authorities have failed to grapple. He has insisted that the arm of the law should be strong enough to protect in his innocence

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the weakest citizen and long enough to reach the most powerful in his guilt. In this work he has had the zealous co-operation of Congress. President McKinley also had the hearty support of both Houses in carrying through the measures made necessary by the war with Spain. During the past ten years Congress has passed a body of laws involving a new interpretation of the powers of the Federal Government, laws of more far-reaching importance than any that have been considered since the Civil War period.

This augmentation of the powers of the Federal Government has been in response to public sentiment. President Roosevelt has met and conformed to the wishes of the people, and has shown that sort of "energy in the Executive" which is "essential to the protection of property against those irregular and high-handed combinations which sometimes interrupt the ordinary course of justice." This hasty analysis of the recent expansion of the activities of the Federal Government and of the attitude of the public mind towards this development is necessary to an intelligent understanding of the forces that will dominate the next Conventions of the two political parties.

The Republican National Convention that meets in Chicago next June will give to the policies of the Roosevelt Administration a unanimous and enthusiastic approval. In selecting its nominee it will consider four qualities in the candidates: character, ability, attitude towards the policies of the Administration and popularity. The nominee must be a man of approved integrity. He must have demonstrated his ability to perform the duties of the Presidential office and his possession of executive energy. He must be in sympathy with the present policies of the Government. And, lastly, he must be a man of national repute, well known and well liked by the people. The Republican party is fortunate in being able to make its choice from the large number of statesmen of eminent rank whose qualifications are now being considered by the public. They are all men of signal virtue, who have won the confidence and esteem of their fellow citizens. Any one of them would bring to the Presidency abilities of a high order. From among these the Convention will choose the man of the hour. Illinois will present to the Convention the name of Speaker Cannon as the man who best fills all the requirements of a successful Presidential candidate.

Let us first test his popularity—his capacity for being liked by all classes of people. It is the whole of a man's life that fixes his place in public esteem.

Joseph Gurney Cannon was born on May 8th, 1836, at New Garden, near Guilford, North Carolina. His father, Horace Franklin Cannon, was descended from Scotch-Irish ancestors who early settled in this country. His mother, who was a Hollingsworth, came of New England ancestry. Both parents were of Quaker lineage, and showed their devotion to the Church by naming their son after the most eminent Quaker of the day, Joseph John Gurney, the refined and scholarly English preacher. In 1837, when Mr. Gurney visited this country on a tour of the Quaker settlements, he stopped at New Garden, and Horace Franklin Cannon was assigned by the Church to be his guide in his travels through the Carolinas. He must have been pleased and surprised to find that his host had named his son after him the year before. In January, 1838, Mr. Gurney visited Washington, and Colonel Polk, as he calls him in his journal, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, having granted him permission to use the Hall, he preached there on a Sunday to an audience composed of President Van Buren, the Speaker, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster and many other illustrious statesmen.

Horace Franklin Cannon was a physician, a man of force as well as piety, generous and public-spirited. He was one of the founders of Guilford College, a Quaker Seminary that has done educational work of a high order.

Before the Civil War, the Quakers all "bore testimony" against slavery, and many of them left their old homes in the Southern States to found new communities on free soil. Many families left North Carolina during the first half of the nineteenth century and settled in Ohio and States farther west. In 1840, Dr. Cannon with his wife, his son Joseph and another son, in the company of ten or twelve other families, moved from New Garden to Rockville in Parke County, Indiana, making the journey in canvas-covered wagons. Here Joseph spent his time till he was fourteen years old, attending school and learning the arts and crafts of the woods and fields, and acquiring those accomplishments of a country boy that are so pleasant in the retrospect. In 1850, Dr. Cannon lost his life while attempting to

cross a swollen stream to visit a patient. So, at fourteen, Joseph said good-by to school and boyhood at the same time, and started to work to support himself and help his mother and a younger brother and sister. He found employment in a country store at the neighboring village of Annapolis. Here he worked hard for six years, devoting all his leisure to reading with a view to becoming a lawyer.

By the time he was twenty, he had saved enough money to enable him to go to Terre Haute to read law. He studied in the office of Mr. Usher, who afterward became Secretary of the Interior under President Lincoln. Later, he went to the Cincinnati Law School, from which he graduated in 1858 and was admitted to the bar. The same year he went to Illinois. After spending six months in Shelbyville, he settled in Tuscola. Here he became a successful lawyer and formed the practice that he has always kept up of investing his savings in farm lands. In 1860, he cast his first Presidential vote for Abraham Lincoln. In 1861, he was elected State's Attorney and held the office till 1868. In 1872, he was elected to the Forty-third Congress. He has been re-elected to every subsequent Congress with the exception of the Fifty-second. In 1876, he moved to Danville, where he has since lived, and in the same year he gave up the active practice of his profession, so that he could devote himself entirely to his official duties. His investments have prospered and he now owns farms in Illinois, Indiana and Nebraska; and he is interested in many of the successful business enterprises of his own city. In 1862, Mr. Cannon married Miss Mary P. Reed, of Canfield, Ohio. In those days it was a rule among the Quakers that, when a man married a woman outside his own Church, he should openly and formally express his regret. As Miss Reed was a Methodist, Mr. Cannon was summoned to conform to the precepts of the Church. His loyalty and devotion to his wife made it impossible for him to comply, and so, as he quaintly puts it, he lost his mother Church to become the son-in-law of the Methodist Church.

His wife died many years ago and he has never remarried. He has two daughters. The younger is the wife of one of the leading business men of Danville. They have two daughters and these little grandchildren are the Speaker's pride and delight, and he is never so happy as when they are with him. Miss Helen Cannon, the Speaker's elder daughter, presides over his household

with a dignity and grace that charm all who enter their hospitable home.

What manner of man is he now, who crossed the mountains in a prairie schooner when he was four years old, endured the hardships of the frontier, began supporting himself at fourteen, and step by step has raised himself to affluence and to the second position in the Republic? What attributes make up his personality? The first thing that impresses the stranger who makes his acquaintance, and the thing that most amazes those who know him best, is his uniform buoyancy of spirits and gayety of temper. The tough, elastic constitution that he got from long lines of rugged ancestors he has preserved by his abstemious habits, his out-of-door life and cheerful disposition, that have frightened off old age. His step is now as springy and his blue eyes are as bright as they were when he walked into Shelbyville fifty years ago. When the Duke of Carlisle called to pay his respects to Justice Story, he found that eminent jurist, with red cheeks and disordered raiment, sliding down the banisters with his grandchildren. At a recent Christmas-eve party for children from fourteen to eighty, I saw the Speaker taking a vigorous part in all the sports, teaching a little lady of fourteen the five steps of the old-fashioned waltz, dancing the Virginia reel with all the embellishments of the minuet; and when at midnight the reel ended and all the others dropped panting into the nearest chairs, he came charging down the room in imitation of an Indian dance that he had seen in the far southwest. While ability to outdance at seventy-two a youth of fourteen is not essential in the President of the United States, any more than agility in sliding down banisters is a requisite in a Justice of the Supreme Court, it is true that the people do love a man of joyous temper who is fond of children and home and the sports of childhood.

Sincerity is one of Speaker Cannon's strongest traits. It has colored his whole life and affected all his career; for sincerity begets truth and simplicity of living. There is no cant or hypocrisy in his make-up. He never talks for effect, never poses, never plays to the galleries. He never flatters and never deceives. Riches and honors have not alienated him from his old friends. His manners are as plain, simple and unaffected now as they were when he was a country lawyer. But, when occasion requires it, he displays the same quiet dignity that characterized Lincoln.

In public life, courage and perseverance are his striking characteristics. He has fought his way to the top. All the world is interested in a fighter. If he fights fair, we admire him. If he comes to the front smiling after defeat, we love him. With McKinley and Reed, Mr. Cannon was a candidate for the Speakership in the Fifty-first Congress and was beaten. He was beaten again in the Fifty-sixth. But in him defeat developed no resentment nor bitterness. And at the age of sixty-eight he achieved the ambition of his life. No wonder that his friends call him "Uncle Joe."

During the next administration, Congress will be largely occupied in perfecting and adding to the body of remedial laws that has been placed on the statute-books during the last four years. It would be of the greatest possible help to the President during this period to have had experience in the House of Representatives. Speaker Cannon's service in the House, beginning in 1873, when Grant was President and Blaine Speaker, has brought him into contact for a generation with all branches of the Government and all the leading statesmen of the time. As Chairman for many years of the great Committee on Appropriations, he learned to their minutest details the revenues and expenditures of the Government. He knows, as no other man living knows, the Country, the Government and the People.

A strong supporter of another candidate said to me a few days ago: "Speaker Cannon is to-day the best-equipped man in the country for the Presidency, and if he were only ten years younger no other man would be mentioned in the Convention." Why should we in this country lose the services of the best years of our ablest men? Years bring experience, and experience wisdom. Palmerston, Gladstone, Thiers, Grèvy, von Moltke, did some of their best work for the State when over seventy-five. If Speaker Cannon should be elected President this year and should be re-elected in 1912, he would at the end of his second term still be four years younger than Gladstone was when he made his last speech in the House as Prime Minister. Let us too have our Grand Old Man!

And, finally, Speaker Cannon's zealous and efficient co-operation with the President in securing favorable consideration of the important measures which the President recommended to Congress, entitles him to the cordial support of all those who feel

that on "the steady administration of the laws" rest the security of property and the welfare of the people.

Speaker Cannon's high character, pre-eminent ability, attractive personality and sympathy with the President's policies, make him the logical, if not the inevitable, candidate of the Republican party to succeed President Roosevelt.

HENRY SHERMAN BOUTELL.

GEORGE BRUCE CORTELYOU.

THE Republican party has never been found lacking in available men, well known to the people of the country, who measured up fully to the requirements of the White House. As the time approaches when a standard-bearer is to be selected, it seems, however, as if by common consent a few were set apart by a process of elimination, and these were regarded as candidates for the honor—either through their own willingness to become such or through the efforts of those convinced of their availability. It is a tribute to the judgment and good sense of the American people that instances are rare where a man has been regarded seriously as a possible nominee for the Presidency, who did not measure up to a high standard of fitness. To place the name of George Bruce Cortelyou upon the list of avowed candidates for the Republican nomination for the Presidency this year would be an injustice to Mr. Cortelyou. To place him in high rank as conspicuously available for that honor would no more than do justice to his remarkable and uniformly successful career.

There are men whose lives seem a succession of coincidences of fitness and fortune, and Cortelyou is one of them. The present Secretary of the Treasury is eminently representative of the new type of politics in which he has won place. This is a business age, and the academic statesmanship of the early days of the Republic, the oratorical type of a succeeding generation, and the unscrupulous and wasteful "graft" of the years succeeding the Civil War, have given place to a political system as methodical, as systematic and as logical as the manner of conducting the best type of modern business organization. It is this talent for organization and system which is Cortelyou's peculiar strength. He has never been known to say much about general theories of government; he is not a speechmaker; he is abso-

lutely honest; his controlling idea seems to be that of grasping whatever problems may be at hand, in all their ramifications, details and sequences, and solving them with the least possible noise and friction. In any condition of society such a man is a power; at this time and under present conditions he becomes a very great power.

Mr. Cortelyou is forty-five years old. Born in New York, he comes of that good old mixture of Knickerbocker and Huguenot blood which makes for general ability, sagacity and steadfastness. It is an odd fact that Captain Jacques Cortelyou, the first of the name in America, made the first official map of the city of New York, in 1657, and may have been a friend and business associate of the first American Roosevelt, as both were prominent in the affairs of the little Dutch city on Manhattan Island. The estates of Jacques Cortelyou, however, were on Long Island, and a part of this ground is now occupied by the Cortelyou Club of Brooklyn. George Bruce Cortelyou began business life as a stenographer and teacher of stenography; for two or three years he was principal of a college preparatory school, and in 1889 became private secretary to the United States Post-office Inspector in charge at New York. Two years later he was secretary to the Surveyor of the Port of New York, and in 1893 he became secretary to the Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General in Washington. Here, again, is a factor in modern life which facilitated Mr. Cortelyou's rise—that multiplicity of interests which makes it necessary for the man of large affairs to delegate much of his power to his secretary. In Europe, an Under-Secretaryship is often a stepping-stone to larger power; in this country it has not been so until lately. The old type of business man and politician, who attended to all his important work himself, is becoming extinct. Hence now the able secretary is not likely to remain a secretary long.

When Cleveland entered the White House, and Maxwell, a Democrat, became Fourth Assistant in the Post-office Department, young Cortelyou fully expected to leave the service, and, in fact, Maxwell had already chosen a Democrat for his place, a personal friend. But there was a delay of two weeks before the new man could come to town, and during that time Cortelyou, who had arranged for an exit from the department to an important railroad position, had made himself so useful that he

could not be spared. This little circumstance aided Fate in making him a cabinet officer instead of perhaps a director of some railroad.

The story goes that Maxwell bragged so of his efficient private secretary that Postmaster-General Bissell, who had first vainly sought to secure this assistant for his own staff, recommended him as stenographer to President Cleveland and exulted over Maxwell's loss. Cortelyou took occasion to mention to the President at a suitable opportunity that he was a Republican, to which Cleveland characteristically replied that he didn't care a—jot—what his secretary thought about politics so long as the work was done. And that marks another subtle change then beginning in our national life,—the absence in partisan politics of the old vehement bitterness. It was the beginning of a change which has made it possible for President Roosevelt to appoint many Democrats to office, and for men whose fathers were Jackson Democrats to support the Roosevelt administration with enthusiasm.

In the next change of administration, J. Addison Porter became secretary to the President, and Mr. Cortelyou occupied the position of assistant secretary to the President. When Mr. Porter retired, Mr. Cortelyou took his place. The tragic event of McKinley's assassination threw upon Cortelyou the entire responsibility of directing the arrangements attending the illness, death and burial of the President. It is not generally known that in the poignant anxiety immediately following the assassination there was doubt in the minds of the surgeons as to whether an operation should be performed. Cortelyou was the only person with authority to say whether it should be done or not. From somewhere in the recesses of his memory he recalled a case similar to the President's in which such an operation saved the patient's life. He unhesitatingly took the responsibility of ordering the operation. Events proved that nothing could have saved the life then apparently in the balance, but Cortelyou took that responsibility as swiftly, as quietly, as he has taken many others, and the public never knew of it till long afterwards.

It had been President McKinley's wish to make Cortelyou a member of his cabinet, but death prevented the carrying out of this plan. When Theodore Roosevelt became President, Mr. Cortelyou continued as secretary to the President for a time,

but was soon made Secretary of the new Department of Commerce and Labor. This brought him first into the larger national view. He presented the peculiar spectacle of a man risen from a stenographer's desk to a cabinet position within ten years, without any electioneering or any political influence except manifest fitness for each succeeding place. There is absolutely no reason to suppose that Cortelyou ever pushed himself for any one of these promotions, but he was always available.

A friend of President Roosevelt happened to be calling at the White House when the President was much embarrassed by the efforts of political leaders to force upon him men he did not want for the chairmanship of the Republican National Committee. At that time nobody supposed that the campaign of 1904 was going to be the avalanche of Roosevelt votes it proved to be. Roosevelt methods were still in a sense on trial, and it was obvious that any taint of crooked methods in the work of the committee would be most unfortunate not only for that particular candidacy, but for the new standards which were coming into view. The friend suggested to President Roosevelt that perhaps, in his hunt, he had overlooked the very man for the place—Cortelyou. Once more Cortelyou was the available man.

It was a most businesslike campaign. The spellbinders and schemers found themselves out on the doorstep. There were card catalogues, courteous sagacity and systematic methods throughout. Cortelyou organized and systematized a business which hitherto had seemed little susceptible of such methods. It is Cortelyou's habit of mind to consider every possible contingency and cover it months beforehand. He did this in the summer of 1904. There was very little whirlwind about the Roosevelt campaign of that year. It was not necessary to stir up excitement. The work was done on time.

When the new cabinet was formed Cortelyou was invited to become Postmaster-General, and when, on March 7th, 1906, he took the oath of office, he became the head of a department in which 1895 had seen him an obscure clerk.

The Post-office Department had been the pet preserve of the spoilsmen for generations. Three years ago, so loose was the management, some of the bureaus had almost set up in business for themselves. The new chief's policy was to bring all branches of the service into a closer interrelation, grouping re-

lated subjects into one bureau, abolishing division of authority, and making every man responsible directly to the man above him, so as to fix responsibility quickly in the case of good work or bad. Fourth-class postmasters were, he ordered, to retain their places during satisfactory service. This brief statement changed the status of sixty-thousand postmasters whose places had always been considered spoils of office, and it took the post-office further out of politics than it ever had been in its history.

President Roosevelt, thoroughly convinced of Cortelyou's usefulness as the man for an emergency, gave him the Treasury portfolio, and here an emergency did indeed arise, more spectacular and more far-reaching than any other in the career of the new head of the department. But unexpected as the financial stringency of 1907 was to the people, some danger was foreseen months beforehand by the administration. It was a foregone conclusion that the prosperity which was leading people of all classes to speculate rather wildly and live rather carelessly, and the inroads which the trust companies were making on the business of the national banks, would bring about some sort of crisis, due about the fall of 1907.

Cortelyou was ready for that emergency. Months before the run on the trust companies the Treasury Department had quietly deposited money in banks all over the country, so that whatever happened, there would be money with which to move the crops. Nearly thirty millions of dollars were thus distributed, and the result was that a panic, which might easily have spread from ocean to ocean, was checked at its inception.

At no time in the history of this recent disturbance in Wall Street was the Treasury Department out of touch with the situation. When Cortelyou appeared shoulder to shoulder with the great financiers of the country, giving out short, convincing statements of the situation to the waiting press, the spirit of confidence straightway rose. There was no quibbling; there was no uncertainty. The public knew what went on from day to day, the flashing bulletins gave the word almost from hour to hour. And before anxiety had had time to grow to terror, all was over.

The plan was simple. The banks of New York were allowed Government deposits on condition that they stood by those trust companies which could show a clean record. The trust companies were made responsible to a committee satisfactory to the

banks, and through this committee loans were made. It was all simple as A B C—after it was done.

This, perhaps, more than any other incident in his career, has given rise to the feeling that George Bruce Cortelyou is an available candidate for the Presidency. In the great emergencies which may confront the Republic in future years—emergencies due to the working of undercurrents and hidden causes rather than to any obvious national enemy—what is needed is a far-seeing man who will do the right thing at the right time, without noise, and without creating unnecessary antagonisms. Cortelyou's availability has carried him far; greater honors have already come to him than come to most men in public life. His progress has been in full view. He is still young, in the full vigor of mind and body, gaining daily in wisdom and experience, as all wise men do. What the immediate future may hold for him no man can say. He has full faith and trust in the American people, as they have in him, and with good reason.

JAMES DAVENPORT WHELPLEY.

CHARLES WARREN FAIRBANKS.

CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS stepped suddenly into the nation's view when he came from his law practice in Indianapolis to the United States Senate, and then to the Chair as Vice-President. He had never before held public office, but he did not come without an enviable record, nor has he failed to strengthen it with every ensuing opportunity.

By a man's public acts the public must judge him, but they fail to afford a complete analysis of the man, especially when he is such a man as Vice-President Fairbanks—and it is the man behind the acts which makes them a criterion. The very qualities which rendered Mr. Fairbanks one of the most scrupulous and conscientious members of the Senate and which place him among the most loyal, indefatigable and successful of our illustrious line of Vice-Presidents, tend also to obscure rather than emphasize the man. When he left his law office, Mr. Fairbanks left his private practice, not partially, but wholly. He said: "While I hold a public office I shall devote to it every thought and energy and hour." No man ever gave this sentiment a broader or a more minute construction. Reinforced by

his physical endurance and mental capacity for work, his powers of concentration and abstraction render it easy for him to become so absorbed in public duties that private concerns are immaterial. The responsibilities incumbent upon him always command the best that is in him. He can no more devote half-hearted energy to a work he undertakes than he could perform it in a slip-shod way. His desk in the Senate Chamber, where everything is always exactly in its proper place, ready to facilitate instant action the moment it is required, suggests the consistently methodical habits of the man and the secret of the invariably calm, deliberate, yet lightning-quick and correct conclusions at which he arrives in every emergency.

No man's career has ever better illustrated Mr. Cleveland's dictum that public office is a public trust. It is the whole-souled energy which Mr. Fairbanks devotes to every public responsibility devolving upon him, coupled with his broad, deep grasp of the great questions of the day, and his keen perception and unusual quality of practical common sense which renders him, like his warm friend President McKinley—whom he very much resembles in many ways—such an unerring public servant. But it is these very qualities which have made possible the impression, among those who do not know him beyond his public appearance, that Mr. Fairbanks is cold, unresponsive, unsympathetic, unapproachable.

To those who know him nothing is farther from the truth than this conception of him. To see him hurrying down the marble corridor, between the door of the Senate Chamber and the Vice-President's room, one would naturally think him more or less unapproachable. Yet, even there, a familiar face never caught his eye but his hand flew out for a quick, cordial grip, his face lighted in a thoroughly genial smile, his keen, clear gray eyes looked a greeting that was far from unsympathetic, and a few words, quickly spoken in his deep, strong voice, carried an assurance of cordiality which left the recipient better satisfied with life and sure that a big, human heart, almost abnormally sensitive and sympathetic, beat under the absorbed exterior.

At home, whether in his residence in Washington, or in Indianapolis, or out on his farm where he loves best to be, Mr. Fairbanks is ideally hospitable, responsive, sympathetic, democratic. His home life is and always has been the soul of his sphere. A

cleaner man in thought and life, a more wholesome and hearty advocate and example of public and private integrity, could not easily be found.

Scrupulous fidelity to duty has been the key-note of Mr. Fairbanks's public and private record since his boyhood on the pioneer farm in Union County, Ohio, where he was born in a log house in 1852. His mother still resides with him in Washington, though she remembers the day when she crossed the mountains and struck the trail in a pioneer cart with her husband. To see her strong, earnest, intellectual face, to feel her firm, cordial hand-clasp, to hear her voice, is another assurance of the qualities she imparted to her son. Among other things she planted the strong religious instincts which pervade his life. It is not the intense sectarianism which is sometimes erroneously imputed to Mr. Fairbanks; but a religious sense, deeper and broader than any specific creed, which permeates the fundamental convictions of his life and accounts for his theories of the sacredness of fiduciary obligations, whether in business or politics.

Illustrating this, I recall an earnest conversation, at a time when action was imperative in an important crisis. A proposition was advanced carrying logical certainty of victory, but including indorsement of a policy the correctness of which Mr. Fairbanks doubted. Instantly he shook his head and in his invariably gentle, but firm, decisive voice replied: "It is better to remain out of power than to win favor upon a false principle."

I believe that sentiment has been his gauge of action throughout his life. After graduating from college he was representative of the Associated Press at Pittsburg for a year, then at Cleveland. Meanwhile, he studied law and was admitted to the bar by the Supreme Court of Ohio. In 1874 he settled in Indianapolis and practised law uninterruptedly for twenty-three years.

The Hoosier State was a stimulating field for a young man with a Buckeye's instinct for law and politics. It was a battle-ground of great lawyers and political leaders. For nearly a third of a century after the Civil War Indiana was a pivotal State. And Morton, Hendricks, Colfax, Voorhees, McDonald, Harrison and others of hardly less ability were adversaries at the bar and on the hustings. Law and politics went hand in hand. Mr. Fairbanks met them in the open, at the bar and on

the stump; not as a candidate, but only as an earnest advocate of the Republican party. A busy and successful lawyer often prefers his profession to politics. So it was with Mr. Fairbanks. And yet he did a good man's part for good government. In his wide practice, sometimes corporations were his clients; sometimes he was opposed to corporations.

His first prominence in Indiana politics was won in fighting a gerrymander enacted by a Legislature more greedy of power than scrupulous of methods to achieve it. In 1888, at thirty-six, he was a manager of Walter Q. Gresham's campaign for the Presidency. But Harrison was the nominee, and on his invitation Mr. Fairbanks held a leading part in that campaign, and came to be held as a probable Senator when the Republicans might have the power of electing a Senator.

By the year 1896 he had been awarded a position of real leadership in Indiana. His fibre was tested when the free-silver mania seemed for the time to master the State. To a suggestion that a declaration for the gold standard in the State platform might mean the loss of the State and his own defeat for the Senate he said: "It would be better to go down in defeat for such a cause than to win victory at the price of repudiation." His counsel prevailed and the ringing note for sound money turned Indiana and helped to turn the tide elsewhere, culminating in the gold plank in the St. Louis platform.

Mr. Fairbanks was a strong advocate of William McKinley. Between the two men there had long existed a warm personal friendship. Mr. Fairbanks entered the Senate the day President McKinley was inaugurated, and the close, intimate, personal sympathy continued to the end. Senator Fairbanks was recognized among the most zealous and influential champions of the administration—supporting the Dingley tariff, the strengthening of the gold standard, the immigration acts against Chinese coolie labor, the maintenance of the American standard of wages and living. Senator Fairbanks stood by President McKinley in every possible effort to avert the war with Spain, though public opinion was inflamed against every advocate of the administration course. But when it became evident that no honorable peaceful solution was possible, he spoke in the Senate in favor of the declaration of war. He was a member of the United States and British Joint High Commission and chairman of the American Com-

missioners. He was re-elected to the Senate without a dissenting vote in his party.

Since becoming a national figure, Mr. Fairbanks has been in constant demand as a public speaker, giving to the administration of President Roosevelt the same loyal and effective support he accorded to that of his predecessor. He introduced the amendment providing for the issue of Government bonds under which the Panama Canal work is now being prosecuted. He has always been an earnest advocate of comprehensive plans for internal improvement, especially looking to the improvement of navigable waterways as a means of solving the national problem of transportation, and the irrigation of arid lands.

In the Chicago Convention of 1904 attention was called by the leaders of the party to the nomination of Mr. Fairbanks as Vice-President, as a marked return to the old traditions, when possible succession to the Presidency was kept clearly in mind; and during the campaign which followed he traversed twenty-five thousand miles, addressing large audiences in hundreds of cities and towns, attracting wide attention by his vitality and versatility, and leaving everywhere a lasting impression of his pleasing, cordial and unaffected personality.

Friends of Mr. Fairbanks frequently refer to him as of "the McKinley stamp," cool-headed but warm-hearted, discreet but courageous, conservative but progressive, cautious but patriotic, holding above all other considerations the welfare of his country. That he would make a popular candidate who would be equal to every responsibility, and a safe and patriotic President, no one can doubt who has a real knowledge of the man. His opportunities for public service have come to him unsought, and to each he has given his best without fear or favor. That he has the courage of his convictions no one who knows him doubts; and the foundation of his convictions is: "It is better to remain out of power than to win favor upon a false principle."

His service in the Senate and as Vice-President and his wide acquaintance throughout the country make him familiar with public questions and with the public need. If elected, he will enter the Executive office fully equipped for its duties. He possesses the requisite ability, the knowledge of the men of the nation and the poise of character and temperament to make a President of the McKinley type. There is every assurance that

he would organize an administration able and honest which would conduct the affairs of the Government in a businesslike manner. He would recognize fully the rights of the several States and of the National Government within their respective and appropriate jurisdictions, believing that such recognition is necessary for the preservation of our political institutions as they were ordained by the fathers.

He would regard the legislative, executive and judicial departments of the Government as being, each, supreme within its appropriate sphere, all of them co-ordinating to a common end.

His service in the Senate will enable him to maintain those relations with the Congress which are so essential to good administration.

He stands for the protective policy because it builds up American industry, gives opportunity and wages to American workmen and offers employment to American capital in fuller measure than any other policy. He does not hold that schedules are sacred, but he has always maintained that they should be changed wherever there is a sound economic reason therefor; when more good than harm can be accomplished thereby.

His election would mean the maintenance of a sound monetary system, so far as Executive authority is required.

There would be no reactionary step with regard to those policies of McKinley and Roosevelt which have commanded the public confidence and the support of the best thought of the Republican party. Those policies with regard to the control of combinations of capital would be intelligently, fearlessly and with certainty carried out by the new administration. He has always stood for the best thought of the Republican party.

He believes in international arbitration, and that the most important work to be accomplished in the international field is the establishment of some method of adjusting honorably questions arising between nations and without a resort to war.

He would maintain a foreign policy, dignified, just and firm. There would be no fear that collision with other Powers would unnecessarily be provoked. There would be proper respect for the rights of others and equal insistence upon a proper respect for our own.

He belongs to no faction. He is upon good terms with all members of the party everywhere. ADDISON C. HARRIS.

JOSEPH BENSON FORAKER.

No American statesman of to-day is more generally known than Senator Joseph Benson Foraker. At the same time, there is perhaps no figure filling so large a place in the public mind at present who is so much misunderstood. That is the penalty paid by a man who has been so absorbed in his professional and public duties that he has had little time or opportunity to make the acquaintance of the people at short range, or to correct misrepresentations concerning himself. Very warm-hearted and very approachable, coveting human friendships as among the best gifts that life furnishes, his absorption in the more serious duties of life has made it impossible for him to cultivate to the extent he has desired the acquaintanceship of the masses, as well as the comradeship of congenial spirits. To live in the realm of the intellectual implies a certain aloofness from the world in general, and Senator Foraker's life has been an intensely intellectual one. The same holds true, however, in the material walks of life. If a man is absorbed in business and accumulates such a colossal fortune that the public mind appropriates him as the subject-matter of common every-day discussion, he must take the public into his confidence sufficiently to make known what manner of man he really is, or the public will take extreme liberties with his personality.

Senator Foraker's fame has not been appreciably augmented because his name is now considered in connection with the Presidency. Such association has not added specially to the common stock of information about him. He was just as well known before his name was mentioned in this connection. Did not Senator Foraker hail from the State of Ohio, the State of William McKinley, who came later into public recognition yet was preferred before him, he would doubtless have been effectively urged for the Presidency long before now. As long ago as 1888, when he was a conspicuous figure in the National Convention at Chicago, he had many ardent admirers who felt certain he was the logical man of the hour. As for himself, he was loyal to Sherman then, as he was to McKinley in 1896 and 1900, and to Roosevelt in 1904. He asked nothing for himself, but threw the whole force of his great influence and commanding personality into the conflict in behalf of his choice.

He has had many followers,—loyal, ardent and enthusiastic, and he has always been able to awaken the widest enthusiasm among his adherents. He has not, however, so many intimates as some men in public life, partly because he has always been very domestic in his tastes and has been blessed with a surpassingly attractive home circle, but mainly because he has not needed intimates to help fashion his ideas and to assist in formulating his opinions as to public policies. In the first place, he has always been a staunch Republican, loyal to the principles of his party as laid down in its National platforms. To other issues as they arose he has applied a mind highly trained, an industry tireless in seeking the facts, a rare judicial acumen in weighing the evidence, and logic of the highest order in stating his conclusions. To these admirable qualities he joins the higher and rarer virtues of being absolutely honest with himself and a political independence which compels him to be honest and sincere with the public. His courage in the forum and before the public in general is not a whit less than it was in his boyhood days on the field of battle. The legislative contests he has waged have been conflicts in which principle and devotion to duty and the right as he saw it were his guiding star. He may at times be mistaken, but no one can doubt his sincerity. He would rather be right than be President, and he will never crook his knee to the public that thrift may follow fawning. He never yielded his individuality and convictions for fear or favor. In a recent address in Ohio he said: "I have never understood that any one was to decide for me how to vote. If I am not to have that right, then you take all the honor away from the office, and so far as I am concerned you can take the office with it." To one of his strongest political supporters who was urging a certain course and reminded him that, quite possibly, the Presidency was at stake, he replied: "I would not forfeit my self-respect in order to be President." Incidentally, he kept to his original course.

If political elimination should be the reward of his independent stand on any public issue, he would accept his martyrdom as philosophically as ever did any victim of persecution, and find regret only in the fact that he had but one life to give for a cause. He cannot be deterred from supporting any cause he deems right, simply because it may be unpopular. His course

on the railroad-rate bill was an illustration. To paraphrase a well-known expression, it was magnificent, but not politics. He realized he was taking his political life in his hands when he decided on that course, but that made no difference. He believed he was right, and he was fearless in the fight he made.

Massachusetts returned Senator Hoar to Congress, although he severely castigated the Republican policy of expansion, and was the idol of the anti-imperialists. Maine did the same thing for Senator Hale, though he was equally at variance with our Philippine policy. Both men have rendered distinguished service in the Senate. Both were recognized as patriots of the highest type, in whom the whole country took a just pride, and the honor they reflected on their respective States was too great to permit any disagreement of opinion to put an end to their public careers. Both were re-elected to the Senate without opposition. Foraker is to-day his party's ablest debater on the floor of the Senate, with few equals and no superiors in public discussion, and is always an antagonist justly to be feared. He never talks for the sake of talking, nor to hear the sound of his own voice, but from firm conviction that duty calls. He never talks lightly or without sufficient information, as many an antagonist has ruefully realized on attempting to cross swords with him. In debate, sledge-hammer blow and rapier thrust are alike at his command. He marshals all the forces of oratory, but relies most on crushing blows delivered at his adversary's weakest point.

There is a vein of chivalry in his nature which leads him to champion the cause of the afflicted, the oppressed and the downtrodden. No cause is too humble to enlist the tireless support of his whole being. He espoused the cause of the black battalion discharged at Brownsville as zealously and fervently as he defended the railroads against the attacks of an almost unanimous public sentiment. He has not yet been convinced, and those who agree with him see no reason why he should as yet be convinced that he was wrong in either case. He made a successful fight against the forced union in Statehood of the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona.

He is ambitious. What man with good red blood is not. His ambition has been to serve his country well and faithfully. When public duties have not prevented, he has practised his profession

and served his clients with the same ability and fidelity. He has never, however, commingled the two occupations, and he has never been charged justly with betraying either a private or a public trust. Senator Foraker has never corrupted legislation, has never corruptly influenced legislation, and has never taken a part in making legislation in which he had a personal interest. He does not own railroad stocks or bonds, and as far as he is individually concerned it matters not a particle what railroad legislation has been, or may be, enacted.

He has the advantage of a college training after his service in the army, and at an age when he could derive the greatest benefit from it. He has always been a student and a reader, fond of his books, but too busy to enjoy them always as he desired. He has never been a follower, but always a leader. Whether his following was great or small, it was loyally devoted to him, and no one has ever thought of him as enlisted under the banner of any one else. Like a baron of the feudal ages, he has always fought under his own banner and carried it into the thickest of the conflict.

Senator Foraker's career since he came to the United States Senate has confounded his enemies and justified the highest expectations of his friends. Styled a conservative now, he was once called a radical. He was so considered because he was an extreme partisan, standing firmly for all the policies of the Republican party. He was the idol of his party, and the only man in Ohio nominated consecutively four times for the office of Governor. In those days he was fiery, dashing, impetuous, a very whirlwind in debate and on the stump. This accounts for his firm hold on the affections of the Republican voters of Ohio. The Republican party in that State has, except for the past few years, been compelled to fight hard for its victories and it has never given or taken quarter. For the past quarter of a century, in all of the great contests in Ohio that have attracted the attention of the whole country, Senator Foraker has been conspicuous as a leader and a staunch defender of Republican principles.

He has never succeeded through organization, has never mastered nor seemed to care for the details of organization. Those who refer to him as a machine politician do not know whereof they speak. He is not a candidate to be put in harness and led or driven by the word of a campaign manager. In the years during

which he has been a prominent figure in Ohio politics he has never had a "machine," in the sense in which that word is used to describe a political organization carried down to the smaller political subdivisions. His trust has always been in the people, and more than one indifferent or unfriendly political gathering has been won to his side by his oratory. His addresses are as clean-cut and incisive at sixty as ever. His personality makes him a conspicuous figure in any assembly. He is one of the most entertaining of public speakers, and is acknowledged by his antagonists in the Capitol as one of the fairest, squarest fighters in the Senate. Speaker Cannon once said of him: "Of all the brilliant statesmen in our American political history there is no abler man or squarer man, no better or fairer fighter, no man who honors the State and Nation more or renders them better service, than Senator Foraker of Ohio."

He has rendered most valuable services to his party and to his country. He has been a stalwart of the stalwarts in advocating those policies which appeal to patriotism. He is clean, forceful, courageous, a man who will not hesitate to stand by his convictions whether such a course may be popular or not. He has suffered much because he has been misrepresented and misunderstood, being too busy doing the work which lay before him, and following the paths where he believed duty led him, to take the time and make the effort necessary to promptly correct wrong impressions gained by some as to his motives. Whether or not he is elected to the highest office in its gift, the country can ill afford to lose him from the councils of state, and no one who knows the man well doubts that he would fill with honor and surpassing distinction the great office of President.

CHARLES DICK.

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES.

To set forth with brevity and some degree of precision the claims for presidential honors of a man who advances no such claims, who permits no friend to speak with authority on this subject, who persistently avoids obvious opportunity to emphasize this aspect of his public life, is a problem not without serious difficulty. It is the problem, moreover, which must inevitably confront any one who seeks to analyze the practical side of the

claims of Governor Hughes upon the Republican presidential nomination.

This attitude of Governor Hughes, which has seemed novel enough to divert public attention from the more important aspects of his candidacy, may be briefly summarized. It amounts to a frank willingness to accept a nomination, an honest recognition of the honor contained even in the mere mention of his name in this connection and a vigorous and unswerving determination to do nothing as Governor which can be interpreted as a bid for public favor or an effort to compel political support from subordinates or interested politicians. This attitude has been variously characterized as correct and as Quixotic, but, at the least, it has been consistent.

The subject of Governor Hughes's personal view of his claims to presidential honors, however, can hardly be of primary importance, nor is it likely to long concern the leaders and the delegates of a dominant, national party. There are, however, two questions of real and substantial importance, which go to the very root of his candidacy, as of that of the candidacy of any man for a presidential nomination, and upon the answer to these must depend the question as to whether the Governor's claims are deserving of consideration. One concerns the ability of Governor Hughes, if nominated, to bring to the Republican ticket electoral votes not otherwise available; the other relates to the record he has made upon the issues of greater national significance, about which the next campaign and the next administration must be centred.

It is the claim of the friends of the candidacy of Governor Hughes that his nomination would bring inside the Republican column the electoral votes of New York, which must otherwise be reckoned as doubtful. Nor does this claim seem exaggerated to a majority of the practical politicians of this State. It is not merely that in an "off year" Governor Hughes carried the State by a majority unprecedented for such a time. It is not merely that this victory was in a sense a personal triumph, since the balance of the Republican ticket was lost. But there is even more recent testimony on this score. During the sixteen months in which he has been Governor, Mr. Hughes has had frequent occasion to appeal to the people directly upon matters in which his personal stand was the issue at stake. Invariably, there has

come back the unmistakable verdict of popular approval, in effect, an emphatic vote of confidence from the people of the State.

These evidences of the personal hold of Governor Hughes upon the confidence of the people of New York have a deep significance in view of the present posture of the Republican party in this State. It is not to be disguised by the most sanguine that the present situation is serious in the extreme. The party itself has recently been torn by a factional fight and the contending elements remain widely separated. In the conflict, moreover, the old and efficient party machinery has been destroyed, as the last State election disclosed. Even the old source of power, patronage, is sapped, for most of the State offices are in the hands of the Democrats. Nor can one fail to note that the effect of "hard times" and the recent panic seems likely to persist until election and the responsibility therefor to be laid to the door of the dominant party.

Therefore, in view of the foregoing facts, there is no mistaking the settled conviction that the Republican outlook in New York this fall is dark in the extreme. Yet concomitant with this view of Republican prospects is to be found the wide-spread belief that Governor Hughes, if named for the Presidency, could carry the State, that if he were named at Chicago the State would no longer be doubtful. This belief is founded upon the conviction that the Governor by his whole public service has won the loyal, if not the enthusiastic, support of that numerous element in the voting community which wears its party shackles lightly and has frequently been a deciding factor in close elections. It has been the support of this element which has contributed to all the earlier triumphs of the Governor; it is, unquestionably, one of his chief political assets.

Elected by a union of the Republican and Independent voters, sustained during his administration by the independent and even the partisan press of opposing faith, Governor Hughes has given frequent proof of this personal strength with the voters, which alone, in the minds of many trained observers, can serve to stem the trend toward Democratic victory in New York. Nor is there any evidence yet adduced which indicates a similar strength for any other Republican whose name has been suggested for the Republican nomination. In the eyes of the wisest politicians, Governor Hughes is the only candidate with whom New York

may be recognized as safely Republican, and this must serve to answer the first question proposed as to his presidential claims.

The question of the vote-getting power of a candidate, however important to the practical politician, must nevertheless be a matter of secondary interest to the voters themselves. To them the record and the stand of a prospective presidential candidate upon the national problems is vastly more important. Nor is it necessary to undertake any catalogue of these national issues in this place. In sum, they concern certain acute phases of the economic development of the Nation. Railroad rates, the trusts, the interminable investigations which succeed each other with such regularity, are all manifestations of the single great problem, which concerns the relation of the corporation alike to the individual and to the State.

Upon this fundamental problem of contemporary public and political life, moreover, Governor Hughes has made a record to which his friends point as the basis for his presidential claim. Governor Hughes, who before he took public office achieved the marvellous revelations of the Armstrong Insurance Investigation, who, to an audience which daily expanded until it included the whole Nation, set forth the evils of the world of finance, society and politics, seems to these friends to have deserved consideration by this very thing alone.

With even more earnestness, moreover, the friends of the Governor point to the Public Service Commission Law of this State as an evidence of the Governor's power to grasp and deal in a broad manner with a vital question. In this law there is embodied the Governor's own view upon the regulation of corporations. Here is provided a simple and efficacious machinery by which the producer, the commuter, the gas consumer can secure proper service, reasonable rates and protection from other abuses, which in past days have been intolerable in New York State.

Yet, in emphasizing the advantages the Governor's investigations and legislation have brought to the individual, it is possible to so far exaggerate as to miss the salient point. Almost the same day that he signed the Public Service Commission Law, Governor Hughes vetoed the Two-Cent Fare Bill. While Hughes the investigator was commanding the attention of the Nation, the counsel to the Armstrong Insurance Investigating Committee was patiently and tirelessly laboring to frame legislation that

should make the insurance business, so far as it was legitimate, profitable and possible.

It is because of the even balance between contending elements which has marked Governor Hughes's record upon the great economic questions of the day that he has been pronounced a radical by the reactionaries, a reactionary by the radicals. The man who declared for imprisonment, not fine, as the punishment for offending corporation officials, and, in the same temper, vetoed the Two-Cent Fare Bill, who equally declined the opportunity to achieve a reputation as a destroyer at the cost of legitimate business which within restricted lines was proper and necessary to the community, and quite as frankly declined the obvious political opportunities of qualifying as a reactionary leader, has written very clearly his record upon the pending question.

In sum, then, Governor Hughes has quietly and deliberately made his record upon an insistence upon the law, upon the calm and deliberate method of action. At all times and under great temptation and stress he has declined to appeal to public passion or popular clamor, which sought to destroy madly and punish blindly, rather than to repair patiently and reform wisely. In a time, moreover, when the temptation of the strong Executive to dominate the recalcitrant Legislature has been marked, when, moreover, a word, or a suggestion based upon patronage would have sufficed to accomplish a personal triumph, the Governor has firmly refused the opportunity, insisting that the permanent evils flowing from such Executive interference would far exceed any temporary advantage. Even when his Public Service Corporations Law was at stake, he resorted to no denunciation of individual or collective corporate malefactors; his appeal to the people of the State for support was without denunciation, was, as he phrased it, the argument of the "attorney for the people of the State."

In a more extended statement of Governor Hughes's public record there are further claims that might be pressed on his behalf. As the Chief Executive of a great State, he has made a record of more than passing significance, in other fields besides his insurance legislation he has shown a broad grasp of large questions. In banking laws, ballot laws and labor laws he has shown himself in touch with the great movement which is manifesting itself simultaneously all over the Nation. While in his

reorganization of departments and in his public appointments he has displayed unusual ability as an administrator.

Nor has the Governor shrunk from a fair and complete enunciation of his stand upon the essential doctrines of his party, which must be accepted by its candidate. In New York, Chicago and Boston, he has set forth his views upon the tariff, the Philippines, the questions of the relations of the National Government to corporations and corporate offenders, which have provoked no charge of party heresy. His reception in Chicago and Boston, moreover, and the interest in his administration and his candidacy have shown that his record and his achievements have passed the limits of his own State and fairly entitled him to consideration as a national figure.

All these matters indicated above, however, belong to a broader discussion of the presidential claims of Governor Hughes than can be now undertaken. Here his claims must be confined to two questions that have been outlined: to that of his ability to carry a State which must be regarded as doubtful in the event of the nomination of any other Republican; and to his record on the economic questions which are now occupying the attention of the Nation as a whole. This record discloses Governor Hughes as committed to the rational regulation of corporations and the drastic punishment of real offenders against the law, but as deaf to any agitation which has its sole justification in popular clamor.

The record of Governor Hughes, moreover, is written in existing and working laws, not in interviews nor in fruitless agitation. And on this record his final claim to the Republican presidential nomination must rest. It is the record of a man who has proven his devotion to certain principles rather than to the exaltation of any person, including himself. FRANK H. SIMONDS.

PHILANDER CHASE KNOX.

IF, in the last analysis of the present year's political activities, Philander Chase Knox should become President of the United States the country will secure one of the clearest intellects and one of the most courageous characters ever called to preside over its destinies.

Regardless of the political affiliations of individuals, this seems to be the view of all those who know the man, who understand his motives and are familiar with the multitude of obstacles he

has surmounted and the splendid success he has achieved in inaugurating and conducting a crusade fraught with more far-reaching and beneficial consequences to the American people than has ever been undertaken since the war.

Not since the election of a Republican candidate in 1860 has the duty of an incoming President of the United States been so clear as it is to-day. As a lifelong Republican, I have no doubt of the success of the party's standard-bearer. He will be the heir to the policies of President Roosevelt. Upon him will devolve for four years to come the execution of those measures in administration and their expression in legislation. The American people, as a whole, support the general policy of President Roosevelt on the important questions that now confront them. The work of making that policy effective in practical results and embodying it in permanent law, through judicial process and in a conservative manner, is yet to be consummated upon the recommendation of the next President.

A broad period of legislation is now in prospect. Reconstruction is before us on the line of the Roosevelt policies. The candidate of the Republican party ought to be in his record, his character, his ability, his experience and his share in the achievements of the past the visible proof to the American people that, as Chief Executive, he will be equal to the duty of executing the law efficiently and of recommending to Congress comprehensive legislation which will give settled conditions to all the vast and varied business interests of the country. Senator Knox has special qualifications for this task. It was he who won for the Roosevelt policies their first great judicial triumph. He has framed the legislation upon them in Congress. In Pennsylvania, we who know the Senator believe that his nomination and election are demanded by and would promote the best interests of the American people.

Mr. Knox has been misrepresented, of course. Leading in and directing important battles for the administration, throughout the past eight years of phenomenal Governmental progress,—these more clearly outlining his brilliant services and sturdy devotion to the country's interests as Attorney-General under two Presidents and one of the boldest champions of the people in the United States Senate,—one could not stand, as he did, squarely in the front without drawing upon himself the hos-

tility and misrepresentations of his discomfited opponents. But he was fortunate in the fact that his record was so open, his position so skilfully maintained, his motives so clearly defined, and his convictions so consistent with prudence, common sense and patriotism that but little ground was left for insinuations or imputations of selfishness, insincerity or disloyalty. The Senator's record so conclusively demonstrated his real character and the purity of his motives that, in spite of the characteristic modesty with which he declined to notice or refute aspersions, he gained rather than lost by adverse criticism. If vindication were necessary, one need but turn to the career of Mr. Knox as Attorney-General, when he was conspicuous, as he is to-day, in opposing the aggressions and encroachments of corporations upon the rights of the individual and in demanding that corporate business be wisely regulated in the interest of the public. It was his consistent and brilliant record which inspired the tribute paid him by President Roosevelt, who, in a public speech, made this declaration:

"During the last few years the National Government has taken very long strides in the direction of exercising and securing adequate control over the great corporations; and it was under the leadership of one of the most honored public men in our country, one of Pennsylvania's most eminent sons, the present Senator and then Attorney-General Knox, that this new departure was begun."

When the subject of this sketch was asked once if he objected to being classed as a corporation lawyer he replied, "No one who knew anything about me or my law practice has ever yet so classified me; but, in the abstract, my idea would be that a corporation lawyer was one who gave his whole time to the service of a corporation, and not one who had corporations among his clients, for the latter includes every lawyer of any ability to-day. It is not who a lawyer's clients are, but the nature of the services he renders them that determines the lawyer's character."

Let us glance for a moment at the career of the man whose force of character and brilliant intellect infused new life and vigor into the many responsible offices which he filled, with such signal efficiency and practical benefit to the country as to place him among the few American statesmen to whom the nation looks to-day for guidance and protection. Senator Knox was born fifty-four years ago in Brownsville, Pennsylvania, within sight

of the birthplace of James G. Blaine. His father, a man noted for sterling integrity, moral courage and strong common sense, was cashier of an important bank in the great farming and coal-producing section and one of the leading business men of the community. From his mother, a woman of singularly beautiful character, the Senator inherits the composure and calm demeanor so characteristic of him. At nineteen he graduated from college, where he had first met the future President, William McKinley, between whom and himself a strong and intimate friendship arose, which continued until the lamented President's death. In 1875 Knox was admitted to the bar of Allegheny County and was at once appointed Assistant United States Attorney. After a service of a year he resigned the position and formed the partnership of Knox and Reed, which lasted for a quarter of a century. It soon became and remained the most prominent and successful firm practising law in the courts of Allegheny County. In 1896 Mr. Knox was made President of the Pennsylvania State Bar Association. His address, upon retiring from that position, was prophetic in its forecast of the operations of the law in relation to labor and capital. It was perhaps the first enunciation of the doctrine that, under the Commerce Clause of the Constitution, there rested with the general Government the right and power to control great combinations of capital; that corporations engaged in unreasonable business operations, affecting the public welfare or in restraint of trade, were violating the law and could be dealt with by the courts. He was thus the pioneer of the cause of the people in 1897; he was the guide and champion of the new idea in 1903; and he was the victorious General when the Supreme Court of the United States decided in favor of his contention in 1904.

In public and private, Senator Knox's striking qualities are simplicity, directness and lucidity. A naturally keen perception and a remarkable power of analysis have been cultivated throughout a life of industry and indomitable energy, until to-day Senator Knox displays the capacity of a master mind in making plain and expounding any subject he touches. A gentleman, enjoying perfect health, in the prime of life, instinctively just to all men, educated and trained by close application to books and wide experience in the practical affairs of life, a lover of nature, straightforward, cordial, sympathetic, he has a most lovable dis-

position and a lively sense of humor. He is especially fond of outdoor sports, and is never better satisfied than when mounted on a good horse and riding over the hills at Valley Forge. Few men burdened as he has been with national responsibilities could be so easily accessible, so cordially democratic and yet so attractive through all the best qualities of a man. No one can wonder at the prompt and cordial endorsement which his candidacy has received from all who know him.

Aside from those personal qualities which are best appreciated by his personal friends, Knox is favored by the fact that the logic of succession obviously depends upon the logic of purpose, upon the object to be subserved in the choice of the next President. Manifestly, it is to carry on the great regenerative work which Knox inaugurated and to continue the special policies with which he has been closely identified. This work is the protection of the people against the unrestrained abuses of selfish corporate interests. More intimately than any other living man, Philander C. Knox is associated with the origin, the evolution, the execution and the success of the Roosevelt policies. What has already been accomplished could not have been achieved without the legal acumen and the masterful generalship of a Knox.

Upon assuming the direction of the Department of Justice, Mr. Knox became at once the exponent and executive of the President's policies. He struck out new paths of interpretation and triumphantly carried his cause to the Supreme Court of the United States, with the result that there was a new and enlarged chart of governmental powers. The exposition contained in his great speech in Pittsburg, in 1902, was the beacon light which illuminated this new course.

With the courage of his convictions, he entered the field in behalf of national control and regulation of corporations engaged in interstate commerce, and his labors were speedily crowned by the notable victories which changed the whole face of the situation in the relation of the Government to the great agencies of trade. The injunction on railroads against rebates, the overthrow of railroad traffic pooling, the indictment and defeat of the Beef Trust, and the dissolution of the Northern Securities merger followed within a few months. Then the Judiciary Committees of the Senate and House asked him to point the way to legislation required, and his response became the basis of the

present Federal law against rebates. Senator Dolliver, who was most active in connection with the railroad-rate bill, said: "In drafting this bill the framers of it were guided very largely by the speech delivered in Pittsburg by the Honorable Senator from Pennsylvania—a speech which reads almost like a judgment from the Supreme Bench."

The principles of the Roosevelt policies are the principles of Senator Knox, for upon him as Attorney-General President Roosevelt depended to give these policies the indestructible form of law and finally to secure for them the approval of the Supreme Court of the United States. He thoroughly believed in their fundamental object in aiding public justice and corporate regulation.

Senator Knox is also distinguished for poise, careful reflection and sound judgment. He has judicial temperament and balance. Twice he has been offered a seat on the Supreme Bench. When asked why he declined it he replied, "I would rather make history than write it"; and that, in one sentence, gives an index to the temper of the man. A man of brilliant mind, of broad views, of strong mental grasp, of sturdy, inflexible integrity, of indomitable courage and of energetic patriotism is the one whom the country needs to-day to carry on the war of the Government for the people. Such a man is Philander C. Knox.

EDWIN S. STUART.

ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE.

FOR some time past all the States have been moving forward along parallel lines. The rates of progress have varied, but the general direction has been the same. The irresistible tendency is everywhere toward a larger control by the people over their own Government, and also over those private corporations which, through Government-granted monopoly, exercise a quasi-Governmental power.

The work of Robert M. La Follette in Wisconsin is important because Wisconsin has achieved a more perfect control of her own government than any other State in the Union. If the present tendency continues, every other State in the Union will some day reach the point of political development attained by Wisconsin. It might almost be said that, when we look at the Wisconsin

of to-day, we see what many other States will be ten years from now. It might almost be said that The Present of Wisconsin is The Future of America. If we want to know what other States and what the United States will be in their political organization in the coming era, we can find the fulfilled prophecy ready to our hand in the present political organization of the State of Wisconsin.

It is interesting, therefore, to consider the career of the man to whom, more than to any other one man, we must grant the credit of having given his State its position in the forefront of the modern democratic movement in America. The movement is the same in Washington, D. C., as it is in Madison, Dane County, Wisconsin. The personal qualities and the public policies needed are in each case the same. What Senator La Follette has done on a State scale can be, and will be, done on a national scale. The only difference is geographical area.

Let us see what has been done in Wisconsin.

Wisconsin can justly claim to be more nearly a representative democracy than any other American State. This is not because the people are more democratic than the people of other States, but because they have had a leader. They have not suddenly gained their position by an excited uprising, but have rallied around a determined leader through a fourteen-year struggle. Each step has been a fight; each move in advance has been an organized attack; defeats have been recouped by greater victories. This would have been impossible without tireless, resourceful and far-sighted leadership. It is not enough that the masses of the people have a longing for the equal justice of democracy—they cannot get it unless they support a leader who knows how to get it, who makes no compromise on essential points, and who can be trusted to sacrifice personal advantage. It seems to me that the greatest thing in the life of La Follette was his abdication at the height of his power in favor of the direct primaries. No man in American politics had ever shown himself a greater master of the party convention system. He had organized the State thoroughly, had elected his delegates, nominated his tickets, written the platforms, dominated the party. Then he abolished the entire system by which he had risen. There are no longer any political nominating conventions in Wisconsin. From the highest to the lowest office, from Senator, Representative and

Governor to supervisor and alderman, every voter casts his nominating ballot in secret without intervention of party delegates or bosses. And the remarkable spectacle was witnessed of La Follette, the master of the convention system, going before the voters at the primaries, and pleading for his candidate for Governor the same as any other speaker. This was surely supreme proof of his democracy and willingness to trust the people—none the less so that his candidate was defeated.

Much the same is true of the civil service. I have occasionally heard statements that office-holders appointed by La Follette or by his appointees were political workers, and did not give all of their time to the work of the State. I can see how this could be so, while he was fighting without funds against the enormous entrenched power of corporations in politics. But as soon as he was on the eve of complete victory, after ten years of defeat and doubt, he did what no Governor or President has ever done in advocating a civil-service law. Instead of "blanketing in" all of his own appointees, as others have done, he insisted that the new law, enacted solely on his initiative, should require all existing employees to pass an examination within six months to ascertain their fitness to continue in their positions. The examinations were held, some of his appointees failed to pass and were dropped; their places were filled by others who passed the examination. Surely this is proof, both of La Follette's faith in the fitness of his appointees, and of his conviction that democratic government must have efficient public servants. Wisconsin now has a civil-service law combining the best features of the laws of older States and countries, and opening the door of public service to the highest ability and fitness the State can offer. As indicating public confidence in the law, a recent examination for a single position as factory inspector was taken by nearly three hundred applicants.

Indeed, La Follette's strongest claim to the State's gratitude is the character and ability of the men whom his leadership has brought into public life. His methods of campaigning have had a purifying effect. Most notable has been his practice of reading a candidate's record to his constituency. These were the candidates of his own party who had violated their pledges, as given in the party platform, to vote for railway regulation or tax equalization.

Only the most strongly intrenched men of the party could survive this attack. The result of this and of the direct primaries is a State Legislature superior in intelligence, independence and character to any other American Legislature. Each man does his own thinking, and there are scarcely a half-dozen who take orders from anybody. It is a truly *deliberative* and representative body, and I have heard it stated by an experienced lobbyist from another State that this is the only Legislature that takes up economic questions on their merits, without reference to personal or party advantage. That this is true may be judged from the wonderful growth of the Legislative Reference Department, which is a staff of twenty to fifty people who collect and classify facts on all branches of legislation and aid the Governor and legislators in drafting their bills. Lawmaking in Wisconsin has become scientific, because La Follette has brought a new kind of lawmakers into public life. Ten years ago an election of United States Senator is said to have been a kind of orgie, with "barrels" of champagne and "dough." At the last election the candidates and their agents would not even "set up" the cigars.

Even more remarkable than the legislators are the officials and members of commissions whom La Follette has appointed. He has appreciated the importance of adequate salaries in order to get able men, and has secured legislation providing for the payment of such salaries. At the last session of the Legislature, I heard the leading attorney of the railroad lobby declare at a public hearing that the railroad commission appointed by La Follette stood much higher in ability and knowledge of their subject than the Interstate Commerce Commission. This lawyer had led the fight against creating the commission.

The remarkable change of front on the part of corporations and opponents of La Follette testifies to the justice of his demands. We hear it said, "Why, this is just exactly the kind of legislation we have always been in favor of, but we objected to the methods he used in getting it." It is true that his methods were ruthless. He had been so often deceived by delegates, legislators and officials who went over to the corporations' side after having received his support, that he had learned never to hesitate about sacrificing a man whom he could not trust to support his measures. But, with the measures once adopted, their absolute justice to all interests shines forth. The key to the whole

situation has been the railway corporations and their lobbies and campaign contributions. La Follette's attack on them and on those whom they controlled was uncompromising. Perhaps the spectacular climax occurred when he denounced the lobby of manufacturers and shippers who came to Madison and adopted resolutions against the rate-regulation bill. He charged them with receiving or expecting rebates, or with being the unwilling agents of railroad coercion. They knew that he was able to show the amount of their rebates through evidence collected in the State investigation of railway books under a La Follette law for the collection of back taxes. Their opposition collapsed; and, later, after the railway commission law was enacted, many of these manufacturers and shippers were foremost in seeking and getting the benefits of the rate regulation they had opposed.

The fundamental fact in La Follette's rate regulation, and the one most severely attacked, was the provision for ascertaining the cost of construction of all the roads—known as "physical valuation." But it turns out that this is the foundation of absolute justice, both to shippers and railroads, in rate regulation. Knowing the physical value, the commission and the public know exactly how much is allowed for other items of value, such as good-will, compensation for risk, etc. The whole question is raised above the level of guesswork, and for the first time the regulation of public service corporations becomes scientific. And only scientific regulation can be just regulation. The demonstration of this fact in the Wisconsin legislation places Senator La Follette in an impregnable position when he takes the lead in demanding of Congress physical valuation of all interstate roads. When in the session of 1907 the Wisconsin Legislature extended regulation to all street-car, water, light, heat and power undertakings, physical valuation was accepted without question as the starting-point.

La Follette's foresight in taking a long look ahead and anticipating possible future abuses is seen in his treatment of water-power franchises. Many of these franchises were granted by recent Legislatures, but in all of them La Follette insisted that one of the terms should be arbitration of rates and services. The public-utility law of 1907 carries out the provision by placing the companies under the jurisdiction of the railroad commission.

Space does not permit an account of other issues and La Fol-

lette's attitude toward them, such as his advocating employers' liability laws, reasonable hours for railway employees, wage-exemption laws, anti-pass and anti-lobby laws, the recall, the initiative and referendum. These are a part of the one great movement of restoring government to the people and establishing equal opportunity for all.

A great political leader, in the struggle now on to redeem representative government, is one who profoundly understands the economic and political principles involved, and is endowed with the power to point the way out. He must understand that organized control of transportation and industry and finance in the end means absolute industrial and commercial servitude for the citizen, and that, in the end, means political servitude. He must understand that there can be no "good" combinations for the creation of monopoly, to be legalized by undermining the Sherman Anti-Trust Law with misleading amendments. He must believe, with all the fervor of our fathers, in equal opportunity for man, weak or strong, and for capital, big or little. He must have determination and aggressiveness, and the resourcefulness that comes from a long campaign in fighting for what the awakened intelligence of the people demands. He must refuse compromise. There is no middle ground. He must have the sense of justice that is not moved by the spirit of retaliation. He must have confidence in democratic institutions and willingness to subordinate himself to those institutions. La Follette is that kind of a leader. JOHN R. COMMONS.

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT.

THE distinctive features of the career of Mr. Taft have been rapid promotion, identification with an unusual share of the most important events of his time and the absence of those periods of quiet and comparatively unimportant growth which mark so many life stories. He has been continuously engaged in weighty tasks; each successive service has been characterized by an increasing influence upon most vital questions. Very seldom does a man at the age of fifty years have a record of such a dominating part in the solution of so many important national policies.

He was born at Cincinnati September 15, 1857. His parentage was of the best old New England stock, the Taft family being

descendants of Robert Taft, who settled at Mendon, Massachusetts, in 1679, and numbering many prominent men. His father, Judge Alphonso Taft, a leading lawyer and local judge at Cincinnati, was Secretary of War under Grant, Attorney-General under Arthur and, later, Minister both to Austria and to Russia. His mother was Miss Louise M. Torrey, of Millbury, Massachusetts. He has three living brothers, each of whom, like himself, is a loyal graduate of Yale College.

In his boyhood days he attended the schools of his home city of Cincinnati, and was the leader among the boys of the suburb of Mount Auburn. He prepared for college at Woodward High School, Cincinnati. He displayed from the first the remarkable physical strength and earnestness which have ever since distinguished him. He also manifested that hearty love for outdoor recreation which has been a saving quality in his intensely active and taxing life. He entered Yale College in 1874 and graduated in 1878 at the age of twenty. He disappointed his schoolmates by declining to employ his tremendous physique on the athletic field; but his wholesome fondness for sport and companionship led him to mingle frequently in college pastimes. His popularity did not suffer because of his absence from football, while the excellent work which his phenomenal energy enabled him to perform in the studies of the college curriculum assured for him substantial admiration. He graduated second in scholarship in a class of 129, and was salutatorian and class orator. The extraordinary esteem of his classmates is attested by the striking circumstance that, as far back as the Minneapolis Republican Convention in 1892, there was a movement among them to have his name presented for the Republican Presidential nomination.

On his return to Cincinnati, he at once entered the Law School, and was graduated with honors and admitted to the bar in 1880.

There can be no more noteworthy proof of his ability than the early recognition which he received after his admission to the bar; and, indeed, it is remarkable that from that time to this he has, in most instances, been promoted to higher and more responsible positions before the completion of the term of each succeeding office. In less than a year, he became Assistant Prosecutor of Hamilton County, and made a vigorous and effectual fight to cleanse Cincinnati of criminals. In the follow-

ing year of 1882, he was selected by President Arthur for the important office of Collector of Internal Revenue at Cincinnati. Here he instituted important administrative reforms, and obtained his first experience in executive management; but, tiring of this position, he returned to the practice of law in one year. Less than two years later, he was appointed Assistant County Solicitor for Hamilton County, continuing, however, to some extent, the general practice of law, and taking an important part in local politics with an eye to civic reforms. The path that Roosevelt was following in New York Taft was paralleling in Cincinnati.

In March, 1887, when less than thirty years old, he was appointed by Governor Foraker Judge of the Superior Court of Cincinnati, a bench which has been noted for the high standard of its judges; and in the following year he was elected to succeed himself for a term of five years. He was not allowed, however, to complete this term; for in February, 1890, he was appointed Solicitor-General of the United States by President Harrison. While Solicitor-General he prepared and presented to the Supreme Court of the United States some exceptionally important cases, such as the Behring Sea case, in which the Government of Great Britain appeared as a suitor before our Supreme Court; and the lawsuit involving the validity of the McKinley Tariff Law. He also argued the very important question of the validity of Speaker Reed's action in counting a quorum during the Fifty-first Congress. In each of these cases he was successful. While still acting in this position, in March, 1892, he was appointed, by President Harrison, United States Circuit Judge for the Sixth Circuit, including Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio and Michigan, and in the following year he became the ranking member. He was associated with Judges Day and Lurton, the former now a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. It was said of these three that "they made that Court the greatest subordinate Court of the United States, according to the high respect paid it by the whole legal profession."

Judge Taft's work on the bench calls for especial comment, not only on account of his singular fairness and ability, but also on account of the significance which many of his decisions have since assumed. He delivered opinions establishing the principle that, under the Interstate Commerce Statutes, mandatory in-

junctions will lie directing railway officers and employees to preserve the *status quo* until cases can be brought up for deliberate hearing. This decision he based on the contention that the condition of a railroad is not one of rest, but of action; that the constant operation of train service may be likened to a river of which the current must be allowed to flow without interruption. He decided here, as well as upon the bench of the Superior Court of Cincinnati, that the so-called secondary boycott was illegal, viz., the boycott of an employer or dealer because he patronizes another against whom the immediate or primary boycott is declared. It was, however, held by Judge Taft in the railway cases that striking employees might cease work immediately where their grievance against the company of their employment was a direct one, and his reasoning in this case was made the basis for a decision in a later case in which his exact words in favor of the right of railway employees to strike were quoted.

It was his distinction also to render the first important decision under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890. This was in the case of the Addyston Pipe and Steel Company, which, with other manufacturers of certain products, had divided the country into sections in which each of the concerns involved in the agreement was to have the exclusive right to sell. Judge Taft, in an opinion, pointed out the distinction between legitimate incidental contracts in restraint of trade and those deliberately designed to restrict competition and enhance prices. The latter were held to be violations of the Anti-Trust Act when relating to interstate commerce. The United States Supreme Court sustained this decision.

In March, 1900, a marked line of cleavage in the life of Mr. Taft came with his appointment by President McKinley to the Presidency of the Philippine Commission. From this point he ceases to be Taft the Judge, weighing the formal arguments of counsel, and appears as Taft the energetic and resourceful executive. The difficulty of the problem presented by the Philippine Islands has seldom been brought fully to the attention of the country. None of the precedents of the Spanish administration of tyranny and selfishness offered any suggestion toward its solution. The natives were still in a pitifully distrustful state of fear and insurrection. The commerce of the archipelago was

dead, and the most valuable lands were in the hands of the Spanish Friars. His first move was to assure the Filipinos of our good-will and friendly intent, and to call upon them for suggestion and co-operation in restoring prosperity. He made the promise that he would remain among them until order had been thoroughly established and some measure of self-government could be granted. Yet, along with these statements, the formal announcement was made that independence was not to be expected and that the measure of liberty conferred by the United States would be proportionate to deserts only. He set at work to destroy the *régime* of turbulence and brigandage. A measure of municipal autonomy was granted. The construction of highways was commenced. Agricultural experts were brought from the United States to teach improved methods of cultivation. A health department was organized to check the frequently recurring epidemics. A thousand American teachers came. Universal amnesty was granted on the establishment of civil power July 4th, 1901. The purchase of lands from the Friars was effected and they were resold at cost to the natives. A judicial system was supported by an insular police and a native constabulary. Finally the finances were placed upon a sound foundation.

Mr. Taft's personality and attitude, however, were the most effective factors in conciliation. He mingled with the people and gave open hearings to the stories of their wrongs. His policy was called by a Spanish editor in Manila "a policy of attraction." He sought to prove the disinterested integrity and official good intent of America. The most careful supervision was exercised over officials from the United States. No spoils were to be permitted in America's colonies. It would be impossible to find among those who have gone forth to a foreign country an administrator whose record for justice and consideration of the natives was nobler, or whose achievements were more notable than those of Mr. Taft in the Philippines. As a result he is honored and beloved by the varied millions of the islands.

It is not without reason that President McKinley remarked that for the charge of the Philippine Islands a man was required fitted both to be President and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. After this expression of opinion, Judge Day, who was his companion, responded, "That means Judge Taft," and McKinley expressed his hearty acquiescence in the suggestion.

At the end of 1902, he was twice tendered the position of Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. This honor he refused with a request that he be allowed to complete the work on which he had entered. Nor did he relinquish his position in the Philippines until a revolution had been wrought in conditions on the islands. Thus it was with the consciousness of duty done that he was able to accept a position in the Cabinet of President Roosevelt as Secretary of War, the duties of which he undertook on the 1st of February, 1904.

His entrance upon this position marks still another epoch in his career. The department of which he has been the head has especially to do with all our outlying possessions, and with the very delicate relations of the United States with Cuba. In all these the War Secretary has exercised a controlling influence, and has, by his diplomacy and his grasp of the needs and desires of these islanders, won eminent success. He was twice in Cuba after the insurrection; he brought the warring elements together in April, 1907, and outlined a solution for the resumption of self-government which was accepted by all the Cubans. While showing ability as a diplomat, he is especially accomplished as a pacificator. He listens to the advocates of all interests, and, by repressing unreasonable or absurd demands, points out a path to settlement which, by reason of his powerful personality and the confidence in his fairness, all interests accept.

He has also been in control of the world's greatest public work, the Panama Canal. He has exercised a guiding influence on the form and methods of construction, and has given such impetus to the work that final completion is no longer regarded as in the remote future.

Of the multiplicity and importance of the tasks now daily devolving upon him little need be said. It must be borne in mind that he is not only Secretary of War, but, in effect, Colonial Secretary and, in an important sense, Director of the Public Works of the Government. He has been termed "the busiest man in a busy Government." The attention which he is devoting to the pressing needs of the country, however, promises to be productive of happy solutions of many troublesome difficulties.

Among Mr. Taft's especial qualifications for the Presidency may be mentioned his varied experience, which has given him a specific knowledge of the different branches of our Government

and a broad, general training for the conduct of affairs. He also has the rare union of a judicial temperament with a remarkable gift for administrative management. He possesses a keen faculty for eliminating the non-essentials from a complicated problem and coming directly to its substance. While he has a fondness for details, yet details can never divert him from the main question to be decided. His capacity for work is something enormous. Quite as helpful, however, is the equable temperament of the man, which will not allow the annoyances of life to distract or hamper him. Those who meet him almost forget the big things he has done, so wholly are they occupied by his affable and friendly personality and his kindly humor. Occupants of high station are all in the long run judged as men; and under this standard Secretary Taft is now, and will ever be, known for his broad sympathies with every grade of humanity, and as one intensely imbued with the democratic spirit which should characterize a free American. No one can hesitate for a moment to recognize his severity in dealing with wrong-doing; but he has a more attractive side in his charm of manner. In fine, Taft the man, independent of official position, would have a commanding influence in public life, because he has those qualities which inspire the confidence and affection of the people.

He would bring to the Presidency a practical experience surpassed by that of no one of his predecessors. In the external relations of the country his comprehension of both national and international subjects would furnish certainty of amity and of sustained prestige. To the problems of greater America, of our dependent colonies and less advanced allies, his whole-souled humanity and familiar association with the outlying tribes of the earth would guarantee kindly and understanding attention. At home, in dealing with the grave social and civil questions now pressing upon the body politic, his administration would be equally marked by conservatism and progressiveness. No honest enterprise need fear him. No dishonest scheme could hope to hide its face from the light or to escape punishment. The people would have an assured hope for the secure development and progress of the country, and would rest safe in the reliance that a Chief Executive was at the helm who, in peace or in war, would guide the destinies of the nation with a strong hand and with a gentle heart.

THEODORE E. BURTON.

THE STATES AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

BY WOODROW WILSON.

THE question of the relation of the States to the Federal Government is the cardinal question of our constitutional system. At every turn of our national development we have been brought face to face with it, and no definition either of statesmen or of judges has ever quieted or decided it. It cannot, indeed, be settled by the opinion of any one generation, because it is a question of growth, and every successive stage of our political and economic development gives it a new aspect, makes it a new question. The general lines of definition which were to run between the powers granted to Congress and the powers reserved to the States the makers of the Constitution were able to draw with their characteristic foresight and lucidity; but the subject-matter of that definition is constantly changing, for it is the life of the nation itself. Our activities change alike their scope and their character with every generation. The old measures of the Constitution are every day to be filled with new grain as the varying crop of circumstances comes to maturity. It is clear enough that the general commercial, financial, economic interests of the country were meant to be brought under the regulation of the Federal Government, which should act for all; and it is equally clear that what are the general commercial, financial, economic interests of the country is a question of fact, to be determined by circumstances which change under our very eyes, and that, case by case, we are inevitably drawn on to include under the established definitions of the law matters new and unforeseen which seem in their magnitude to give to the powers of Congress a sweep and vigor certainly never conceived possible by earlier generations of statesmen, sometimes almost revolutionary even in our own eyes.

The subject-matter of this troublesome definition is the living body of affairs.

It is difficult to discuss so critical and fundamental a question calmly and without party heat or bias when it has come once more, as it has now, to an acute stage. Just because it lies at the heart of our constitutional system, to decide it wrongly is to alter the whole structure and operation of our government, for good or for evil, and one would wish never to see the passion of party touch it to distort it. A sobering sense of responsibility should fall upon every one who handles it. No man should argue it this way or that for party advantage. Desire to bring the impartial truth to light must in such a case be the first dictate alike of true statesmanship and of true patriotism. Every man should seek to think of it and to speak of it in the true spirit of the founders of the government.

Almost every great internal crisis in our affairs has turned upon the question of State and Federal rights. To take but two instances, it was the central subject-matter of the great controversy over tariff legislation which led to attempted Nullification and of the still greater controversy over the extension of slavery which led to the war between the States; and these two controversies did more than any others in our history to determine the scope and character of the Federal government.

The principle of the division of powers between State and Federal governments is a very simple one when stated in its most general terms. It is that the Legislatures of the States shall have control of all the general subject-matter of law, of private rights of every kind, of local interests and of everything that directly concerns their people as communities,—free choice with regard to all matters of local regulation and development, and that Congress shall have control only of such matters as concern the peace and the commerce of the country as a whole. The opponents of the tariff of 1824 objected to the tariff system which Congress was so rapidly building up that it went much beyond the simple and legitimate object of providing the Federal Government with revenues in such a way as to stimulate without too much disturbing the natural development of the country and was unmistakably intended to guide and determine the whole trend of the nation's economic evolution, preferring the industries of one section of the country to those of another in its bestowal of pro-

tection and encouragement and so depriving the States as self-governing communities of all free economic choice in the development of their resources. Congress persisted in its course; Nullification failed as even an effectual protest against the power of a government of which General Jackson was the head,—never so sure he was right as when he was opposed; and a critical matter, of lasting importance, was decided. The Federal Government was conceded the power to determine the economic opportunities of the States. It was suffered to become a general providence, to which each part of the country must look for its chance to make lucrative use of its material resources.

The slavery question, though it cut deep into the social structure of a great section of the country and contained such heat as could not, when once given vent, be restrained from breaking into flame, as the tariff controversy had been, was, after all, a no more fundamental question, in its first essential form, than the question of the tariff. Could Congress exclude slavery from the Territories of the United States and from newly formed States? If it could, manifestly the slavery system, once restricted in territory, would in time die of the strictures which bound it. Mr. Lincoln was quite right when he said that no nation could exist half slave and half free. But that was only by consequence. The immediate question was the power of Congress to determine the internal social and economic structure of society in the several States thereafter to be formed. It is not to my present purpose to trace the circumstances and influences which brought on the Civil War. The abolition of slavery by war, though natural, was not the necessary legal consequence of the contention that Congress possessed the power which it had exercised in the constitution of the Northwest Territory and in the enactment of the Missouri Compromise. What happened before the momentous struggle was over came about by the mere logic of human nature, by stress of human passion. What concerns me in the present discussion is that here, again, as in the building up of a fostering tariff, what turned out to be a far-reaching change in the very conception of Federal power had as its central point of controversy the question of the powers of the States as against the powers of the Government at Washington. The whole spirit and action of the Government were

deeply altered in carrying that question one stage further toward a settlement.

And I am particularly interested to point out that here again, as in the tariff question, it was an inevitable controversy, springing, not out of theory, not out of the uneasy ambition of statesmen, but out of mere growth and imperious circumstance. Population was spreading over the great western areas of the country; new communities were forming, upon which lawyers could lay no binding prescription as to the life they should lead; new Territories were constantly to be organized, new States constantly to be admitted to the Union. A choice which every day assumed new forms was thrust upon Congress. Events gave it its variety, and Congress could not avoid the influences of opinion, which altered as circumstances changed, as it became more and more clear what the nation was to be. It was of the very stuff of daily business, forced upon Congress by the opinion of the country, to answer the question, What shall these new communities be allowed to do with themselves, what shall they be suffered to make of the nation? May Congress determine, or is it estopped by the reserved powers of the States? The choices of growth cannot be postponed, and they seem always to turn upon some new doubt as to where the powers of the States leave off and the powers of the Federal Government begin.

And now the question has come upon us anew. It is no longer sectional, but it is all the more subtle and intricate, all the less obvious and tangible in its elements, on that account. It involves, first or last, the whole economic movement of the age and necessitates an analysis which has not yet been even seriously attempted. Which parts of the many-sided processes of the nation's economic development shall be left to the regulation of the States, which parts shall be given over to the regulation of the Federal Government? I do not propound this as a mere question of choice, a mere question of statesmanship, but also as a question, a very fundamental question, of constitutional law. What, reading our Constitution in its true spirit, neither sticking in its letter nor yet forcing it arbitrarily to mean what we wish it to mean, shall be the answer of our generation to the old question of the distribution of powers between Congress and the States? For us, as for previous generations, it is a deeply critical question. The very stuff of all our political principles, of all our

political experience, is involved in it. In this all too indistinctly marked field of right choice our statesmanship shall achieve new triumphs or come to eventual shipwreck.

The old theory of the sovereignty of the States, which used so to engage our passions, has lost its vitality. The war between the States established at least this principle, that the Federal Government is, through its courts, the final judge of its own powers. Since that stern arbitrament it would be idle, in any practical argument, to ask by what law of abstract principle the Federal Government is bound and restrained. Its power is "to regulate commerce between the States," and the attempts now made during every session of Congress to carry the implications of that power beyond the utmost boundaries of reasonable and honest inference show that the only limits likely to be observed by politicians are those set by the good sense and conservative temper of the country.

The proposed Federal legislation with regard to the regulation of child labor affords a striking example. If the power to regulate commerce between the States can be stretched to include the regulation of labor in mills and factories, it can be made to embrace every particular of the industrial organization and action of the country. The only limitation Congress would observe, should the Supreme Court assent to such obviously absurd extravagances of interpretation, would be the limitations of opinion and of circumstance.

It is important, therefore, to look at the facts and to understand the real character of the political and economic materials of our own day with a clear and statesmanlike vision, as the makers of the Constitution understood the conditions they dealt with. If the jealousies of the colonies and of the little States which sprang out of them had not obliged the makers of the Constitution to leave the greater part of legal regulation in the hands of the States, it would have been wise, it would even have been necessary, to invent such a division of powers as was actually agreed upon. It is not, at bottom, a question of sovereignty or of any other political abstraction; it is a question of vitality. Uniform regulation of the economic conditions of a vast territory and a various people like the United States would be mischievous, if not impossible. The statesmanship which really attempts it is premature and unwise. Undoubtedly the recent economic devel-

opment of the country, particularly the development of the last two decades, has obliterated many boundaries, made many interests national and common which until our own day were separate and distinct; but the lines of these great changes we have not yet clearly traced or studiously enough considered. To distinguish them and provide for them is the task which is to test the statesmanship of our generation; and it is already plain that, great as they are, these new combinations of interest have not yet gone so far as to make the States mere units of local government. Not our legal conscience merely, but our practical interests as well, call upon us to discriminate and be careful, with the care of men who handle the vital stuff of a great constitutional system.

The United States are not a single, homogeneous community. In spite of a certain superficial sameness which seems to impart to Americans a common type and point of view, they still contain communities at almost every stage of development, illustrating in their social and economic structure almost every modern variety of interest and prejudice, following occupations of every kind, in climates of every sort that the temperate zone affords. This variety of fact and condition, these substantial economic and social contrasts, do not in all cases follow State lines. They are often contrasts between region and region rather than between State and State. But they are none the less real, and are in many instances permanent and ineradicable.

From the first the United States have been socially and economically divided into regions rather than into States. The New England States have always been in most respects of a piece; the Southern States had always more interests in common than points of contrast; and the Middle States were so similarly compounded even in the day of the erection of the government that they might without material inconvenience have been treated as a single economic and political unit. These first members of the Union did, indeed, have an intense historical individuality which made them easily distinguishable and rendered it impossible, had any one dreamed of it, to treat them as anything but what they were, actual communities, quick with a character and purpose of their own. Throughout the earlier process of our national expansion States formed themselves, for the most part, upon geographical lines marked out by nature, within the limiting flood of great rivers or the lifted masses of great mountain chains; with here

and there a parallel of latitude for frontier, but generally within plots of natural limit where those who had set up homes felt some natural and obvious tie of political union draw them together. In later years, when States were to be created upon the great plains which stretched their fertile breadths upon the broad mid-surfaces of the continent, the lines chosen for boundaries were those which had been run by the theodolite of the public surveyor, and States began to be disposed upon the map like squares upon a great chess board, where the human pieces of the future game of politics might come to be moved very much at will, and no distinct economic, though many social, varieties were to be noted among neighbor commonwealths.

But, while division by survey instead of by life and historical circumstance no doubt created some artificial political divisions with regard to which the old theories of separate political sovereignty seemed inapplicable enough, the contrasts between region and region were in no way affected, resemblances were rendered no more striking than the differences which remained. We have been familiar from the first with groups of States united in interest and character; we have been familiar from the first also with groups of States contrasted by obvious differences of occupation and of development. These differences are almost as marked now as they ever were, and the vital growth of the nation depends upon our recognizing and providing for them. It will be checked and permanently embarrassed by ignoring them.

We are too apt to think that our American political system is distinguished by its central structure, by its President and Congress and courts, which the Constitution of the Union set up. As a matter of fact, it is distinguished by its local structure, by the extreme vitality of its parts. It would be an impossibility without its division of powers. From the first it has been a nation in the making. It has come to maturity by the stimulation of no central force or guidance, but by the abounding self-helping, self-sufficing energy of its parts, which severally brought themselves into existence and added themselves to the Union, pleasing first of all themselves in the framing of their laws and constitutions, not asking leave to exist, but existing first and asking leave afterwards, self-originated, self-constituted, self-confident, self-sustaining, veritable communities, demanding only recognition. Communities develop, not by external, but by

internal forces. Else they do not live at all. Our commonwealths have not come into existence by invitation, like plants in a tended garden; they have sprung up of themselves, irrepressible, a sturdy, spontaneous product of the nature of men nurtured in a free air.

It is this spontaneity and variety, this independent and irrepressible life of its communities, that has given our system its extraordinary elasticity, which has preserved it from the paralysis which has sooner or later fallen upon every people who have looked to their central government to patronize and nurture them. It is this, also, which has made our political system so admirable an instrumentality of vital constitutional understandings. Throughout these lectures I have described constitutional government as that which is maintained upon the basis of an intimate understanding between those who conduct government and those who obey it. Nowhere has it been possible to maintain such understandings more intimately or with a nicer adjustment to every variety of circumstance than in the United States. The distribution of the chief powers of government among the States is the localization and specialization of constitutional understandings; and this elastic adaptation of constitutional processes to the various and changing conditions of a new country and a vast area has been the real cause of our political success.

The division of powers between the States and the Federal Government effected by our Federal Constitution was the normal and natural division for this purpose. Under it the States possess all the ordinary legal choices that shape a people's life. Theirs is the whole of the ordinary field of law: the regulation of domestic relations and of the relations between employer and employee, the determination of property rights and of the validity and enforcement of contracts, the definition of crimes and their punishments, the definition of the many and subtle rights and obligations which lie outside the fields of property and contract, the establishment of the laws of incorporation and of the rules governing the conduct of every kind of business. The presumption insisted upon by the Courts in every argument with regard to the Federal Government is that it has no power not explicitly granted it by the Federal Constitution or reasonably to be inferred as the natural or necessary accompaniment of the powers there conveyed to it; but the presumption with regard to

the powers of the States they have always held to be of exactly the opposite kind. It is that the States of course possess every power that government has ever anywhere exercised, except only those powers which their own constitutions or the Constitution of the United States explicitly or by plain inference withhold. They are the ordinary governments of the country; the Federal Government is its instrument only for particular purposes.

Congress is, indeed, the immediate government of the people. It does not govern the States, but acts directly upon individuals, as directly as the governments of the States themselves. It does not stand at a distance and look on,—to be ready for an occasional interference,—but is the immediate and familiar instrument of the people in everything that it undertakes, as if there were no States. The States do not stand between it and the people. But the field of its action is distinct, restricted, definite.

We are not concerned in our present discussion with its powers as representative of the people in regulating the foreign affairs of the country. The discussion of the relation of the States to the Federal Government does not touch that field. About it there has never been doubt or debate. Neither is the power of the Federal Government to tax, or to regulate the military establishments of the country any longer in dispute, even though the Federal Government use its power to tax to accomplish many an indirect object of economic stimulation or control which touches the independent industrial choices of the States very nearly. The one source from which all debatable Federal powers of domestic regulation now spring is the power to regulate commerce between the States.

The chief object of the Union and of the revision of the Articles of Confederation was undoubtedly commercial regulation. It was not political, but economic, warfare between the States which threatened the existence of the new Union and made every prospect of national growth and independence doubtful,—the warfare of selfish commercial regulation. It was intended, accordingly, that the chief, one might almost say the only, domestic power of Congress in respect of the daily life of the people should be the power to regulate commerce.

It seemed a power susceptible of very simple definition at the first. Only in our own day of extraordinary variation from the older and simpler types of industry has it assumed aspects both

new and without limit of variety. It is now no longer possible to frame any simple or comprehensive definition of "commerce." Above all is it difficult to distinguish the "commerce" which is confined within the boundaries of a single State and subject to its domestic regulation from that which passes from State to State and lies within the jurisdiction of Congress. The actual interchange of goods, which, strictly speaking, is commerce, within the narrow and specific meaning of the term, is now so married to their production under our great modern industrial combinations, organization and community of interest have so obscured the differences between the several parts of business which once it was easy to discriminate, that the power to regulate commerce subtly extends its borders every year into new fields of enterprise and prys into every matter of economic effort.

Added to this doubt and difficulty of analysis which makes it a constant matter of debate what the powers of Congress are is the growing dissatisfaction with the part the States are playing in the economic life of the day. They either let the pressing problems of the time alone and attempt no regulation at all, however loudly opinion and circumstance itself may call for it, or they try every half-considered remedy, embark upon a thousand experiments, and bring utter confusion upon the industry of the country by contradicting and offsetting each other's measures. No two States act alike. Manufacturers and carriers who serve commerce in many States find it impossible to obey the laws of all, and the enforcement of the laws of the States in all their variety threatens the country with a new war of conflicting regulations as serious as that which made the Philadelphia convention of 1787 necessary and gave us a new Federal Constitution. This conflict of laws in matters which vitally interest the whole country and in which no State or region can wisely stand apart to serve any particular interest of its own constitutes the greatest political danger of our day. It is more apt and powerful than any other cause to bring upon us radical and ill-considered changes. It confuses our thinking upon essential matters and makes us hasty reformers out of mere impatience. We are in danger of acting before we clearly know what we want or comprehend the consequences of what we do,—in danger of altering the character of the government in order to escape a temporary inconvenience.

We are an industrial people. The development of the resources of the country, the command of the markets of the world, is for the time being more important in our eyes than any political theory or lawyer's discrimination of functions. We are intensely "practical," moreover, and insist that every obstacle, whether of law or fact, be swept out of the way. It is not the right temper for constitutional understandings. Too "practical" a purpose may give us a government such as we never should have chosen had we made the choice more thoughtfully and deliberately. We cannot afford to belie our reputation for political sagacity and self-possession by any such hasty processes as those into which such a temper of mere impatience seems likely to hurry us.

The remedy for ill-considered legislation by the States, the remedy alike for neglect and mistake on their part, lies, not outside the States, but within them. The mistakes which they themselves correct will sink deeper into the consciousness of their people than the mistakes which Congress may rush in to correct for them, thrusting upon them what they have not learned to desire. They will either themselves learn their mistakes, by such intimate and domestic processes as will penetrate very deep and abide with them in convincing force, or else they will prove that what might have been a mistake for other States or regions of the country was no mistake for them, and the country will have been saved its wholesome variety. In no case will their failure to correct their own measures prove that the Federal Government might have forced wisdom upon them.

There is, however, something else that comes to the surface, and that explains not a little of our present dissatisfaction with State legislation upon matters of vital national importance. Their failure to correct their own processes may prove that there is something radically wrong with the structure and operation of their governments,—that they have ceased to be sensitive and efficient instruments for the creation and realization of opinion,—the real function of constitutional governments.

It is better to learn the true political lesson than merely to improve business. There is something involved which is deeper than the mere question of the distribution of legislative powers within our Federal system. We have come to the test of the intimate and detailed processes of self-government to which it was supposed that our principles and our experience had committed us.

There are many evidences that we are losing confidence in our State Legislatures, and yet it is evident that it is through them that we attempt all the more intimate measures of self-government. To lose faith in them is to lose faith in our very system of government, and that is a very serious matter. It is this loss of confidence in our local legislatures that has led our people to give so much heed to the radical suggestions of change made by those who advocate the use of the initiative and the referendum in our processes of legislation, the virtual abandonment of the representative principle and the attempt to put into the hands of the voters themselves the power to initiate and negative laws, —in order to enable them to do for themselves what they have not been able to get satisfactorily done through the representatives they have hitherto chosen to act for them.

Such doubts and such consequent proposals of reform should make us look deeper into this question than we have hitherto looked. It may turn out, upon examination, that what we are really dissatisfied with is not the present distribution of powers between the State and Federal authorities, but the character of our State governments. If they were really governments by the people we should not be dissatisfied with them. We are impatient of State Legislatures because they seem to us less representative of the thoughtful opinion of the country than Congress is. We know that our Legislatures do not think alike, but we are not sure that our people do not think alike. If there is a real variety of opinion among our people in the several regions of the country, we would be poor lovers of democratic self-government were we to wish to see those differences overridden by the majorities of a central Legislature. It is to be hoped that we still sufficiently understand the real processes of political life to know that a growing country must grow, that opinion such as government can be based upon develops by experience, not by authority, that a region forced is a region dissatisfied, and that spontaneous is better, more genuine, more permanent than forced agreement.

The truth is that our State governments are many of them no longer truly representative governments. We are not, in fact, dissatisfied with local representative assemblies and the government which they impose; we are dissatisfied, rather, with regulations imposed by commissions and assemblies which are no

longer representative. It is a large subject, of many debatable parts, and I can only touch upon it here, but the fact is that we have imposed an impossible task upon our voters, and that because it is impossible they do not perform it. It is impossible for the voters of any busy community actually to pick out or in any real sense choose the very large number of persons we call upon them under our present State Constitutions to elect. They have neither the time nor the quick and easy means of co-operation which would enable them to make up the long lists of candidates for offices local and national upon which they are expected to act. They must of necessity leave the selection to a few persons who, from one motive or another, volunteer to make a business of it. These are the political bosses and managers whom the people obey and affect to despise. It is unjust to despise them. Under a system of innumerable nominations they are indispensable. A system of so-called popular elections like ours could not be operated successfully without them. But it is true that by their constant and professional attention to the business of nomination a real popular choice of candidates is done away with entirely, and that our State officers and legislators are in effect appointed, not elected. The question at an election is only which set of appointees shall be put into office, those appointed by the managers and bosses of this party or of that. It is this, whether our people are distinctly conscious of it or not, which has so seriously impaired their confidence in the State Legislatures and which has made them look about for new means by which to obtain a real choice in affairs.

Members of Congress are themselves voted for on the lists which the local managers prepare, are themselves appointed to their candidacy as the candidates for local functions are, but because they are relatively few in number and their office national, attention is more or less concentrated upon them. There is a more general interest in their selection, by which party managers are sure to be somewhat checked and guided. After their election, moreover, they become members of an assembly highly organized and disciplined and act under a very strict party responsibility in which the personal force and character of the Speaker of the House plays a greater part than their own. The man by whom they are led is scarcely less conspicuous as a national figure than the President himself and they are but wheels

in a great piece of machinery which is made sensitive to opinion in ways which local managers in no sort control. The opinion of the whole country beats upon them. The country feels, therefore, that, however selected, they are in some sense more representative, more to be depended on to register its thoughtful judgments, than the members of State Legislatures are.

It is for this reason as much as for any other that the balance of powers between the States and the Federal Government now trembles at an unstable equilibrium and we hesitate into which scale to throw the weight of our purpose and preference with regard to the legislation by which we shall attempt to thread the maze of our present economic needs and perplexities. It may turn out that what our State governments need is not to be sapped of their powers and subordinated to Congress, but to be reorganized along simpler lines which will make them real organs of popular opinion. A government must have organs; it cannot act inorganically, by masses. It must have a lawmaking body; it can no more make laws through its voters than it can make them through its newspapers.

It would be fatal to our political vitality really to strip the States of their powers and transfer them to the Federal Government. It cannot be too often repeated that it has been the privilege of separate development secured to the several regions of the country by the Constitution, and not the privilege of separate development only, but also that other more fundamental privilege that lies back of it, the privilege of independent local opinion and individual conviction, which has given speed, facility, vigor, and certainty to the processes of our economic and political growth. To buy temporary ease and convenience for the performance of a few great tasks of the hour at the expense of that would be to pay too great a price and to cheat all generations for the sake of one.

Undoubtedly the powers of the Federal Government have grown enormously since the creation of the Government; and they have grown for the most part without amendment of the Constitution. But they have grown in almost every instance by a process which must be regarded as perfectly normal and legitimate. The Constitution cannot be regarded as a mere legal document, to be read as a will or a contract would be. It must of the necessity of the case be a vehicle of life. As

the life of the nation changes so must the interpretation of the document which contains it change, by a nice adjustment determined, not by the original intention of those who drew the paper, but by the exigencies and the new aspects of life itself. Changes of fact and alterations of opinion bring in their train actual extensions of community of interest, actual additions to the catalogue of things which must be included under the general terms of the law. The commerce of great systems of railway is of course not the commerce of wagon roads, the only land commerce known in the days when the Constitution was drafted. The common interests of a nation bound together in thought and interest and action by the telegraph and the telephone, as well as by the rushing mails which every express train carries, have a scope and variety, an infinite multiplication and intricate interlacing of which a simpler day can have had no conception. Every general term of the Constitution has come to have a meaning as varied as the actual variety of the things which the country now shares in common.

The character of the process of constitutional adaptation depends first of all upon the wise or unwise choice of statesmen, but ultimately and chiefly upon the opinion and purpose of the courts. The chief instrumentality by which the law of the Constitution has been extended to cover the facts of national development has been judicial interpretation, the decisions of the courts. The process of formal amendment of the Constitution was made so difficult by the provisions of the Constitution itself that it has seldom been feasible to use it; and the difficulty of formal amendment has undoubtedly made the courts more liberal, not to say more lax, in their interpretation than they would otherwise have been. The whole business of adaptation was theirs, and they have undertaken it with open minds, sometimes even with boldness and a touch of audacity. But, though they have sometimes been lax, though they have sometimes yielded, it may be, to the pressure of popular agitation and of party interest, they have not often overstepped the bounds of legitimate extension. By legitimate extension I mean extension which does not change the character of the Federal power but only its items,—which does not make new kinds, but only new particulars of power.

The members of courts are necessarily men of their own gen-

eration: we would not wish to have them men of another. Constitutional law, as well as statesmanship, must look forward, not backward, and, while we should wish the courts to be conservative, we should certainly be deeply uneasy were they to hold affairs back from their natural alteration. Change as well as stability may be conservative. Conservative change is conservative, not of prejudices, but of principles, of established purposes and conceptions, the only things which in government or in any other field of action can abide. Conservative progress is a process, not of revolution, but of modification. In our own case and in the matter now under discussion it consists in a slowly progressive modification and transfer of functions as between the States and the Federal Government along the lines of actual development, along the lines of actual and substantial alterations of interest and of that national consciousness which is the breath of all true amendment,—and not along lines of party or individual purpose, nor by way of desperate search for remedies for existing evils.

No doubt courts must "make" law for their own day, must have the insight which adapts law to its uses rather than its uses to it, must sometimes venture upon decisions which have a certain touch of statesmanlike initiative in them. We shall often find ourselves looking to them for strong and fearless opinions. But there are two kinds of "strong" opinions, as a distinguished English jurist long ago pointed out. There are those which are strong with the strength of insight and intelligence and those which are strong with the mere strength of will. The latter sort all judges who act with conscience, mindful of their oaths of office, should eschew as they would eschew the actual breaking of law. That the Federal courts should have such a conscience is essential to the integrity of our whole national action. Actual alterations of interest in the make-up of our national life, actual, unmistakable changes in our national consciousness, actual modifications in our national activities such as give a new aspect and significance to the well-known purposes of our fundamental law, should of course be taken up into decisions which add to the number of things of which the national Government must take cognizance and regulative control. That is a function of insight and intelligence. The courage it calls for on the part of the courts is the courage of conviction. But they are, on the other

hand, called on to display the more noble courage which defends ancient conviction and established principle against the clamor, the class interests and the changeful moods of parties. They should never permit themselves wilfully to seek to find in the phrases of the Constitution remedies for evils which the Federal Government was never intended to deal with.

Moral and social questions originally left to the several States for settlement can be drawn into the field of Federal authority only at the expense of the self-dependence and efficiency of the several communities of which our complex body politic is made up. Paternal morals, morals enforced by the judgment and choices of the central authority at Washington, do not and cannot create vital habits or methods of life unless sustained by local opinion and purpose, local prejudice and convenience,—unless supported by local convenience and interest; and only communities capable of taking care of themselves will, taken together, constitute a nation capable of vital action and control. You cannot atrophy the parts without atrophying the whole. Deliberate adding to the powers of the Federal Government by sheer judicial authority, because the Supreme Court can no longer be withstood or contradicted in the States, both saps the legal morality upon which a sound constitutional system must rest and deprives the Federal structure as a whole of the vitality which has given the Supreme Court itself its increase of power. It is the alchemy of decay.

It would certainly mean that we had acquired a new political temper, never hitherto characteristic of us, that we had utterly lost confidence in what we set out to do, were we now to substitute abolition for reform,—were we by degrees to do away with our boasted system of self-government out of mere impatience and disgust, like those who got rid of an instrument they no longer knew how to use. There are some hopeful signs that we may be about to return to the better way of a time when we knew how to restrict government and adapt it to our uses in accordance with principles we did not doubt, but adhered to with an ardent fervor which was the best evidence of youth and virility. We have long been painfully conscious that we have failed in the matter of city government. It is an age of cities, and if we cannot govern our cities we cannot govern at all. For a little while we acted as if in despair. We began to strip our city gov-

ernments of their powers and to transfer them to State commissions or back to the Legislatures of the States, very much as we are now stripping the States of their powers and putting them in the hands of Federal commissions. The attempt was made to put the police departments of some of our cities, for example, in the hands of State officers, and to put the granting of city franchises back into the hands of the central Legislature of the State, in the hope, apparently, that a uniform regulation of such things by the opinion of the whole State might take the place of corrupt control by city politicians. But it did not take us long, fortunately, to see that we were moving in the wrong direction. We have now turned to the better way of reconsidering the whole question of the organization of city governments, and are likely within a generation to purify them by simplifying them, to moralize them by placing their government in the hands of a few persons who can really be selected by popular preference instead of by the private processes of nomination by party managers, and who, because few and conspicuous, can really be watched and held to a responsibility which they will honor because they cannot escape.

It is to be hoped that we shall presently have the same light dawn upon us with regard to our State governments, and, instead of upsetting an ancient system, hallowed by long use and deep devotion, revitalize it by reorganization. And that, not only because it is an old system long beloved, but also because we are certified by all political history of the fact that centralization is not vitalization. Moralization is by life, not by statute, by the interior impulse and experience of communities, not by fostering legislation which is merely the abstraction of an experience which may belong to a nation as a whole or to many parts of it without having yet touched the thought of the rest anywhere to the quick. The object of our Federal system is to bring the understandings of constitutional government home to the people of every part of the nation, to make them part of their consciousness as they go about their daily tasks. If we cannot successfully effect its adjustments by the nice local adaptations of our older practice, we have failed as constitutional statesmen.

WOODROW WILSON.

HOW TO GIVE NEW YORK THE BEST POLICE FORCE IN THE WORLD.

BY THEODORE A. BINGHAM.

NEW YORK ought to have the best police force in the world, not only as a matter of pride in her own sturdy growth and importance, but because, as a matter of fact, she needs it more than any other city in the world, in order to cope effectively with the peculiar conditions affecting the protection of life and property there, due partly to the physical conformation of the city, and also, in large part, to the peculiar character of its population.

The narrow length of the city and the growth of its business lead directly to dense congestion of population. This is true not only as regards the homes of the great mass of the people, but also as regards the buildings in which they earn their living and in which the business of the city is carried on. The development of the so-called "sky-scrapers" adds enormously to the density of the people per square foot of surface, and yet the streets surrounding and leading to all these centres of density are no wider than before. Theoretically the street in front of a sky-scraper should be widened to double its former width in order to maintain proper traffic relations. In spite of Federal laws the criminals of the Old World enter with comparative freedom at this port; many gravitate here who enter from other directions.

In the consideration of this subject comparison is naturally made between New York and London. But in a number of ways the police work of London is simpler than that of New York. While the district covered by the London police has a population of 6,576,648 and a patrol force of 13,268 men (one patrolman to 496 inhabitants), still it has a compact area almost entirely built up, except for parks and commons, penetrated by a single comparatively narrow river.

New York, with a population of 4,285,245 and a patrol force of 7,839 men (one patrolman to 547 inhabitants), is divided and subdivided by water; and, while densely populated in parts, is so sparsely settled in other parts that houses are sometimes a mile and even more apart. There are also large areas included within the city limits of New York which are either not yet built up or form extensive marshes, the filling and improvement of which is in the distant future.

Again, in London, the alien population is not so large as to cut a serious figure in the statistics of crime, while in New York 80 per centum of all malefactors arraigned in the courts are of foreign birth, and the New York police, moreover, are compelled to deal not only with the predatory criminals of all nations, including our own, but with the feuds of the Sicilian Mafia, the Neapolitan Camorra, the Armenian Hunchakists, the Chinese Tongs and with other internecine quarrels of the scum of the earth.

Nor is there any reason why New York should not have the best police force in the world if her law-respecting and law-abiding citizens, who really form a majority over the lawless element, would make themselves a little familiar with police conditions, and interest themselves sufficiently to bring about the required result. Moreover, this is a civic duty which is one of those so sadly neglected by the American sovereign.

The present Commissioner has no hesitation in saying that he would never have accepted the office had he previously been aware of the conditions surrounding the work of the Police Department; but, after the hard labor of two years with some small but encouraging progress, he believes that the situation can be dealt with effectively if good citizens will bestir themselves, neglect their own personal affairs for a little while and secure the needed legislation (which is, after all, not very extensive), and a comparatively small increase in funds—which increase will very quickly more than pay for itself.

There are four requisites for putting the New York police force upon a properly efficient basis:

1. Long term of office for the Commissioner, with provision that while he may be dismissed by the Governor or Mayor, it shall only be upon publication of the reasons for dismissal.

2. Provision for a civilian branch of the Detective Bureau, at

an estimated cost of $25,000 for the first year and $100,000 per year for several years thereafter.

3. Increase of the force so that the proportion shall be maintained automatically at one patrolman to 400 inhabitants, as determined by an annual census.

4. New legislation on a few special points, such as strict police regulation of pawnbrokers and junkdealers, and of the sale of offensive weapons, etc.

Taking up these points, now, in detail: The present term of office of the Commissioner is ostensibly five years, although practically four years, except in the improbable event that the same Mayor be continued in power for a second term, and at present either the Governor or Mayor may summarily dismiss the Police Commissioner without stating reasons. Four years is not a long enough term to accomplish lasting results. It is not sufficient time to obtain that familiarity with the details of the work which is necessary, and the short period encourages such dishonesty and rascality as exists in the force to hold on patiently, even if temporarily suppressed by an honest short-term Commissioner. The short term also involves the possibility that politicians, confederates of the bad elements, may bring about removal before the expiration of the term. This state of affairs also leaves the men of the force in doubt as to whether really they would better obey the Commissioner, or whether they can take the chance with impunity of disobeying him and throwing obstacles in his way. This state of affairs very naturally is not conducive to good work on the part of the Police Department, even in the ordinary daily routine.

The term of the Police Commissioner should be at least ten years. That, to my mind, is as long as one man would be physically able to stand the strain—certainly under present conditions of getting work done. It is probably proper that the Police Commissioner should be subject to summary dismissal, but if the dismissing officer is required to give to the public the reasons upon which he dismisses the Police Commissioner, the public will be able to judge as to the honesty and sincerity of the Governor or Mayor, as the case may be. To make the Police Commissioner more permanent in office—that is, removable only after the trial of charges against him—would, in my judgment, be a mistake, because the process is too slow, and would leave a bad

man in a position to do mischief during trial; the first method suggested being deemed sufficient.

Again, a civilian branch of the Detective Bureau is absolutely essential, because, as at present constituted, all the members of the police force are well known, and can be easily known to criminals of all kinds, as well as to the crooked politicians who are at the bottom of the present lack of efficiency in the Police Department. The members of this civilian branch should be engaged and dismissed entirely at the will of the Police Commissioner, security in place depending upon their work. The funds in support of this branch of work should be at the absolute disposal of the Police Commissioner, subject only to audit by a committee of three citizens, as a check upon possible misuse of the funds by the Commissioner. This committee in New York should probably be the Mayor, the Comptroller and the President of the Civil Service Commission. This arrangement would enable the Commissioner to obtain, wherever it could be found, the best detective ability in the world. Again, such a secret-service force, entirely unknown, would be able to do the work among the polyglot alien community of criminals which it is now almost impossible to get done, not because of lack of energy or ability on the part of the Police Department as at present constituted, but because of the very pretty system by which criminals and crooked politicians have succeeded in getting New York by the throat.

It is a fact also, for which the present system is to blame, that, to tell the honest truth, there is at present no great detective in the employ of New York city. The old rule-of-thumb methods still prevail. The police force itself, even the best men, would not recognize a high-grade, first-class, real "sleuth," if he came down the street headed by a brass band. To provide New York with one or two—possibly six—such real detectives would in results astonish and please her citizens as much as it would paralyze the crooks and crooked politicians. Such high-class detectives are very rare throughout the world, and cannot be made from the material available under the present police system. There are some men available whom I would at present secure for New York city if I were free to do so. This secret-service branch would never be seen nor known by more than two or three officials. Such a civilian branch in the Detective

Bureau would also be of great assistance in improving, by training and instruction, the honest men we now have in the department.

There are some good men in the Detective Bureau now, as a result of special training, and when our school in the new headquarters building is established we shall turn considerable raw material into a useful product. Taking a policeman out of uniform, putting him into citizen's clothes with a shield on his waistcoat and telling him that he is a detective, will not make him one. Not only are special qualifications necessary, but he has got to be trained. The detection of crime and criminals, since the Bertillon system of measurements and recording of finger prints, with other instruments and materials, have come into use, has reached a point where it may almost be classed as a science. For instance, we are now using a powder—not a new thing, but an innovation in detective work—in the obtaining of impressions of finger prints. Our detectives are instructed to be alert on the scene of a crime for the marks of fingers on door-knobs, window panes, glass and silver ware, paper, furniture, or anything else on which a criminal may have left an impression of his hand. No matter how faint such an impression may be, the powder will bring it out so that a photograph may be taken, and the negative, enlarged fifty diameters, becomes a clue, a particularly valuable one, in cases wherein the perpetrator of the crime is a professional criminal, a record of whose finger prints is already in the possession of the police. In Germany recently a murderer was caught and convicted by means of a thumb-print clue secured in this manner, and our detectives were recently successful in a case in which finger prints were obtained from a piece of stolen silverware.

The camera has become a useful adjunct in detective work. Nowadays when a dead man or woman is found, say, in a tenement house, and there are indications of foul play, the scene is photographed, and the negative made to scale. This does away with the old-fashioned method of measuring a room with a tape-line or pacing off distances; and, if the photograph goes before a jury afterward, there is no doubting the accuracy of its evidence.

While the coroners co-operate heartily with the police, the Detective Bureau would be able to do more effective service, in

many instances, if there were no such officials. The investigation of crime is the province of the police, and the prosecution of the criminal that of the District Attorney. Our police surgeons might readily be utilized to execute any of the duties now done by the coroner, these surgeons being quite competent to perform autopsies now done by coroners' physicians. This would be a very great improvement in detective work.

In considering the present police conditions in New York, the fact should be kept in mind that, in spite of the enormously greater difficulties with which we are confronted, our quota of patrolmen is less than in cities where the problem is comparatively simple. In Washington, with a population of 278,818, there are 575 patrolmen, the average being one to every 485 residents; in Philadelphia, there are 2,533 patrolmen in a population of 1,293,697, an average of one to every 511; in St. Louis, the average is the same, the population being 575,238 and the number of patrolmen 1,125; in Boston, with a population of 560,892, there are 1,102 patrolmen, an average of one to every 509 residents. In other capitals of the Old World the streets are even better patrolled than in London. In Liverpool, there is one patrolman to every 449 residents; in Dublin, one to every 330; in Berlin, one to every 340, and in Budapest, one to every 320. In St. Petersburg and Lisbon unusual conditions exist, of course, and in the former city there is one patrolman to every 184 residents, and in the latter, one to every 175.

The circumstance is also to be considered that New York differs from any other great city in the abnormal growth of population in the outlying districts where the small dwelling predominates, and it is obvious that a given number of persons in a block of ordinary apartment houses may be protected by a smaller force of police than would be required to safeguard the same number in detached dwellings along a mile or two of streets. The present patrol force of 7,839 men is called upon to cover 3,095 miles of streets in the five boroughs, but more than a thousand of these men are necessarily detailed daily to other than regular patrol duty. Approximately 300 patrolmen are engaged every day in the Detective Bureau, or are at work on murder, burglary, pocket-picking and other cases; 350 are assigned to traffic regulation; 175 to the courts; 82 to municipal departments and offices; 116 to duty in Central Park;

75 to the Health Department, and 18 to boiler inspection. The average number of men sick daily is 200 and the average number absent with leave is 50, which leaves a total available for patrol of 6,473, of whom one fifth, or 1,295, are on post in the daytime; two fifths, or about 2,590, on post at night, one fifth always in reserve, and one fifth off duty. There are 92 precincts in the city, making an average of 70 patrolmen to each precinct.

The beats traversed by these patrolmen cover farms in process of cultivation within the city limits, as well as great expanses of unoccupied land. As an example, the houses between Jamaica and Flushing are sometimes a mile apart, and on Staten Island (the Borough of Richmond) there are intervals of two miles between dwellings. In one precinct in this latter borough the patrolman goes five miles to the beginning of his post. There is a day post in Richmond that is twenty miles long, and there are night posts ten, twelve and fourteen miles in length. There are day posts in the Bronx fifteen miles long, and night posts seven and eight miles in extent. Of course residents of these outlying districts are just as much entitled to police protection as are those living in the heart of the city, but it is obvious that under existing conditions it is impossible to give it to them.

There is absolute and immediate necessity for the increase of the patrol force so that we have an average of one patrolman to every 400 inhabitants, and that average should be maintained with the increase of the population. On January 1st, 1906, when this municipal administration began, the quota of patrolmen was 7,239. In April of that year an elaborate report, supported by statistics showing the prodigious growth of the city, the very slight increase in the patrol force during the past few years, and the unguarded condition of the city practically in every section, was sent to the Board of Estimate and Apportionment and the Board of Aldermen, with an application for an increase of the number of patrolmen by more than 2,000 men. In the budget for 1907 the increase asked for was scaled down to 2,000 patrolmen, as being the smallest number consistent with the safety of the city. Nevertheless, appropriation was made for only 600 men, who were not added to the force until one year from the time the dangerous conditions existing in New York were pointed out. Last year an addition of 600 more patrolmen was granted in response to an urgent appeal for 1,400.

The legislation that is immediately essential to the greater efficiency of the Police Department relates to the better control of pawnbrokers, junkdealers and dealers in second-hand goods, and the sale of dangerous weapons. It is the practice of every other large city of the world, in America as well as in Europe, to require pawnbrokers to furnish the police daily with a written report of business transacted, giving the name and address of the person pawning articles, with a general description of personal appearance, a detailed description of the articles pawned, the hour that the transaction occurred, the amount loaned, the number and description of the pawn ticket, and any other information that may be of value in tracing lost property. A law providing for the regulation, along these lines, of pawnbrokers in this city, as well as of junkdealers and dealers in second-hand goods, is an imperative necessity. It is immediately apparent how valuable such a law would be in the tracing of stolen property and the detection of thieves, as well as how deterrent its effect is calculated to be upon thieves, by making the risk greater in disposing of the proceeds of a robbery. How far pawnbrokers are enabled to go, as the law stands to-day, was illustrated last fall. In this instance the police raided a pawnbroker who was suspected of being a "fence," and found the proceeds of no less than six separate burglaries in his shop.

There are many desperate criminals of all nations in New York—scoundrels who would think nothing of taking human life—perhaps more than in any other city in the world. Affrays with pistols and knives are of frequent occurrence, even though generally confined to men of the same nationality. To cope effectively with this element it is essential that legislation should be had requiring dealers in weapons of any character,—pistols daggers, knives with blades more than four inches long, slungshots, "blackjacks," brass knuckles, etc.,—to record at the time of any sale the name, address and description of the buyer, the name and address of the seller, the day and hour of the transaction, the description of the weapon sold and the price paid, and to make a complete return to the Police Department. Such a measure would have a deterrent effect upon a murderously minded man, and would prove of great value in tracing a felon after the commission of a crime. The burden of responsibility in regard to such legislation should be placed upon the sellers of weapons

and the pawnbrokers themselves, and a penalty should be provided, including revocation of license, for failure to report or for giving false information.

Legislation that probably never will be effected, but that would do more to remove the police from the corrupting influence of the politicians than all other measures combined, would be such as to take the election machinery out of the hands of the police. As matters stand at present the police and the crooked politicians are brought into intimate relations at the primaries and elections under just such conditions as give them the opportunities to co-operate for evil.

An important bureau of the Police Department is that of Repairs and Supplies, through which is purchased everything used in the service, from the pens and ink to the horses and patrol wagons, an expenditure of approximately $800,000 per year being involved. This bureau is at present in charge of the Fourth Deputy Commissioner, who has other important duties to perform as well. There should be a fifth deputy, a trained business man, whose entire attention might be devoted to the Bureau of Repairs and Supplies. The training a policeman receives does not fit him for a purchasing agent, and I know that the bureau is constantly imposed upon. Only a short time ago, for instance, the department advertised a contract for making some cases, the lowest bid being $400. Before the bid was accepted a firm was found to do the work for $175, and there was no question of graft in the matter, either, merely ignorance. The Bureau of Repairs and Supplies offers opportunities for dishonesty, however, and the city would save money by paying a salary to a fifth deputy competent to conduct the office on a business basis.

It is, of course, on the ground of economy that the application of the Police Department for a secret-service fund and an adequate patrol force is refused. The 800 more patrolmen essential to the safety of the city would mean an additional expense of approximately $800,000, and that of a secret service of potentially $100,000 per year, to the $15,000,000 that the department costs New York at present. A parallel instance of economy would be that of a man who should expend $1,500 in building a stable, and leave it without a roof to save an additional expense of $90. Statistics contained in the last report of the Comptroller show that the per capita cost of maintaining the department in 1899

was $3.33, while, according to the estimated population of the city at the beginning of the present year, the per capita cost is only $3.24. According to the same report, the cost of the maintenance of the public schools during this period has increased 108.07 per centum; that of the Fire Department 68.5 per centum, and that of the Department of Correction 67 per centum. New York is proud of its schools and of its Fire Department. It should have a Police Department of which it may have just reason to be proud.

No civilized community has ever been able to abolish gambling or the social evil; and so long as these vices remain unregulated a certain proportion of policemen will no doubt yield to dishonest opportunities. Nevertheless, the "system" as it once existed is considerably weakened. No policeman of whatever rank can to-day make good a promise to a lawbreaker of immunity from police interference, no matter what price he may pay, nor is there danger that a member of the force will be punished by his immediate superiors for refusing to co-operate in the spoliation of lawbreakers, if he has the courage to appeal to the Commissioner or his deputies. As for political leaders coming to headquarters to secure the transfer of policemen, as punishment or reward—that has been done away with altogether.

Reference has been made to the duties of the citizen in helping the Commissioner to bring about legislation furthering the efficiency of the Police Department. In the last analysis it comes to this: that the police are just as good or just as bad as the citizens make them, and if the better element of citizenship refuses to concern itself about the guardianship of law and order, it has no right to complain when the crooked element does. The Police Committee of Fifty did valuable service a year ago in assisting to secure the legislation by which the Commissioner has been able to begin some practical reforms in the Police Department, as it is now doing with respect to other measures at Albany, but it is the plain duty of every good citizen to familiarize himself with the work that is being done for the better government of his own city, and personally to do all that is possible to help that work along.

THEO. A. BINGHAM,
Police Commissioner.

THE NEW IRELAND.—III.

BY SYDNEY BROOKS.

THE stage on which the tragi-comedy of Irish life is enacted is an island somewhat smaller than the State of Indiana, somewhat larger than that of South Carolina. It is a country of soft, melancholy, almost depressing beauty, piteously eloquent of its hapless history, weaving a spell of plaintive enchantment in a mist of tears. I know of no land where the consciousness of humanity so colors the aspects of nature, where the thought of the past and all its mournfulness, of the strivings, failures, crimes of the dead and the living, so insistently obtrudes on the contemplation of mountain, lake and moor. On the luscious spreading pasture-lands of Meath and Kildare, where the bullock has made a solitude and called it prosperity; among the vast panoramas of heathery, stony, desolate hills in Kerry, with their gaunt, unconquered look; on the great treeless limestone plain that holds the centre of Ireland; in the heart of such miniature Paradises as Glengariff and Killarney, where all is rich with an exotic luxuriance; amid the islands off the southwest coast, where the Gulf Stream flows and tree-ferns, palms, bamboo and eucalyptus grow in the open air; gazing on some rolling, storm-swept expanse of peat-bog; among the jagged, flint-strewn headlands of Connemara and Donegal, that throw their shadow over the prismatic buffetings of the Atlantic; fishing on one or other of the countless lakes; at the sight of a ruined and abandoned farmhouse where, perhaps, some victim of the famine lay down to die—always and everywhere one feels the brooding presence of the lives that have been lived, of the history made and of the problems they have remorselessly bequeathed. The appeal of Ireland's beauty has in it, to my mind, a recurring undertone of wildness and tragedy.

To the trim and cultivated aspects of England, where all angles and corners have been smoothed away, the contrast she offers is complete. Her gray-green monotone has little or none of the variegated colorings that make the plump and smiling sister-isle a patch-work quilt. Her very stillnesses are different from those of England; they seem to tell, not of deep and rich placidity, of some happy cæsural pause, but of listlessness, despair, defeat. And the climate deepens the sense of forlornness. It is mild, humid, relaxing. Exposed to the full force of the southerly and westerly winds that blow from the Atlantic for nine months in every year, denuded of trees and almost wholly without any system of national drainage, Ireland is the predestined home of caressing rains, leaden and capricious skies, the sudden squall, and the soft, enfolding mist. Of the extremes of heat and cold she knows nothing; frosts and droughts are equally foreign to her normal experience; the characteristic of her climate is an equable, enervating humidity. It is a climate that impresses the casual traveller as inviting to inertia, as congenial to a spirit of lethargic fatalism, and as encouraging, and indeed excusing, the use of artificial stimulants. Its economic as well as its mental and moral influence on the people is very great. It has given Ireland a soil of extraordinary fertility, the best grazing-lands in the world, and an atmosphere peculiarly adapted for the bleaching of linens. Parts of Kerry, it is believed, are suitable for tea-planting; tobacco is grown in Navan. On the other hand, the excessive moisture is unfavorable to wheat and only a little less so to barley. The principal Irish crop is oats.

On this beautiful, romantic, depressing, rain-soaked, lake-riddled island lives a population of slightly over four million people. Sixty-five years ago they numbered eight millions; in sixty-five years, while the population of England and of Scotland has doubled, that of Ireland has been halved. And the appalling drain of emigration still continues; every year sees from thirty to forty thousand men and women fleeing from the country. Moreover, as one would surmise, it is the young, the vigorous, the fit who go; the unfit who remain. Something over ninety per cent. of the emigrants are over ten and under forty-five years of age, and not ten per cent. of them transplant themselves under the British flag. But emigration on this un-

paralleled scale is more than a direct loss. The account is not closed when you reckon merely the numbers of those who go, or the economic efficiency withdrawn with them, or even the international consequences of their settlement in a competitive country. You have also to consider the indirect toll they levy on the mental and physical vitality of those who stay; and what that toll amounts to the lunacy inspectors, the health statistics and the poor-law figures show but too plainly. The ratio of the insane per 10,000 of the population in England and Wales is 40.8, in Scotland 45.4, and in Ireland 56.2. Nearly 12,000 people die every year in Ireland from tuberculous disease —a rate per thousand almost double the figure for England and Wales; and one Irishman out of every forty-four is in receipt of rate aid. Moreover, the number of men and women over sixty-five years of age reaches the disastrous proportion of one in every eight of the population. Ireland is becoming a land of the aged and infirm, and of them alone. Her birth-rate is among the lowest in the world, a decimal point, and no more, higher than that of France; the Ireland of early and prolific marriages is altogether a thing of the past.

A few more words have still to be added to round off my present purpose of conveying a rough impression of the general conditions of the people. Ireland is, undoubtedly, a poor country, though the last quarter of a century has seen a slow but steady material progress. The average per capita income of the population has been estimated at $75, and in the barren and desolate West it is probably considerably lower. The average wages of agricultural laborers, of whom there are in Ireland some 150,000, works out at $2.75 a week. In the towns there are 79,000 tenements of one room occupied by over 230,000 people. In the country there are more than 10,000 cabins with only one window. Life in these hovels touches, perhaps, as low a state of civilization as is to be found anywhere in Europe outside of Sicily. Of the hundreds that a traveller comes across, those which I saw in County Mayo may be taken as typical—a cluster of eight or nine cabins, wretchedly thatched, built of unhewn stone badly cemented, standing some fifty yards from the roadway in a scene of the bleakest desolation. The soil all about is hostile, meagre, and studded with gray rock and stone. The nearest village is five miles away. To reach the huts you walk

up an unmade road that is half a ditch and half resembles a stone staircase after an earthquake, foul and reeking with mire and effluvia. By the side of the cabin doors are the inevitable manure heap and the winter stack of peat. As you pass into the doorway a flutter of fowls rushes out. The darkness is such that, except when silhouetted against the blazing hearth, you cannot at first make out who or what is there. Gradually three or four barefooted children reveal themselves, and an old man sitting motionless by the fire. Opposite the hearth, in a stall on fairly clean straw, is the family cow. The furniture, standing unevenly on the bare and sodden ground, is of the roughest. There is a tiny inner room where the father and mother sleep, the children herding together in the living-room. Two of them are coughing ominously; all have indigestion; their eyes are reddened with the peat smoke; and their teeth are abominable. How, one asks, do people in such conditions live? They rent, or owe rent for, a patch of ground, growing on it oats and potatoes year after year, until the soil is worn out and the crops blighted. Some rough commonage grazing and the right of cutting a certain amount of turf for fuel go with their holding. But it is not upon the farm they rely to make both ends meet. They may earn a little, but not enough, by the sale of a calf or pig or a few chickens; their main sources of income are harvesting in Ulster, Scotland and England, fishing, if they live on the coast, the weaving of homespuns or some other cottage industry, and contributions from their relatives in America. But, above all, they contrive to exist by cutting down their standard of living to the lowest possible point. Milk, potatoes, tea, oatmeal for porridge, some American flour and, as an occasional luxury, a slice or two of the worst American bacon form, with a little whiskey, their staple diet. There are 200,000 holdings in Ireland where the conditions I have roughly glanced at obtain. They are not, of course, to be taken as typical of the whole country; and one must always bear in mind, as a shrewd German observer has put it, that "the power of existing under miserable conditions of life, of eking out an existence and of propagating his species on soil where a Central European goat would die of hunger, has doubtless preserved the Irish people during the long period of scorn and oppression," and has become, one may add, so much an instinct that probably no Irish-

man is really as poor as his appearance, surroundings and mode of life would lead one to infer.

The area of Ireland amounts to a trifle over 20,000,000 acres. Of these over 14,500,000 acres, representing nearly seven-eighths of the total arable land, are meadow or permanent pasture; some 3,250,000 acres are bog, barren mountain, water, woods and plantations; 1,250,000 acres are under corn crops, with oats overwhelmingly in the lead; another million acres are devoted to green crops, chiefly potatoes (590,973 acres) and turnips (275,129 acres), with mangles, flax and cabbages far behind; and slightly under 11,500 acres are planted with fruit. These figures tell their own tale. Taken in conjunction with the fact that, in the last forty-five years, the number of milch cows has positively decreased while that of cattle under a year old has more than doubled, they prove that Ireland is a country not of farmers, but of stock-raisers. The Irish, indeed, have never been an agricultural people, nor are they to-day. They are cattle-breeders and cattle-speculators. Tillage, which nowhere in Ireland is scientifically pursued, has become over large areas virtually a lost art. The national occupation of the people, the one to which their instincts overwhelmingly incline, is the rearing, selling, grazing and export of cattle. It is at once their business and their form of speculation. What the bucket-shop is in America and football and horse-racing in England, that is cattle in Ireland. The dowries of the peasant girls in the West are frequently reckoned in heads of stock; servants invest their savings in cattle, much as in Norway they invest them in boats. Ireland, indeed, from the agricultural point of view, is little more than a ranch for the rearing of cattle, more than half of which are "finished" in England for the English market; and even her success in that line of industry depends very largely on the exclusion of Canadian and Argentine stock from the British ports. On the list of Irish exports of farm produce, of raw materials and of manufactured goods, live stock comes easily first; and among live stock it is the store cattle—cattle, that is, bought up young and unfinished by English dealers, taken over to England, and there grazed till they are ready for market—which, both in numbers and value, form the leading item. In round figures the exports of Irish live stock amount to $65,000,000 a year. Of this sum $25,000,000 is represented by store

cattle, about $17,000,000 by fat cattle, $6,000,000 by sheep and lambs, $6,000,000 by pigs, and $7,000,000 by horses. And this immense and fundamentally unwholesome predominance of pasture over tillage, of cattle-rearing over farming, has some economic results of the most disastrous significance. It means, roughly speaking, that throughout Ireland the best land is given up to bullocks and the worst to men; that the richest soil is unpeopled and uncultivated, while from the poorest a population without capital or technical knowledge, or any sound agricultural instinct, strives with unremitting inefficiency to wring the bare means of livelihood; and it helps to explain why the Irish, when they emigrate, turn their backs on the country and settle overwhelmingly in the towns.

In Ireland itself there are very few towns of any consequence. Belfast, with a population of 350,000, Dublin with 370,000, Cork with 100,000, Limerick with 50,000, Londonderry with 40,000 and Waterford with 26,000 head the list; and there are four or five others with just over 10,000 inhabitants apiece. Altogether about a third of the total population of the country lives in the towns, which in Ireland as elsewhere, though by no means so rapidly, tend to grow at the expense of the rural districts. Except in the hard-headed and industrial North, they do not impress the visitor with the sense of energy and prosperity. Dublin is in many ways a pleasing, even a captivating, city. It has that air and presence which no city which has once been a capital ever quite shakes off. As the seat of administration, the headquarters of justice, the centre of education, of art and letters, the old metropolis still attracts to itself the brightest intellects of the country and propagates a social atmosphere uniquely its own. But, even so, the life of the city is far from being the brilliant affair it was, and its slow economic decline has been even more pronounced. The time seems well in sight when a pint bottle of stout, bearing the name of Guinness, will be the sole as well as the foremost emblem of Dublin manufactures. Some air of a battle lost seems to brood over the city, and to touch its silent quays and rivers, its college and park, and its appalling slums with a sombre tone of decay. Waterford, though it possesses four good-sized bacon-curing establishments, is mainly occupied with the export of cattle and agricultural produce. Cork, an island and relaxing city, fringed with high-perched

suburbs, boasting four miles of quays, is also chiefly concerned in the export of butter, cheese and eggs to Bristol and the Welsh ports. But she has indigenous industries of her own—breweries and distilleries, ship-yards, tanneries, flour-mills, chemical-manure works and textile factories; and, more than any other city in the South, she has labored for the promotion of native industries. Limerick is the home of three of the largest bacon-curing firms in the country, and does, besides, a considerable trade in milling, butter-making and lace; but its prosperity is nothing like what it should be, and its noble position on the estuary of the Shannon, its nearness to the United States, and its equipment of quays, wharfage, graving and floating docks are advantages that have yet to be turned to the best account. It is not until one reaches Londonderry and Belfast that one feels oneself in contact with the atmosphere and problems of a modern industrial city. Londonderry, with its large coasting trade, its shirt-making industry, its fisheries, ship-yards, iron and brass foundries, flour-mills, breweries and distilleries, gives out an instant impression of confidence, energy and success; and the industrial record of Belfast, the Chicago of Ireland, constitutes one of the greatest and most inspiring achievements in the history of commerce. These two towns, in tone and spirit, in their social structure, their instinctive ways of looking at things, and their economic formation, stand in a category of their own and have little or no affinity with Limerick, Cork, Waterford or Dublin; while the gap that separates them from the smaller urban centres, that except in Ireland would not for a moment aspire to the name of towns, is the gap of the entire industrial revolution. I know nothing more disheartening than the life and appearance of the average Irish townlet of three or five thousand people. A surplusage of churches and drinking dens; no industries, no sports; littered, unkempt streets lined with evil-smelling cottages; no diversions except the assizes and an occasional fair, and the rare visit of a tenth-rate theatrical company; a few Protestant families of position forming a tiny, exclusive, and thoroughly bored clique of their own, and around them the Catholic masses whetting their minds on the eternal game of faction—such are the common features of Irish existence in the minor urban centres.

The point I wish to develop and emphasize is that Ireland

suffers from a lopsided national growth. Her industrial have failed to keep pace with her agricultural interests, and the interdependence of the two in the formation of a healthy national life is only just beginning to be recognized. There are many causes, natural and historical, to account for this. Ireland is poor in minerals, in coal especially. Her rivers, unlike the rivers of Italy, do not readily lend themselves to being harnessed. Her internal transit system is neither cheap, rapid, nor co-ordinated; and she lies within a few hours' steaming of one of the most highly industrialized nations in the world. Moreover, in the dark days of Protection, England deliberately strangled her nascent manufactures. Woollens, glass, cotton, sail-cloth, sugar-refining, shipping, all went—crushed out by legislation. Ireland has never recovered from that succession of staggering blows. They killed not merely her industries, but something far more valuable; they killed, or at least fatally impaired, the industrial instinct, and the character, the aptitudes and the kind of self-discipline and self-confidence that are essential to industrial progress. Over two-thirds of Ireland it is not too much to say that the problem of creating new industries or reviving old ones is a moral, even more than it is a technical or an economic, problem. Efforts that are little less than heroic are being put forth in an endeavor to grapple with it; and these, or some of them, I shall hope to pass in review later on. Meanwhile it is of the utmost importance to grasp the determinating facts of Ireland's economic condition. They are, briefly, that her greatest industry, agriculture, has taken the speculative form of stock-raising; so that, as has been intimated, the best land is thus monopolized by cattle and the inferior land alone left over for men; that except in the North, and on a meagre and more or less tentative scale in a few scattered ports, manufactures scarcely exist; that for those defeated in the battle for an agricultural livelihood there are left, in consequence, hardly any openings in the towns; and that the economic movement, which in happier and better-balanced countries takes the form of migration from the rural districts to the urban centres, thus assumes in Ireland the disastrous shape of emigration. Two vital problems emerge from these conditions. One is the problem of devising a system of farming that will keep as many men as possible on the soil in a position of comfort and of economic independence.

The other is the correlated problem of checking emigration by the encouragement of minor industries.

There is nothing more vital to the well-being of a nation than its educational system. Ireland has no educational system; it has merely an educational chaos. The defects of the primary schools may be seen on the very surface of the statistics. With about the same population as Scotland, Ireland has about twice as many schools and over 3,500 more head teachers. The inference that she is therefore twice as well educated is not, however, a sound one. The Irish percentage of illiteracy is twelve times as high as the Scottish figure. The explanation of these anomalies is very simple. The fierce and historic conflict of sects in Ireland has stimulated each denomination to provide its own schools. Thus, in a village just capable of supporting one good school you will find two, three and sometimes four. The Church of England will have one, the Presbyterians another, and the Catholics will require two—one for the boys and one for the girls. In this way a total of nearly nine thousand schools is easily reached. Over five thousand of them are attended by pupils of one sect only, and in the remainder one faith or the other is usually in a great majority, a "conscience clause" protecting the religious susceptibilities of the minority. The results are that the Irish primary schools, being far in excess of the requirements of the population, are among the worst built and the worst equipped; their management is wholly in the hands of the clergy; their teachers are miserably paid; the children play truant two days out of every five; and each successive generation is insensibly familiarized with the idea that sectarian exclusiveness is one of the natural conditions of civilized life. Redundant schools, starved and ill-taught teachers, clericalism in unchallenged control, an almost total lack of local interest, a curriculum wholly divorced from the economic needs and realities of the country, and, to crown all, a National Board of educational amateurs, nominated by Dublin Castle, insensible to Irish ideas and representations, deliberating in secret and decreeing without either consultation or explanation—such are the outstanding features of the Irish "system" of elementary education. Nor are the secondary schools in much better plight. There are in Ireland very few of those noble endowments which are the glory of England and America. The connection between

the primary and the intermediate schools is ludicrously imperfect, the latter being managed by an independent Board of their own, whose chief contribution to Irish education is a costly extension of the pernicious system of payment by results. With technical instruction only a beginning has been made; and all that I need at present say of the state of higher education is that there is only one University with any pretensions to be judged by the standards of modern scholarship, and that that one is a rallying-point for Protestantism and is, therefore, shunned by the Catholics, who form three-quarters of the population.

I am reminded by what I have just written that the fact which dwarfs all other facts about Ireland is that she is Catholic. She is far more Catholic than is implied in the bare statement that three-fourths of her people belong to the ancient communion. She is Catholic with an intensity unequalled—unapproached, indeed—by any other English-speaking people and unsurpassed by any people anywhere. An inquirer into Irish affairs will find in this phenomenon the most delicate and baffling of all the problems that beset him. He observes at once that in Ireland the priesthood has attained to a predominance in the secular sphere of every-day life such as is scarcely rivalled even in Spain or lower Quebec. He will endeavor, therefore, to discover how this power is used and to what extent the priests, by their training and their ideals, are fitted to wield it. He will seek to assess the influence of Catholicism upon the national character, and even to determine what type of Catholicism it is that flourishes in Ireland—whether it is the American type or the French or more nearly approaches that which obtains in Mexico. Recognizing that among a profoundly religious people no power can be greater than that of religion, he will inevitably ask from the Church a full account of her stewardship. It will be his business to ascertain, if possible, in what way she fulfils her mission of instructing and elevating the people; what part, if any, she plays in their political affairs; how far her teachings or her policy equip them with the character that is essential to material success; what effect the establishment she maintains produces upon the economic vitality of the masses, and the degree in which she encourages temperance, clear-thinking, virility, joyousness. These are questions that I propose to examine in some detail later on.

Meanwhile it will be more convenient to round off this superficial picture of Ireland's condition by noting some of the more obvious results of her connection with Great Britain. One of these results is that Ireland, though a poor country, is obliged to maintain one of the most expensive governments in the world. She is administered by an amazing medley of overmanned, overlapping Boards, with their headquarters in Dublin Castle. It is a system that has most of the vices of a bureaucracy and very little even of its mechanical efficiency. A Russian bureaucracy in Finland could not be more utterly divorced from the sympathies and confidence of the people it rules. The stronghold of a small minority, of a single class, almost of a single creed, overrun with placemen impenetrable to Irish ideas and Irish needs, uncontrolled by Parliament in London or by any representative body in Ireland, and presided over by a Viceroy who maintains that most demoralizing and contemptible of all social institutions, a sham Court,—I scarcely know what merit it possesses or what faults it lacks. With a slightly smaller population than Scotland, Ireland is saddled with nearly three times as many officials, a police force twice as large and costing $5,000,000 a year more for its upkeep, and a judiciary three times as expensive in proportion to population as the judiciary of England and Wales. An example is thus set of jobbery and extravagance that permeates the whole conduct of government in Ireland. Another result of the legislative union with Great Britain is that Ireland is grievously overtaxed. It is not that taxes are imposed upon her which are remitted in England, Scotland or Wales. The exact contrary is the case, certain taxes, mainly of an insignificant character, which are collected from the other parts of the United Kingdom, being remitted in favor of Ireland. Irish overtaxation is due to the fact that the capacity of the people to bear taxation is below that of the English, the Welsh or the Scotch, and that identical imposts fall upon her shoulders in consequence with a disproportionate weight. She contributes about one-eleventh of the British revenue, whereas her taxable capacity is not estimated to exceed one-twentieth; and the burden falls all the more heavily on her poor, inasmuch as over seventy per cent. of the amount extracted from her is derived from indirect taxes.

We have, then, in Ireland a poor and dwindling people, mainly

Catholic, with a low standard of living that is emphasized and perpetuated by their absorption in stock-raising, their ignorance of agriculture, and the backwardness of their industrial development. They are a keen-witted people, but wretchedly educated. They are governed by a nation that is and must always be temperamentally incapable of understanding them—a nation that has made in Ireland its one grand administrative failure. The English are Protestant, stupid and successful; the Irish are Catholic, imaginative, intelligent,—and failures. Against this ill-assorted and unproductive union the Irish have never ceased to rebel. It is not that they suffer from actual oppression of the kind that the Germans inflict upon the Poles or the Russians upon the Finns. The exceptional laws, safeguards and precautions that are applied to Ireland and are not applied to England are few in number, and on the whole of little account. The Irish grievances against England are preponderantly sentimental and not material. Administrative extravagance and overtaxation, and the perpetual sacrifice of Irish interests to the exigencies of English parties, are evils that cut less deeply into the popular consciousness than the lack of sympathy between rulers and ruled. The British spirit is repugnant to five-sixths of the Irish people, and the Irish spirit incomprehensible to almost all Englishmen; and the gulf that separates them never seems so impassable as when England is most bent upon doing Ireland justice. Seven centuries of turbulent history have, unquestionably, weakened the moral fibre, impaired the virility, and encouraged every instinct of dissimulation among the Irishry; but they have not robbed the Irishry of an abiding consciousness of nationality or of the conviction that they, and not their English rulers, are the rightful possessors of the soil of Ireland. The fight for the land and the fight for Home Rule still mark the goal of Irish endeavors.

SYDNEY BROOKS.

(To be Continued.)

THE ETHER OF SPACE.*

BY SIR OLIVER LODGE.

THIRTY years ago Clerk Maxwell gave a remarkable lecture on "Action at a Distance." Like most other natural philosophers, he held that action at a distance across empty space is impossible; in other words, that matter cannot act where it is not, but only where it is. The question "where is it?" is a further question that may demand attention and require more than a superficial answer. For it can be argued on the hydrodynamic or vortex theory of matter, as well as on the electrical theory, that every atom of matter has a universal, though nearly infinitesimal, prevalence, and extends everywhere; since there is no definite sharp boundary or limiting periphery to the region disturbed by its existence. The lines of force of an isolated electric charge extend throughout illimitable space. And though a charge of opposite sign will curve and concentrate them, yet it is possible to deal with both charges, by the method of superposition, as if they each existed separately without the other. In that case, therefore, however far they reach, such nuclei clearly exert no "action at a distance" in the technical sense.

Some philosophers have reason to suppose that mind can act directly on mind without intervening mechanism, and sometimes that has been spoken of as genuine action at a distance; but, in the first place, no proper conception or physical model can be made of such a process, nor is it clear that space and distance have any particular meaning in the region of psychology. The links between mind and mind may be something quite other than physical proximity, and in denying action at a distance across empty space I am not denying telepathy or other activities of a

* A Friday evening discourse at the Royal Institution of Great Britain on the 21st of February, 1908.

non-physical kind; for although brain disturbance is certainly physical, and is an essential concomitant of mental action, whether of the sending or receiving variety, yet we know from the case of heat that a material movement can be excited in one place at the expense of corresponding movement in another, without any similar kind of transmission or material connection between the two places: the thing that travels across vacuum is not heat.

In all cases where physical motion is involved, however, I would have a medium sought for; it may not be matter, but it must be something; there must be a connecting link of some kind, or the transference cannot occur. There can be no attraction across really empty space. And even when a material link exists, so that the connection appears obvious, the explanation is not complete; for when the mechanism of attraction is understood, it will be found that a body really only moves because it is pushed by something from behind. The essential force in nature is the *vis a tergo*. So when we have found the "traces" or discovered the connecting thread, we still run up against the word "cohesion," and ought to be exercised in our minds as to its ultimate meaning. Why the particles of a rod should follow, when one end is pulled, is a matter requiring explanation; and the only explanation that can be given involves, in some form or other, a continuous medium connecting the discrete and separated particles or atoms of matter.

When a steel spring is bent or distorted, what is it that is really strained? Not the atoms—the atoms are only displaced; it is the connecting links that are strained—the connecting medium—the ether. Distortion of a spring is really distortion of the ether. All strain exists in the ether. Matter can only be moved. Contact does not exist between the atoms of matter as we know them; it is doubtful if a piece of matter ever touches another piece, any more than a comet touches the sun when it appears to rebound from it; but the atoms are connected, as the planets, the comets and the sun are connected, by a continuous *plenum* without break or discontinuity of any kind. Matter acts on matter solely through the ether. But whether matter is a thing utterly distinct and separate from the ether, or whether it is a specifically modified portion of it—modified in such a way as to be susceptible of locomotion, and yet continuous with all the rest of the ether,—which can be said to extend everywhere, far beyond the

bounds of the modified and tangible portion called matter—are questions demanding, and I may say in process of receiving, answers.

Every such answer involves some view of the universal, and possibly infinite, uniform omnipresent connecting medium, the ether of space.

Let us now recall the chief lines of evidence on which the existence of such a medium is believed in, and our knowledge of it is based. First of all, Newton recognized the need of a medium for explaining gravitation. In his "Optical Queries," he shows that if the pressure of this medium is less in the neighborhood of material bodies than at great distances from them, those bodies will be driven towards each other; and that if the diminution of pressure is inversely as the distance from the dense body, the law will be that of gravitation.

All that is required, therefore, to explain gravity is a diminution of pressure, or increase of tension, caused by the formation of a matter unit—that is to say, of an electron or corpuscle; and although we do not yet know what an electron is—whether it be a strain centre, or what kind of singularity it is in the ether—there is no difficulty in supposing that a slight, almost infinitesimal, strain or attempted rarefaction should have been produced in the ether whenever an electron came into being; to be relaxed again only on its resolution and destruction. Strictly speaking, it is not a real *strain,* but only a "stress" since there can be no actual *yield,* but only a pull or tension, extending in all directions towards infinity.

The tension required per unit of matter is almost ludicrously small, and yet in the aggregate, near such a body as a planet, it becomes enormous.

The force with which the moon is held in its orbit would be great enough to tear asunder a steel rod four hundred miles thick, with a tenacity of 30 tons per square inch; so that if the moon and earth were connected by steel instead of by gravity, a forest of pillars would be necessary to whirl the system once a month round their common centre of gravity. Such a force necessarily implies enormous tension or pressure in the medium. Maxwell calculates that the gravitational stress near the earth, which we must suppose to exist in the invisible medium, is 3,000

times greater than what the strongest steel could stand; and near the sun it should be 2,500 times as great as that.

The question has arisen in my mind whether, if all the visible or sensible universe,—estimated by Lord Kelvin as equivalent to about a thousand million suns,—were all concentrated in one body of specifiable density,* the stress would not be so great as to produce a tendency towards ethereal disruption; which would result in a disintegrating explosion, and a scattering of the particles once more as an enormous nebula and other fragments into the depths of space. For the tension would be a maximum in the interior of such a mass; and, if it rose to the value of 10^{33} dynes per square centimetre, something would have to happen. I do not suppose that this can be the reason, but one would think there must be *some* reason, for the scattered condition of gravitative matter.

Too little is known, however, about the mechanism of gravitation to enable us to adduce it as the strongest argument in support of the existence of an ether. The oldest valid and conclusive requisition of an ethereal medium depends on the wave theory of light, one of the founders of which was Dr. Thomas Young at the beginning of last century.

No ordinary matter is capable of transmitting the undulations or tremors that we call light. The speed at which they go, the kind of undulation, and the facility with which they go through vacuum, forbid this.

So clearly and universally has it been perceived that waves must be waves of something—something distinct from ordinary matter—that Lord Salisbury, in his presidential address to the British Association at Oxford, criticised the ether as little more than a nominative case to the verb to undulate. It is truly *that*, though it is also truly more than that; but to illustrate that luminiferous aspect of it, I will quote a paragraph from the lecture of Clerk Maxwell's to which I have already referred:

"The vast interplanetary and interstellar regions will no longer be regarded as waste places in the universe, which the Creator has not seen fit to fill with the symbols of the manifold order of His kingdom. We shall find them to be already full of this wonderful medium; so full that no human power can remove it from the smallest portion of space, or produce the slightest flaw in its infinite continuity. It

* On doing the arithmetic, however, I find the necessary concentration absurdly great, showing that such a mass is quite insufficient.

extends unbroken from star to star; and when a molecule of hydrogen vibrates in the dog-star, the medium receives the impulses of these vibrations, and after carrying them in its immense bosom for several years, delivers them, in due course, regular order, and full tale, into the spectroscope of Mr. Huggins, at Tulse Hill."

(It is pleasant to remember that those veteran investigators, Sir William and Lady Huggins, are still at work.)

This will suffice to emphasize the fact that the eye is truly an ethereal sense-organ—the only one which we possess, the only mode by which the ether is enabled to appeal to us—and that the detection of tremors in this medium—the perception of the direction in which they go, and some inference as to the quality of the object which has emitted them—cover all that we mean by "sight" and "seeing."

I pass then to another function, the electric and magnetic phenomena displayed by the ether; and on this I will only permit myself a very short quotation from the writings of Faraday, whose whole life may be said to have been directed towards a better understanding of these ethereous phenomena. He is, indeed, the discoverer of the electric and magnetic properties of the ether of space.

Faraday conjectured that the same medium which is concerned in the propagation of light might also be the agent in electromagnetic phenomena. He says:

"For my own part, considering the relation of a vacuum to the magnetic force, and the general character of magnetic phenomena external to the magnet, I am much more inclined to the notion that in the transmission of the force there is such an action, external to the magnet, than that the effects are merely attraction and repulsion at a distance. Such an action may be a function of the æther; for it is not unlikely that, if there be an æther, it should have other uses than simply the conveyance of radiation."

This conjecture has been amply strengthened by subsequent investigations.

One more function is now being discovered; the ether is being found to constitute matter—an immensely interesting topic, on which there are many active workers at the present time. I will make a brief quotation from Professor J. J. Thomson, where he summarizes his own anticipation of the conclusion which in one form or another we all see looming before us, though it has not

yet been completely attained, and would not by all be similarly expressed:

"The *whole* mass of any body is just the mass of ether surrounding the body which is carried along by the Faraday tubes associated with the atoms of the body. In fact, all mass is mass of the ether; all momentum, momentum of the ether; and all kinetic energy, kinetic energy of the ether. This view, it should be said, requires the density of the ether to be immensely greater than that of any known substance."

Yes, far denser—so dense that matter by comparison is like gossamer, or a filmy imperceptible mist, or a Milky Way. Not unreal or unimportant—a cobweb is not unreal, nor to certain creatures is it unimportant, but it cannot be said to be massive or dense; and matter, even platinum, is not dense when compared with the ether.

Not till last year, however, did I realize what the density of the ether must really be,* compared with that modification of it which appeals to our senses as matter, and which, for that reason, engrosses our attention. I will return to this part of the subject directly.

Is there any other function possessed by the ether, which, though not yet discovered, may lie within the bounds of possibility for future discovery? I believe there is, but it is too speculative to refer to, beyond saying that it has been urged as probable by the authors of "The Unseen Universe," and has been tentatively referred to by Clerk Maxwell thus:

"Whether this vast homogeneous expanse of isotropic matter is fitted not only to be a medium of physical interaction between distant bodies, and to fulfil other physical functions of which, perhaps, we have as yet no conception, but also . . . to constitute the material organism of beings exercising functions of life and mind as high or higher than ours are at present—is a question far transcending the limits of physical speculation."

And there for the present I leave that aspect of the subject.

I shall now attempt to illustrate some relations between ether and matter.

The question is often asked: is ether material? That is largely a question of words and convenience. Undoubtedly the ether belongs to the material or physical universe; but it is not ordinary matter. I should prefer to say it is not "matter" at all.

* See the "Philosophical Magazine" for April, 1907.

It may be the substance or substratum or material of which matter is composed, but it would be confusing and inconvenient not to be able to discriminate between matter on the one hand, and ether on the other. If you tie a knot on a bit of string, the knot is composed of string, but the string is not composed of knots. If you have a smoke or vortex-ring in the air, the vortex-ring is made of air, but the atmosphere is not a vortex-ring; and it would be only confusing to say that it was.

The essential distinction between matter and ether is that matter *moves,* in the sense that it has the property of locomotion and can effect impact and bombardment; while ether is *strained,* and has the property of exerting stress and recoil. All potential energy exists in the ether. It may vibrate, and it may rotate, but as regards locomotion it is stationary—the most stationary body we know—absolutely stationary, so to speak; our standard of rest.

All that we ourselves can effect, in the material universe, is to alter the motion and configuration of masses of matter; we can move matter, by our muscles, and that is all we can do directly: everything else is indirect. This is worth thinking over by those who have not already realized the fact.

But now comes the question, how is it possible for matter to be composed of ether? How is it possible for a solid to be made out of fluid? A solid possesses the properties of rigidity, impenetrability, elasticity, and such like; how can these be imitated by a perfect fluid such as the ether must be? The answer is, they can be imitated by a fluid in motion;—a statement which we make with confidence as the result of a great part of Lord Kelvin's work.

It may be illustrated by a few experiments.

A wheel of spokes, transparent or permeable when stationary, becomes opaque when revolving, so that a ball thrown against it does not go through, but rebounds. The motion only affects permeability to matter; transparency to light is unaffected.

A silk cord hanging from a pulley becomes rigid and viscous when put into rapid motion; and pulses or waves which may be generated on the cord travel along it with a speed equal to its own velocity, whatever that velocity may be, so that they appear very nearly to stand still. This is a case of kinetic rigidity; and the fact that the wave transmission velocity is equal to the rotatory

speed of the material, is typical and important, for in all cases of kinetic elasticity these two velocities are of the same order of magnitude.

A flexible chain, set spinning, can stand up on end while the motion continues.

A jet of water at sufficient speed can be struck with a hammer, and resists being cut with a sword.

A spinning disk of paper becomes elastic like flexible metal, and can act like a circular saw. Sir William White tells me that in naval construction steel plates are cut by a rapidly revolving disk of soft iron.

A vortex-ring, ejected from an elliptical orifice, oscillates about the stable circular form, as an india-rubber ring would do; thus furnishing a beautiful example of kinetic elasticity, and showing us clearly a fluid displaying some of the properties of a solid.

A still further example is Lord Kelvin's model of a spring balance, made of nothing but rigid bodies in spinning motion. See his "Popular Lectures and Addresses," vol. 1, p. 239, being his "Address to Section A of the British Association" in 1884 at Montreal.

If the ether can be set spinning, therefore, we may have some hope of making it imitate the properties of matter, or even of constructing matter by its aid. But how are we to spin the ether? Matter alone seems to have no grip of it. I have spun steel disks, a yard in diameter, 4,000 times a minute, have sent light round and round between them, and tested carefully for the slightest effect on the ether. Not the slightest effect was perceptible. We cannot spin ether mechanically.

But we can vibrate it electrically; and every source of radiation does that. An electrified body, in sufficiently rapid vibration, is the only source of ether-waves that we know; and if an electric charge is suddenly stopped, it generates the pulses known as X-rays, as the result of the collision. Not speed, but sudden change of speed, is the necessary condition for generating-waves in the ether by electricity.

We can also, it is believed, infer some kind of rotary motion in the ether; though we have no such obvious means of detecting the spin as is furnished by vision for detecting some kinds of vibration. It is supposed to exist whenever we put a charge into the neighborhood of a magnetic pole. Round the line joining

the two, the ether is spinning like a top. I do not say it is spinning fast: that is a question of its density; it is, in fact, spinning with excessive slowness, but it is spinning with a definite moment of momentum. J. J. Thomson's theory makes its moment of momentum exactly equal to $e\,m$, the product of charge and pole; the charge being measured electrostatically and the pole magnetically.

How can this be shown experimentally? Suppose we had a spinning top enclosed in a case, so that the spin was unrecognizable by ordinary means, it could be detected by its gyrostatic behavior to force. If allowed to "precess" it will respond by moving perpendicularly to a deflecting force. So it is with the charge and the magnetic pole. Try to move either suddenly, and it immediately sets off at right angles to the force. A moving charge is a current, and the pole and the current try to revolve round one another—a true gyrostatic action due to the otherwise unrecognizable ethereal spin. The fact of such magnetic rotation was discovered by Faraday.

I know that it is usually worked out in another way, in terms of lines of force and the rest of the circuit; but I am thinking of a current as a stream of projected charges; and no one way of regarding such a matter is likely to exhaust the truth, or to exclude other modes which are equally valid. Anyhow, in whatever way it is regarded, it is an example of the three rectangular vectors.

The three vectors at right angles to each other, which may be labelled Current, Magnetism and Motion, respectively, or more generally E., H. and V., represent the quite fundamental relation between ether and matter, and constitute the link between Electricity, Magnetism and Mechanics. Where any two of these are present, the third is a necessary consequence. This principle is the basis of all dynamos, of electric motors, of light, of telegraphy, and of most other things. Indeed, it is a question whether it does not underlie everything that we know in the whole of the physical sciences; and whether it is not the basis of our conception of the three dimensions of space.

Lastly, we have the fundamental property of matter called inertia, which, if I had time, I would show could be explained electromagnetically, provided the ethereal density is granted as of the order of 10^{12} grammes per cubic centimetre. The elas-

ticity of the ether would then have to be of the order of 10^{33} c.g.s.; and if this is due to intrinsic turbulence, the speed of the whirling or rotational elasticity must be of the same order as the velocity of light. This follows hydrodynamically; in the same sort of way as the speed at which a pulse travelling on a flexible running endless cord, whose tension is entirely due to the centrifugal force of the motion, is precisely equal to the velocity of the cord itself. And so, on our present view, the intrinsic energy of constitution of the ether is incredibly and portentously great; every cubic millimetre of space possessing what, if it were matter, would be a mass of a thousand tons, and an energy equivalent to the output of a million horse-power station for forty million years.

The universe we are living in is an extraordinary one; and our investigation of it has only just begun. We know that matter has a psychical significance, since it can constitute *brain,* which links together the physical and the psychical worlds. If any one thinks that the ether, with all its massiveness and energy, has probably no psychical significance, I find myself unable to agree with him.

SUPPLEMENTARY REMARKS CONCERNING DENSITY OF ETHER.

I observe that it is surmised by at least one thoughtful and friendly critic that in speaking of the immense density or massiveness of ether, and the absurdly small density or specific gravity of gross matter by comparison, I intended to signify that matter is a *rarefaction* of the ether. That, however, was not my intention. The view I advocate is that the ether is a perfect *continuum,* an absolute *plenum,* and that, therefore, no local rarefaction is possible. The ether inside matter is just as dense as the ether outside, and no denser. A material unit—say an electron—is only a peculiarity or singularity of some kind in the ether itself, which is of perfectly uniform density everywhere. What we sense as matter is an aggregate or grouping of an enormous number of such units.

How, then, can we say that matter is millions of times rarer or less substantial than the ether of which it is essentially composed? Those who feel any difficulty here should bethink themselves of what they mean by the average or aggregate density of

any discontinuous system, such as a powder, or a gas, or a precipitate, or a snowstorm, or a cloud, or a Milky Way.

Lord Kelvin has estimated and, indeed, proved that the aggregate density of the whole material cosmos within recognizable gravitational reach of us must be infinitesimal; in other words, that the amount of matter in space, however prodigious it may be, must be infinitely less than the volume of space it occupies. And even of the visible cosmos—that is to say, of the material clustering within reach of our aided organs of vision—the density, though certainly not infinitesimal, is exceedingly small.

It may be clearer if I give some actual numbers. Lord Kelvin estimates the amount of matter within reach of the largest telescopes—say within a parallax of $\frac{1}{1000}$ second of arc, corresponding to a radius of 3×10^{16} kilometres—as equivalent to a thousand million of our suns; that is to say, to a total mass of 1.5×10^{36} tons distributed through a volume of 1.12×10^{59} cubic metres. So the density of the visible cosmos comes out of the order of 10^{-23} of that of water.

The masses themselves seem likely to be in the main distinctly of greater density than water; but grouped, or in the aggregate, they are excessively "rare"—far rarer than the residual gas in the highest-known vacuum. The whole visible cosmos is, in fact, as much rarer than what we call a high vacuum (say, the hundred-millionth of an atmosphere) as that vacuum is rarer than lead. If it be urged that it is unfair to compare an obviously discrete assemblage like the stars, with an apparently continuous substance like air or lead, the answer is that it is entirely and accurately fair; since air, and every other known form of matter, is essentially an aggregate of particles, and since it is always their average density that we mean. We do not even know for certain their individual atomic density.

The phrase, "specific gravity or density of a powder" is ambiguous. It may mean the specific gravity of the dry powder as it lies, like snow; or it may mean the specific gravity of the particles of which it is composed, like ice.

So also with regard to the density of matter, we might mean the density of the fundamental material of which its units are made—which would be ether; or we might, and in practice do, mean the density of the aggregate lump which we can see and handle; that is to say, of water, or iron, or lead, as the case may be.

In saying that the density of matter is small, I mean, of course, in this last, the usual, sense. In saying that the density of ether is great, I mean that the actual stuff of which these highly porous aggregates are composed is of immense, of well-nigh incredible density. It is only another way of saying that the ultimate units of matter are few and far between—*i.e.*, that they are excessively small as compared with the distances between them; just as the planets of the solar system, or worlds in the sky, are few and far between—the intervening distances being enormous as compared with the portions of space actually occupied by lumps of matter.

Here it may be noted that it is possible to argue that the density of a *continuum* is necessarily greater than the density of any disconnected aggregate: certainly of any assemblage whose particles are actually composed of the material of the *continuum*. Because the former is "all there," everywhere, without break or intermittance of any kind; while the latter has gaps in it—it is here, and there, but not everywhere.

Indeed, this very argument was used long ago by that notable genius, Robert Hooke; and I quote a passage which Professor Poynting has discovered in his collected posthumous works, and kindly copied out for me:

"As for *matter*, that I conceive in its essence to be immutable, and its essence being expatiation determinate, it cannot be altered in its quantity, either by condensation or rarefaction; that is, there cannot be more or less of that power or reality, whatever it be, within the same expatiation or content; but every equal expatiation contains, is filled, or is an equal quantity of *materia;* and the densest or heaviest, or most powerful body in the world contains no more materia than that which we conceive to be the rarest, thinnest, lightest, or least powerful body of all; as gold, for instance, and *æther*, or the substance that fills the cavity of an exhausted vessel, or cavity of the glass of a barometer above the quicksilver. Nay, as I shall afterwards prove, this cavity is more full, or a more dense body of æther, in the common sense or acceptation of the word, than gold is of gold, bulk for bulk; and that because the one, viz., the mass of æther, is all æther: but the mass of gold, which we conceive, is not all gold; but there is an intermixture, and that vastly more than is commonly supposed, of æther with it; so that vacuity, as it is commonly thought, or erroneously supposed, is a more dense body than the gold as gold. But if we consider the whole content of the one with that of the other, within the same or equal quantity of expatiation, then are they both equally containing the *materia* or body." —*From the Posthumous Works of Robert Hooke, M.D., F.R.S., 1705, pp. 171–2 (as copied in "Memoir of Dalton," by Angus Smith).*

Newton's contemporaries do not shine in facility and clearness of expression, as he himself did, but Professor Poynting interprets the above singular attempt at utterance thus:

"All space is filled with equally dense *materia*. Gold fills only a small fraction of the space assigned to it, and yet has a big mass. How much greater must be the total mass filling that space!"

The tacit assumption here made is that the particles of the aggregate are all composed of one and the same continuous substance—practically that matter is made of ether; and that assumption, in Hooke's day, must have been only a speculation. But it is the kind of speculation which time is justifying—it is the kind of truth which we all feel to be in process of establishment now.

We do not depend on that sort of argument, however; what we depend on is experimental measure of the mass, and mathematical estimate of the volume, of the electron. For calculation shows that however the mass be accounted for, whether electrostatically or magnetically, or hydrodynamically, the estimate of ratio of mass to effective volume can differ only in a numerical coefficient and cannot differ as regards order of magnitude. The only way out of this conclusion would be the discovery that the negative electron is not the real or the main matter-unit, but is only a subsidiary ingredient, whereas the main mass is the more bulky positive charge. That last hypothesis, however, is at present too vague to be useful. Moreover, the mass of such a charge would in that case be unexplained, and would need a further step; which would probably land us in much the same sort of ethereal density as is involved in the estimate which I have based on the more familiar and tractable negative electron.

It may be said why assume any finite density for the ether at all? Why not assume that, as it is infinitely continuous, so it is infinitely dense—whatever that may mean—and that all its properties are infinite?

This might be possible were it not for the velocity of light. By transmitting waves at a finite and measurable speed, the ether has given itself away, and has let in all the possibilities of calculation and numerical statement. Its properties are thereby exhibited as essentially finite—however infinite the whole extent of it may turn out to be.

OLIVER LODGE.

INVESTMENT SECURITIES.—V.

BY FINANCIER.

Collateral Trust Bonds.—The numerous issues of Collateral Trust Bonds which were brought out four or five years ago were among the concomitants of the peculiar conditions governing American railway finance at that time. This was the period of consolidations, mergers and combinations, as a result of which almost the entire railway mileage of the country became a part of or subject to the control of a few large systems.

One road would buy up a controlling interest in the stock of a competitor or connecting line, and would reimburse itself for the cost of the stock acquired by issuing its own bonds, collaterally secured by the shares of the purchased road. In several instances "holding companies" were incorporated to hold the stock, which, in turn, would be pledged to secure an issue of the company's collateral trust bonds.

In 1902, when control of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad was turned over to the Atlantic Coast Line, the purchase was financed by an issue of collateral bonds. Of the Louisville and Nashville's $60,000,000 of stock, $30,600,000 was acquired by the Coast Line, which paid for the same, in part, by issuing $35,000,000 of its bonds secured by the Louisville and Nashville stock.

The worth of a Collateral Trust Bond depends upon the credit and financial strength of the issuing corporation and upon the value of the collateral. At the time the Atlantic Coast Line-Louisville and Nashville Collateral Trust Four-Per-Cent Bonds were issued, the Coast Line Railroad was in a strong position, its stock was selling well above par, and the value of the Louisville and Nashville stock deposited with the trustee, measured by the market quotations then current, was in excess of the

amount of the bonds issued against it. The bonds were fairly well regarded and sold above ninety in the market.

The decline which has taken place in the market price of all railroad bonds is especially marked in the case of the Collateral Trust Bonds, and the Atlantic Coast Line Collateral Fours offer no exception. The fall in the price of these bonds is entirely natural. The depreciation of the Atlantic Coast Line's own stock indicates some weakening of its credit, and this is reflected in the decline in price of all the road's bonds. The Louisville and Nashville stock deposited as collateral has now a market value considerably below the amount of bonds against which it is pledged as security. Thus, as far as the Coast Line-Louisville and Nashville Collateral Fours are concerned, there has occurred a weakening in the strength of the issuing corporation and a fall in the value of the collateral. The decline in the price of the bonds reflects both conditions.

The Collateral Trust Bonds of a holding company seldom have the qualifications of a conservative investment. The Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Collateral Trust Four-Per Cent. Bonds furnish an illustration of this type of bonds. To indicate their real position, it is necessary to explain briefly the anatomy of the so-called Rock Island System.

The backbone of the system is the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway, an old and strong road, with a record of uninterrupted dividends extending over forty-six years. Radiating from the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway, and supplementing it in the vast territory the system serves, are the St. Louis and San Francisco, the Chicago and Eastern Illinois, the St. Louis, Memphis and Southeastern and half a dozen other roads, with a total of about 14,000 miles of track.

The Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad was formed to take over the stock of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway and the stock of the St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad.

A large proportion of the Railway's stock was acquired by the Railroad, and pledged to secure the issue of the latter's Collateral Trust Fours. The par value of the bonds issued is just equal to the par value of the stock deposited against them. In other words, each $1,000 bond is secured by ten shares of stock of $100 each. The stock of the Railroad is in turn owned by a third corporation, the Rock Island Company, and it is the control of

this Company which carries with it the control of the entire Rock Island System.

Consider, then, the position of the owner of a Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Collateral Trust Four-Per-Cent. Bond. He has the obligation of a company which has no property except the stocks of two railroad companies, against which bonds are issued to practically their full value. The strength of the issuing corporation is virtually *nil*. The bondholder must look entirely to the collateral for his security. In other words, the bondholder has no greater security than he would have had he an equal amount of the Railway Company's stock. But, while assuming all the risks of a shareholder, he enjoys none of a shareholder's advantages. He has no voice in the control of the road, nor any hope of his security's paying him a better income in the future should growth of the Railway's business enable it to pay greater dividends. The bondholder under no conditions is entitled to more than his four per cent. *per annum*.

It is not to be assumed from this that the Rock Island Collateral Fours are without value. The stock of the Railway has undoubtedly a substantial value, but it hardly affords the sort of security which should appeal to the careful bond-buyer. The bonds meet the requirements only of one who can afford to take the risks of a stock purchase.

Many Collateral Trust issues are secured not by the pledge of stocks, but by the pledge of bonds. If the bonds deposited as collateral are well secured, it follows that the issues which they protect are reasonably safe. The owner of the Collateral Trust security should carefully examine not only the indenture under which his bonds were issued, but also that under which the bonds pledged were issued. He should be convinced that additional amounts of the pledged bonds cannot be issued in a way to dilute the value of his collateral.

Collateral Trust Mortgages vary to a considerable degree in the protection they afford the bondholder. If the collateral is stock, full power should be given the trustee, in case of a default in the payment of interest or principal of the bonds, to vote the stock, to sell it or distribute it among the bondholders. Some mortgages permit the trustee to sell the collateral without the necessity of a technical foreclosure. In the case of a sale of stock, the bondholder is usually entitled to use his bonds in payment.

Some Collateral Trust Mortgages permit the issuing company to withdraw all or part of the collateral and substitute other securities of equal value, satisfactory to the trustee. Such a provision rather increases the risk which the bondholder assumes, because there is the possibility that, if substitution is made, good collateral may be replaced by that of less value, as a result of either misjudgment or fraud on the part of the trustee.

Equipment Trust Bonds.—Equipment Trust Bonds, or Notes as they are usually termed, are in some respects similar to Collateral Trust Bonds. They are secured, however, not by the pledge of other bonds or stock, but by the pledge of rolling-stock —by a lien on freight cars, locomotives, or coaches. Equipment Notes usually mature serially; that is, a certain amount of the issue becomes due every year or every six months.

Equipment Notes are issued by a railroad when it desires to purchase a rather large consignment of rolling-stock and has not sufficient funds in hand to meet the entire cost. The road will usually pay to the company manufacturing the equipment from ten to twenty-five per cent. of the cost, and it issues its notes, secured by the equipment, for the balance of the purchase price.

The title to the equipment is usually held by a trust company as trustee for the note-holders. The indenture under which the notes are issued provides that the road which puts out the notes may use the equipment, but that a brass plate shall be conspicuously placed on each car or locomotive stating that the trust company is the owner. As long as the road promptly pays the interest on the notes, as well as the principal of the ones which fall due every year, it may continue to use the equipment. The road must further keep the equipment insured and in good repair. It must replace any of the rolling-stock destroyed. Although a certain proportion of the issue is paid off annually, all of the equipment usually remains subject to the lien of the unmatured notes. While the rolling-stock will depreciate somewhat from year to year, the amount of notes outstanding against it is constantly decreasing, and, if the issue is properly protected, the value of the equipment is always in excess of the amount of notes unredeemed.

The life of cars or locomotives is comparatively short and thus the notes maturing at the latest date do not run a long period. Ten to fifteen years is about the average. Not until the

last note is paid off does the title to the equipment rest in the railroad.

Equipment Notes, as a class, constitute a fairly safe investment. By means of an issue of this kind the road is able to pay for its equipment on the instalment plan. As each payment is moderate in amount, the road is usually able to meet it without difficulty. In exceptional cases in which roads have been forced into bankruptcy, the receivers have been directed by the courts to continue the payment of the amounts due on the Equipment Trust obligations, in order that a default may not cause the road to be deprived of its equipment. If the equipment subject to the lien of the Notes is necessary to the proper operation of the road, the payments which must be met in order to retain the equipment will have almost a first claim on the earnings.

In some instances, the rolling-stock is owned by an association which leases it to a road under an agreement by the terms of which the road is obligated to pay as rental an amount sufficient to retire periodically a proportion of the cost with interest. The securities issued under such an arrangement do not vary greatly in principle from the Equipment Notes which are the direct obligation of the road.

The equipment obligations of the road seldom have as ready a market as the rest of the road's securities. Few issues are listed on the Stock Exchange. Each issue has many maturities, and the notes of each maturity have, of course, a different value from those of any other maturity. The entire issue is usually for a moderate amount. For these reasons, it would hardly be worth while to list them. The lack of a ready market and the short term for which they run are the objections raised against this class of securities. On account of these objections, perhaps, Equipment Notes may normally be purchased at prices returning a higher income than that which can be obtained from the purchase of a long-term Mortgage Bond offering the same degree of protection to the investor.

FINANCIER.

THE GERMAN BOURSE LAW.

BY G. PLOCHMANN.

In the special message sent to Congress on the 31st of January, 1908, the President of the United States condemns speculating in securities and commodities as a pernicious practice, and urges the introduction of legislative measures to remove this unhealthy feature from our business life. It is suggested that "we should study both the successes and the failures of foreign legislators who, notably in Germany, have worked along this line, so as not to do anything harmful"; and, indeed, the experience of Germany in this particular field of legislation furnishes a timely and interesting object-lesson.

The German Bourse Law of 1896 is the creation of the Agrarian Party, which considered speculation in grains and other commodities to be an unsettling and unfavorable market factor and detrimental to agricultural interests.

A similar view was taken of speculative transactions in stocks and securities, where, during former periods of excited activity, unhealthy signs of business immorality had appeared that rendered reform imperatively necessary.

A Bill, known as the Bourse Law of 1896, was passed in the Reichstag on June 22d, 1896, by the majority, composed of the Centre and Conservative Parties, against the opposition of Liberals and Socialists, and became operative on July 30th of the same year.

The New Law: Its Scope and Its Effect.—Three measures were introduced to check the evils of speculative trading:

1. Trading for future delivery in grain and other commodities, and in mining and industrial securities, and in the securities of all corporations having a capital of less than 20,000,000 marks

was prohibited. No longer were the markets to be influenced by the raids of professional gamblers, who, by selling commodities or securities which they did not possess, or by making fictitious purchases for which they did not intend to pay, worked havoc with the laws of supply and demand. No longer should it be possible for small corporations of doubtful standing to dispose of their shares at a substantial premium, by creating an artificial demand for their own stock, thus attracting the money of guileless investors.

2. An addition to this measure was the so-called Bourse Register. Banks, brokers and investors who intended to trade in futures, where such trading was still permitted under the new law, had the option of entering their names in this register for an entrance fee of 150 marks, and an annual fee of 25 marks, and they were then legally bound to fulfil all obligations arising out of such transactions. If the name of one of the parties to a contract did not appear on the Bourse Register, such contract was void and the settlement of a claim could not be enforced by law. It was expected that this Register would be used only by those engaged in financial affairs whose standing fully qualified them to deal on the Stock Exchange, and that all undesirable persons would be deterred from filing their name, as that might publicly brand them as professional gamblers and jeopardize their reputation.

3. To complete the work of the anti-gambling crusade, the restrictions already imposed upon trading for future delivery were rendered more severe in 1900 by a new law (Section 764 of the German Civil Code), which provided as follows:

"If a contract for the future delivery of commodities or securities has been closed with the intention that the difference between the price agreed on and the Stock Exchange or market price at the time of delivery shall be paid by the loser to the winner, such contract is to be considered as a wager. This shall also apply if only one of the contracting parties intends that the difference should be paid and the other party knows or should know such intention."

According to the Gambling and Betting Act (Section 762 of the German Civil Code):

"No liability can be established through gambling or betting. Money lost through gambling or betting cannot be recovered on the plea that no liability existed."

It will readily be seen that the new law placed gambling on the Stock Exchange on a par with gambling at cards or on the race track, and denied its devotees all further consideration.

To protect irresponsible persons against their own errors of judgment, to weed out undesirable manipulators, to purify business life: that was what the well-meaning German legislators fondly hoped to accomplish—the familiar old tune, that has been sounded since the days of the tulip mania at different times in every country. Alas! "the best laid schemes of mice and men gang aft a-glee." The objections of those who were opposed to the passage of these measures have been justified by the financial history of the last twelve years. The Bourse Law of 1896 has proved the most disastrous failure in the economic life of the German people, and has destroyed the prestige of the Berlin Stock Exchange for years to come.

Prior to the enactment of the Bourse Law, the bulk of all Stock Exchange transactions consisted of trading for the account. A settlement took place at the end of every month, when commitments were either liquidated or carried over to the new account, very much as is done in London twice a month. From the character of the daily trading a fairly precise *guess* could be formed of the financial requirements that would have to be met at the approaching settlement, and preparations could accordingly be made to meet the demand in such a way as to minimize the strain upon the money market. This task was considerably simplified through the accumulation of trades during a whole month, of which many could eventually be compensated without transfer of capital.

It must not be inferred from this that these settlements always passed off quite smoothly; on the contrary, they proved very trying at times when money was also in brisk demand for other purposes. But it is not too much to say that the liquidation, all over the country, of the monthly account, that used to run into quite large proportions in active times, could in fairly normal times be accomplished without creating more than a temporary flutter in the money market. Arrangements for monthly renewal loans were made all through the month, and money that could not be profitably employed in other channels readily found its way to the principal cities of the country, thus helping to satisfy the needs of the Stock Exchange settlements.

The restrictions imposed upon trading for the account changed all this. Transactions for future delivery which could be settled, as heretofore, once a month, were now limited to a comparatively small number of securities, principally those of large banks and transportation enterprises. By far the majority of all securities listed on the Board were outclassed under the new rules, and could henceforth be dealt in only on a cash basis. Every day became a settling day now, with more or less extensive requirements of capital that had to be provided at short notice. People in this country, where the highest rates for accommodation are paid, can appreciate what that means.

To corroborate once more the time-honored experience that laws are made to be evaded, a subterfuge was discovered to get around the embargo put upon trading for the account which increased the demand for ready money.

A deal in futures, according to the new law, is a contract which provides that the delivery of securities or commodities, as well as the payment of the price, shall be put off to some future date, agreed upon by the contracting parties. These two characteristics, according to legal definition, go to make up a time bargain. As long as the delivery *only* was postponed, but the purchase price paid at once, the contracting parties would not violate the law.

A new practice of trading followed this discovery. In almost all the listed securities, trading for future delivery was resumed in spite of the restrictions imposed by the law. Such transactions were disguised in the following way:

Supposing a man of good repute and standing, but not in possession of sufficiently large cash resources to pay for all his commitments, wanted to operate in that section of the market where trading for the account was unlawful; all he had to do was either to pledge his good credit or put up reasonable margin with his brokerage house or bank and have his orders executed under a special arrangement, whereby the delivery of all securities bought or sold for his account was to be postponed to some future date in his option, whilst his account was to be charged at once for the full purchase price or be given credit for amounts realized on sales. The law enforced cash transactions, but it could not enjoin commission houses from advancing their own cash to clients whose business they wished to retain.

Although these pay-up-at-once-and-deliver-when-you-like transactions did not violate the letter of the law, they once more opened the door to stock jobbing, short sales and gambling for a turn; and differed from the prohibited form of trading only in that they were harder to finance.

The increased demand for currency coming from the Stock Exchange has, without doubt, greatly intensified the acute monetary stringency with which Germany has had to contend during recent years, owing to its rapid expansion in the industrial field.

The private bankers and brokerage houses soon found the new conditions too onerous for their limited resources of capital. An unequal struggle set in between them and their powerful competitors in the brokerage business, the Joint Stock Banks. The smaller houses became either entirely dependent upon the Banks for help to enable them to carry on their business or had to go out of business altogether.

From the statistics published by the German Bankers' Association one may learn that in 1891-1896, the number of private bankers decreased by 32, and in 1897-1902 by 125; whilst in 1891-1896 the number of Public Banks increased by 65, and in 1897-1902 by 207. These figures bear witness to a predominance of large aggregations of capital over smaller ones on the floor of the Stock Exchange, which surely is not desirable. Valuable connections that had carefully been fostered for years were broken up or diverted to foreign markets. Being deprived of an active speculative interest and of many of its former leaders and their following, the market became highly susceptible to unfavorable developments and rumors; and, in the absence of all steadying influence, any adverse factors were accompanied by fluctuations such as had rarely been witnessed in former times.

The outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war, for instance, in which German politics were hardly involved at all, was followed by a much more severe decline on the Berlin Bourse than the one which took place in Paris and London, although French capital had a much more direct interest in the success of the Russian arms.

Not less destructive to legitimate business was the effect directly attributable to the introduction of the Bourse Register and the extension of the Gambling and Betting Act to fictitious time bargains. It was found that the less prominent private bankers,

who also accepted money on deposit, did not care to file their names on the Register, for fear that their reputation as conservative bankers might become injured.

Since the Gambling Act was extended to trading for a difference, bankers and brokers did not care to trade in stocks and securities, as they preferred not to run the risk of losing their own money, as they might do if a customer should fail to make good an eventual loss and secure his immunity by pleading in Court that his name was not on the Bourse Register, or that he only wanted to take advantage of the fluctuations in the market. In quite a number of cases, the protection of this unjust law was resorted to by persons who had been identified with stock operations for years.

German capital was diverted to the financial centres of other countries, where, unhampered by legislative interference, it might find such scope as had been denied it at home. During the years following the enactment of the Bourse Laws, German capital amounting to many millions of dollars went to London and New York, and were there invested in railroad securities or in shares of industrial corporations and mines, which proved a great injury to Germany, as a very large proportion of this money left the home country never to return. Thus it can be seen that the movement of funds through bank channels was greatly diminished, which resulted in interrupting the success of many financial undertakings.

Among business men the Bourse Law came to be regarded with the utmost apprehension, and the whole financial community combined in rare unanimity to take up the fight for a thorough revision of the law. The trend of popular feeling is best illustrated by a reference to the annual reports of the principal banks. Following are a few quotations:

"The prices of all industrial securities have fallen. This decline has been felt all the more as, by reason of the ill-conceived Bourse Law, it struck the public with full force without being softened through covering purchases of speculative interests."—*From the report of the Deutsche Bank for 1900.*

"A serious political surprise would cause the worst panic, because there are no longer any dealers to take up the securities which, at such times, are thrown upon the market by the speculating public."—*From the report of the Deutsche Bank for 1904.*

"In our last report, we referred to the great danger which may be

brought about through delaying the revision of the Bourse Laws, and we are now pointing to it again because we consider it our duty to impress again and again a wider circle of the public with the economic value of the Stock Exchange, and its important relation to our financial preparedness in times of war."—*From the report of the Deutsche Bank for 1905.*

"If it had still been necessary to furnish proof of the regrettable fact that the German Bourses are no longer able to accomplish their task—equally important to the welfare of the people as to the standing of the Empire—the trend of events during the past financial year in general, and the result of the last German Government issues in particular, would have furnished that proof."—*From the report of the Deutsche Bank for 1906.*

"The danger, which lies in the ban put on speculation, especially in the prohibition of trading for future delivery in mining and industrial securities, will become manifest to the public if, with a change of economic conditions, the unavoidable selling force cannot be met by dealers willing and able to buy. It will then be too late to recognize the harmful effects of the Bourse Law."—*From the report of the Dresdner Bank for 1899.*

"The unfortunate Bourse Laws continue to be a grave obstacle to business activity."—*From the report of the Disconto-Gesellschaft for 1902.*

"The Bourse will not be able to resume its important economic functions till the restrictions upon trading for future delivery have been removed."—*From the report of the Disconto-Gesellschaft for 1903.*

The Bourse Law has been the all-absorbing topic of financial discussion in recent years. Thanks to the unremitting efforts of public-spirited men, the Government appears to have at last seen the folly of continuing its mistaken policy, and has promised a thorough revision of the Bourse Law which is now before the Reichstag and will, no doubt, be passed upon within the next few weeks.

G. PLOCHMANN.

A CRISIS IN THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN ARMY.

BY LOUIS LIVINGSTON SEAMAN.

In time of peace the American people will never tolerate the maintenance of a large standing army, its presence being considered, justly or unjustly, a menace to republican institutions. It is therefore more important to us than to any other nation to have the most perfect and efficient military system in the world, a system sufficiently elastic to permit of rapid expansion in the emergency of war, when the great majority of its working forces must be drawn from civil life. The machinery for such an organization must of necessity be very complex, but there is no single factor in its construction more essential for its success than its Medical Department. The records of wars for the last two centuries show the mortality from disease to be five times greater than from the casualties of battle; and that disease has decided the issue in more campaigns than have bullets. History proves that of every 100 men who fall in war, 20 die from battle casualties, while 80 succumb to disease. The proportion in the last Russo-Turkish war was 80,000 from disease to 20,000 from wounds. In the Crimean war the Allied Forces lost 50,000 from disease and 2,000 from bullets, in a period of six months. Almost parallel conditions prevailed in our own army in the Valley of the Chickahominy during the long waiting stages before the final battles of our Civil War. In that conflict, with its hundreds of thousands of fatalities, three-quarters resulted from disease. During the French campaign in Madagascar, in 1894, 14,000 men were sent to the front, of whom 29 were killed in action and over 7,000 perished from disease. The English losses in the Boer war in South Africa were ten times greater from disease than from bullets. But the crowning exhibition of imbecility

was reserved for the United States in its recent war with Spain (opera bouffe campaign), when fourteen men were needlessly sacrificed to ignorance and incompetency, for every one who died on the firing line or from battle casualties. The nominal mean strength of our army was about 170,000, while the number of hospital admissions on September 10th, 1898, was over 158,000, or 90 per cent. of the entire force; while 2,649 soldiers died within three months in the pest camps of their native land, without leaving the country.

On the 10th of October, 1905, the Surgeon-General furnished me the following vital statistics of the United States Military Expeditions for the year 1898:

	Deaths from Battle Casualties.	Disease.
In the Philippine Islands	17	203
In Puerto Rico	3	262
In Cuba	273	567
In the U. S. home camps, etc	..	2,649
Total Deaths	293	3,681

or, in other words, 1 from casualties to nearly 14 from disease.

In Puerto Rico, where, according to this report, three men were killed, 262, or nearly a hundred times as many, died from disease. The number of hospital admissions there, as in the Philippines, nearly equalled the strength of the entire invading army, and the camps, from one end of the island to the other, were pestiferous hotbeds of disease before they had been occupied a month; so that, had the bugle sounded for action, only a small percentage of units could have responded to the call. As in Cuba, and the Philippines, the army of invasion was little more than a peripatetic hospital. It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader of the pathetic conditions prevailing in the home camps, where the vast majority of our forces were concentrated, and mustered out, without having seen a single campaigning hardship abroad, or hearing the hum of a hostile ball. The names of Camp Alger and Chickamauga, Tampa and Black, will be remembered as national disgraces. The fact that 2,649 soldiers, selected only a few weeks previously on account of their splendid physical condition, had, as a reward for their patriotism, the bugle notes of taps sounded over their graves, and that to-day 43,000 pension claims have been issued, or are pending in the Pension Office of the United States, as a result of our almost bloodless war with Spain, tells more eloquently than any

argument of the ignominious failure of our Medical Department and of the shameful neglect of our government to furnish proper care for its ostensible guardians.

That this wholesale and needless slaughter of innocents was almost totally unnecessary was overwhelmingly proved by the statistics of the Russo-Japanese war, where, in a conflict under conditions far more trying, the ratio of losses was completely reversed. In that titanic contest it was shown how an army, which forty-two years ago fought with bows and arrows, and with coats of mail such as were used by the soldiers of the Emperor Charles V in the sixteenth century, had, by adopting the sanitary science of modern days, lost only 27,168 from disease, to 58,887 from battle casualties, or more than 2 from battle casualties to 1 from disease, as against the historical record of 5 from disease to 1 from battle casualties. This splendid result was gained largely on account of the practical application of sanitary and hygienic laws, enforced by an adequately equipped, trained and authorized Medical Department. Japan was quick to realize that upon the medical officer devolved the duty of *preventing* disease, and his specific part in maintaining the health of the units of the army made him a most effective factor in the military establishment.

Until our government recognizes that the most vulnerable point of our army lies in the failure to recognize that the prevention of disease is the most important guarantee of its preservation and efficiency, there can be little hope for improvement. War is inseparable from incidental evils of a contagious and infectious character, and thorough preparation is the serum that will either prevent, alleviate or cure them. Armed with this prophylactic antidote, and with our splendid geographical isolation, America would be not only safe, but invincible. The horrors of war are, or should be, proportionate to the progress of civilization. In modern times some of the barbarities have been assuaged by the "lex non scripta," the recognized code of civilized nations, supplemented by the Geneva Convention, by which nations have bound themselves to recognize the neutrality of officers of the Red Cross, so that many of the most revolting features of war have been removed. Statistics prove, however, that, except in the war between Russia and Japan, the greatest enemy of both opposing armies, disease, still retains its stronghold.

The tardy recognition of this truth resulted in the introduction in Congress of a measure entitled, "A Bill to Increase the Efficiency of the Medical Department of Our Army." Careful study of this measure discloses the lamentable fact that, aside from abolishing the system of employing contract surgeons, and establishing a provision for a reserve corps, it fails to advocate a really redeeming feature. The lessons of our own dreadful failures in the past, as well as of the brilliant successes of the Japanese, seem to have fallen on absolutely deaf ears, and to have been productive of no reform. The same antiquated policy of the Medical Department is upheld in this bill, a policy based on the theory that the *cure* of disease, rather than its *prevention,* is the duty of the medical officer. The phenomenal strides of sanitary science, made since the discovery of the microbic origin of disease, have been utterly ignored, and the medical officer, who should battle with the foe that in the past has killed 80 out of every 100 that fall in war, continues to be relegated to the rear, where his recommendations may be overruled by a line officer, ignorant of the first principles of the science of sanitation or preventive hygiene. The officers of infantry, of cavalry, of engineering or even of the signal service can issue their orders and have them obeyed, although, together, they represent that part of the army which kills but twenty per cent. of those that die in war; while the medical officer, who has to fight a foe that is four times more deadly in its ravages, cannot issue a single order that will protect the health of the soldier, but can merely make a recommendation, which the commanding (line) officer may cast aside at will.

In the Japanese war the Medical Department of the army had its independent transport; it had supervision over the commissariat; and the authority of the medical officer was never called in question; with the result that the scandalous squandering of life from preventable causes was stopped. Contagious and infectious diseases were reduced to a minimum, although military exigencies often compelled encampment on infested sites from which the enemy had been driven. In almost every great battle the Japanese were compelled to care not only for their own dead and wounded, but also for those of the enemy who had fallen into their hands. In addition to their own invalided men, 67,000 sick or wounded Russians were sent to Japan and cured, and in

their own army a health record was made, heretofore unheard of in the annals of war.

All these facts were well known in Washington shortly after the close of the Russo-Japanese war, my reports to that effect having been substantiated later by the Military Attaché of our Government. Yet in the face of this evidence a measure is now before Congress "To Increase the Efficiency of the Medical Department," which utterly ignores these memorable lessons, and which, if passed, will leave the department in the same prehistoric and imbecile state that has characterized it since its inauguration. Instead of keeping pace with the advancement of scientific medicine, it has in the last 150 years actually retrograded. On September 5th, 1777, "A Board of War" ordered the republication of a small pamphlet written by Dr. Benjamin Rush, entitled "Directions for Preserving the Health of Soldiers, Recommended to the Consideration of the Officers of the Army of the United States," which contains in its half dozen pages more practical common sense upon the subject of military sanitation than is to be found in all the present Rules and Regulations governing the Medical Department of the army to-day. It begins as follows:

"Fatal experience has taught the people of America that a greater proportion of men have perished from sickness in our army than have fallen by the sword. The last two campaigns have produced melancholy proofs of this assertion. . . . The gallant youth who had torn himself from the arms of his parents or the partner of his joys; who had plighted his life to his country in the field; and who, perhaps, in the enthusiasm of his military ardor had courted death from a cannon ball—was often forced from the scene of action and glory by the attack of a fever, and obliged to languish for days or weeks in an hospital; and, at last, to close his eyes, deprived of the sweet consolation of a dying soldier, the thought of ending his life in the arms of victory, or in an act of just resentment against the enemies of the liberty of his country. . . . I maintain that the mortality from sickness in camps is not necessarily connected with the soldier's life; it was unknown to the armies of ancient Greece and Rome. Their armies had no diseases peculiar to themselves; nor were the diseases, to which their soldiers were subject, attended with any peculiar symptoms. But the munificence of the Congress, and the skill of Physicians and Surgeons, will avail but little in preventing mortality from sickness among our soldiers, without the concurrence of the line officers of the army. Your authority, gentlemen, is absolutely necessary to enforce the most sanitary plans and precepts for preserving the health of the soldier. Your own personal safety is concerned, . . . but

if this were not the case, I am persuaded humanity and patriotism will not plead in vain in favor of those brave fellows whose lives are committed to your care by the suffrages of your country."

Then follow minute particulars and directions under various headings, which, had they been enforced in our Spanish and American Civil War, would have resulted in returning our armies to their homes at the close of those campaigns in better condition than when they departed, except, of course, in the case of the killed and wounded who fell as the legitimate victims of war.

The measure now pending before Congress advocates a slight increase in the commissioned personnel of the medical corps, provides for a more rapid flow of promotion and establishes a so-called Medical Reserve Corps, but there is no essential feature that will inject life into the department and qualify it to prevent a repetition of its former deplorable record in the emergency of another war. It contains no single provision that will benefit or protect the health of the fighting man in the ranks. It gives the medical officer no increased authority to enforce necessary sanitation and hygiene. It contains no provision for the organization of a department of pharmacy which should have charge of the hospital records and of surgical and hospital supplies, thereby relieving the Medical Department of the clerical work which now makes its officers little more than property clerks. It contains no provision for a department of sanitation that could prevent the *introduction* of disease, and of vastly greater importance than all the other medical departments combined. It contains no provision that will prevent a line officer from dumping a shipload of medical supplies on the wharf at Tampa and reloading the ship with mules, and then ordering the army to proceed to the front without the tentage and hospital supplies necessary for the protection of the wounded. It includes no clause that will prevent an ignorant Secretary of War from again holding up a glass of water containing, as had been proved, typhoid bacilli, and from stultifying himself by saying, "Why, it looks all right to me." Neither does it comprehend a provision that will prevent a Major-General from blue pencilling a requisition made by a Deputy Surgeon-General, for more nurses and medical officers, only to find, a few weeks later that four times the number called for by the original requisition had to be supplied. The Bill makes no provision for in-

spection of the Medical Department by competent medical officers. That duty is now performed by line officers. An officer of the line is no more competent to pass upon medical questions, or the proper treatment of the sick and wounded, than a medical officer is competent to critically report upon the building of an entrenchment, or the angle of a gun in indirect fire.

Will nothing ever awaken our authorities from their Rip Van Winkle dream, and arouse them to an appreciation of the requirements of the situation? The discovery of the microbic origin of disease by Pasteur, Koch and Lister, and the finding of the secret key of sanitation seem to have had no more effect in bringing about a reform than have our dreadful experiences and losses in the past, which later events have shown to be practically unnecessary. The fundamental basis of any effective reform must contain a provision conceding to the medical officer authority in his own department, authority, *not to command troops,* but to compel obedience to sanitary laws in barracks or camps, on the march or in bivouac, so they shall be able to respond to the command of others. Until this is done, the Medical Department will remain what it is to-day, a lamentable and deplorable failure, and all petty measures passed by Congress to increase its efficiency will avail nothing. Without heed to homes made desolate, and to the economic loss of valuable lives uselessly sacrificed, that might be saved for breadwinners in industrial pursuits, America will continue its insane policy of preferring pensions to prevention. As a result of our almost bloodless conflict with Spain, the rolls of our Pension Office to-day carry the names of 24,000 pensioners, over 19,000 of whom are invalids or survivors of the war; and over 18,000 additional claims are now pending, although the total of the Cuban army of invasion was only 20,000 men. We paid in pensions last year $146,000,000, and the appropriation estimated for this year has increased to $151,000,000. More than half of this monstrous outlay could have been saved by an efficient Medical Department. No one is idiotic enough to believe that, had our home camps been under the supervision of the New York Board of Health, such disgraceful records of sickness and mortality would have resulted. And why? Simply because that Board would have had the power to enforce the sanitation that would have kept the men in a condition of vigorous health.

It is a matter of history that when competent medical officers, bacteriologists (one of whom had been an assistant in Koch's Laboratory in Berlin for four years), volunteered to set up at Camp Alger the simple plant that could have prevented the lamentable losses, their proposal was "disapproved" by the red-tapism of the Regular Establishment for the reason given that "the officers selected for the work were not commissioned, but enlisted," and "it would violate all traditions of the army to do this work in this manner," also adding that "it was useless to establish a bacteriological laboratory in the field, as it could not be of any practical benefit." So, in sight of the Capitol dome at Washington, disease was allowed to run rampant, with nothing, *absolutely nothing,* being done to find the source of infection or prevent its spread. Hundreds of brave men died, victims of this governmental neglect, who by the exercise of sanitary precautions might have been saved to their families as breadwinners; and thousands were invalided who might to-day have been producers instead of pensioners.

In discussing these questions in the office of the President in Washington, a few days ago, the only argument which the Chairman of the Military Committee of the House of Representatives advanced against these reforms, was that they would entail additional expense, and the ratio of high-ranking officers would be greater in the Medical Department than in the other departments of the army. In connection with this assertion the following statistics are interesting.

There are now six Major-Generals of the line, with a total of 3,018 officers of the line; cavalry artillery and infantry. Ratio of Major-Generals to all other officers of the line, 1:503. Brigadier-Generals of the line 16; total officers 3,018; ratio, 1:188. Adjutant-General's Department, 24; ratio of Major-Generals 1:23. Ratio of Brigadier-Generals 1:23. Inspector-General's Department, total 17; ratio 1:16. Judge Advocate's Department, total 12; ratio, 1:11. Quartermaster's Department, total 296; ratio, 1:295. Subsistence Department, total 44; ratio, 1:43. Pay Department, total 53; ratio, 1:52. Corps of Engineers, total 188; ratio, 1:187. Ordnance Dapartment, total 85; ratio, 1:84. Signal Corps, total 46; ratio, 1:45. Medical Department, total 322; ratio, 1:321. Medical Department, as per Bill now before Congress and known as the Cocks' Bill, total 486; ratio of Major-Generals 1:485. Ratio of Brigadier-Generals 1:97, or a *smaller* rate than any other staff department, excepting the Quartermaster's and the Engineer Corps.

Thus is one argument against improved sanitary service re-

futed. Mr. Hale of Maine recently stated in the Senate, that "wars past or present, including pensions, represented 70 per cent. of the total revenues of the Government." One stands aghast at the apathy of the Government when it is considered that the Medical Department fights the foe that kills the 80 per cent. of the victims of war, and that if invested with proper authority, the department might save four-fifths of this dreadful loss, both in lives and in pensions. Aside from any humanitarian considerations, when it is demonstrated that the actual saving in pensions would amount in twenty-five years to the total cost of the war from which they would have resulted, it would seem that further evidence is not necessary to establish the value of the medical man as a financial asset.

Proof of the generosity of our nation is seen in the treatment of its pensioners. There should be little difficulty in obtaining a reformation in its army that would protect the country's guardians. The American soldier needs no apologies; he has fought some of the bloodiest battles of history, with a valor and courage as great as that of any man who ever served with the colors. It is therefore hoped that the day is not distant when the true value of the medical man in war will be appreciated, so the fighting units of the country may receive the protection and care they deserve. If the slaughter of soldiers must go on, let our men be killed legitimately on the firing line, fighting for the stake at issue, not dropped by the wayside through preventable disease, 14 to 1, as they were in the Spanish-American war. It is for the fourteen who are uselessly sacrificed, not for the one who falls gallantly fighting, that this reform is demanded.

LOUIS LIVINGSTON SEAMAN.

THE UNIVERSITY JOURNAL.

BY JOSEPH S. AUERBACH.

For more reasons than one it will be a distinct misfortune if some lasting educational benefits do not result from the suggestions made by Mr. George Harvey in his recent "Bromley" lectures delivered at Yale University.

At the close of the first lecture, which set forth—with peculiar interest, as the readers of The North American Review of last month had the privilege of knowing—his conception of true journalism, there was distributed to the audience a newspaper prepared by Mr. Harvey, as of a given day in February last, and called in courtesy "The Bromley Morning News." This was termed by him a "sample," but others, more free to express their opinion, would term it a model of what the daily newspaper might be.

Though consisting of but four pages, one of which was devoted to advertising, it contained timely and thoughtful editorials and comment, together with the current news of the day and matters of interest rearranged to meet the needs of the general reader. It was, in form and substance, a creditable publication of itself and more particularly in what it was intended to typify, and reminded one by its appearance and seriousness and the absence from its columns of senseless and objectionable items of one of the great London dailies. It was pleasing to the eye and to the mind, and through it the reader looked out upon the activities of life and not into its sewers.

The second lecture consisted of a discussion of the considerations which should be controlling in the preparation of such a newspaper as a business enterprise and presented the suggestion that such a publication in a University would afford a unique opportunity for the training of men in a real school of journalism.

These two features were exhaustively and eloquently presented by Mr. Harvey, and do not need to be reinforced by further reasons or even statement.

It is intended in what follows rather to consider briefly the general, far-reaching, beneficial influence such a University journal would have upon the life of our undergraduates.

Already in our larger Universities there are maintained publications which are daily newspapers in name, and which are frequently profitable to the students conducting them, though they have few, if any, general news items; while their advertisements merely testify to the heroic efforts on the part of relatives or friends of the management in securing their insertion. Chronicling, as they do, only the engagements of students in the athletic field and in the class-room, they are like the Gazette of Oxford that lays no claim to being anything more than what it really is. In a certain sense, therefore, the proposed University journal would be the outcome or evolution of the present daily.

At the outset it is necessary to recall Mr. Harvey's idea, that for the supervisory heads of such a University journal there should be selected an experienced editor-in-chief and a managing editor, contributing little or nothing, but in the main censoring the contributions of the students.

With them could be associated a sufficiently large number of associate student editors, in order that all of the time of any one student need not be taken from his other duties, and that abundant opportunity might also be afforded them to write with care, and after reflection. Some students from time to time might be called upon to do reportorial work in a neighboring city, though doubtless not a great amount of effort in this direction need be expended. Editors are not necessarily made out of reporters, any more than good lawyers out of stenographers or even routine clerks.

From the beginning the students associated with the several departments of such a journal would have before them the conditions essential for all correct composition, something to say, and instruction, constant practice, and accordingly experience in the art of saying it. All the details of the well-defined business of journalism would probably not be thoroughly learned in the conduct of a publication maintained by an endowment, but its essential principles could be mastered, and in the right atmosphere, where it would come to be understood that it is not the sole pur-

pose of a newspaper to make money at all hazards and under all conditions.

If it be said that such a publication would not be profitable in the business sense, the answer is that no department of instruction in a University is even self-supporting. Every undergraduate is in a very practical way a pensioner on the bounty of others. What is paid for his tuition represents little of its real cost, which must be provided for out of the income from funds of the University. Such a journal would have to depend for its maintenance on a special endowment, which, if possible, should be large enough to provide for a weekly periodical having the same relation to the daily paper as the "Nation" has to the "Evening Post," and there might also be a monthly magazine. The amount of this fund would necessarily be large, though doubtless the supervisory editors would be willing to sacrifice a large part of their legitimate income, just as professors in the University regard the privilege of their occupation as a substantial part of the compensation for their life-work; and there seems to be no good reason why each student should not be required to be a subscriber to such publications, and thus make an important contribution to their support.

One of two things it is reasonably certain would result. The University in which such a project should be first carried out would have, in one department of education, an immeasurable advantage over other institutions of learning, or, still better, the example thus set would of necessity be followed by them.

Yet it may well be that the collateral advantages of such publications in teaching men to think clearly and use the English language with vigor and grace and precision, of inculcating in them a true love of literature and in setting up higher standards of thought and purpose, would grow to proportions which would overshadow the advantages of training men in a real school of journalism, important as this at the present day must be admitted to be.

It is idle to deny that among the undergraduates in our institutions of learning, and with us all as a people, there is an increasing indifference to the quality of our English speech and writing. The exception is to see the student whose speech is not composed of about equal parts of inexpressive slang and slovenly English, while the writing of many of our contemporary

authors even in what may be termed ambitious work is in the matter of style often unworthy. If it be true, as has been said, that literature is a by-product of conversation, we shall have to go far back in the institution of our reforms if we are really concerned as to the well-being of our language. We have before us no easy task, for, as Tacitus has said, the pursuit and love of letters are more easily destroyed than revived.

We no longer as of old regard our legacy of the English language and English literature as a priceless possession, and we have lost more by our neglect than we are apt to appreciate. To a large degree, taste and even conduct have been injuriously affected; high standards have been lowered and ideals lost sight of; the beneficial practice of reading aloud has been abandoned, and on and off the stage graceful enunciation of the English language has come to be a forgotten art; devotion to literature has become a task, and even the Bible, with all its literary and spiritual inspiration, is a closed and neglected book. As a substitute for what we have lost we have a smattering of knowledge concerning many subjects paraded in phraseology having no proper relation to the language of literature. As a rule, due attention is no longer paid to the use of the most appropriate words and phrases for the presentation and interpretation of ideas, and a certain nervelessness and lack of structure or a hopeless monotone in expression may be said to be the consequence even when the work is not wholly devoid of merit. To apply to many of our contemporary authors what Mr. Arthur Symons says of some critics, they laboriously hunt for and write round exact words of definition; or, to coin a phrase, we may say, the *groping* style characterizes much of the writing of to-day.

It is unusual to find recent graduates of Universities able to write with accuracy and precision of statement, even when trained for the profession of the law, though this qualification is almost essential to success at the bar. Experience shows that the most elementary instruction in the proper method of presentation of a given subject is required to be imparted to the young lawyer by the members of the firm with which he becomes associated. More than anywhere else the use of good English is to be found in a few of our journals which have set up high standards of literary excellence to which, in their editorial columns at least, they steadily conform.

There is no separate chair at Oxford, as at our Universities, for the teaching of English; and yet we have the testimony of President Thwing of the Western Reserve University, and of Mr. Howells and others, that the speech of our undergraduates compares most unfavorably with that of students of the English University. Knowledge of pure English is presupposed in the English undergraduate and is prerequisite of all honors. The influence of the home circle, and the preparatory school, the tone of the Press, the attention paid to correct conversation and the atmosphere of the University have sufficed to bring about this result without the aid of the special instructor. Even in the preparatory schools of England the use of faulty, ungrammatical English is regarded as a badge of vulgarity, attributable to low extraction. English is attempted to be taught in our Universities — where, moreover, such elementary instruction is very largely out of place—and the result is indeed deplorable.

In an article on "English Style" in the June number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW of last year, it was pointed out that in the foremost University of our country the writing of English is taught out of a book called "English Composition," of which the professor of English Literature is the author, containing not only a few, but scores of departures from the use of correct English, and no small number of errors even in grammatical construction. As a text-book it is almost grotesque.

Professors who teach English in our Universities are not always experienced authors, or, if so, they make little use of their ability when writing books on English Composition. Frequently they have nothing of moment to say and succeed admirably in saying it. It is pitiful to think of such productions supplanting standard works on Rhetoric like the treatise of Archbishop Whately, though merely the study of even the best books on composition will not make men accomplished writers any more than would attendance at lectures about colors and brushes and canvas make men artists. Constant practice must accompany and follow the proper instruction.

In a thoughtful discussion in the November number of the "Atlantic Monthly" of last year on "The Writer and the University" Mr. Walter H. Page writes:

"Thus (I hope that I do not write too harsh a judgment) the art of writing well has come to be much neglected in our educational life; its

value has come to be misunderstood. It has, to a degree, even come to be despised. So far from being cultivated, except in rudimentary undergraduate work, it is left almost to take care of itself. The result is slovenly expressed erudition. The result is a too low value set on good speech or good writing even by the educated class. The result is a great gap between our scholars and the rest of the community. The result is that men of learning do not deliver to the people the knowledge that is gained by science and by historical study. The result is a detachment of our universities from the life of the people, and their loss of control and even of authority over the intellectual life of the nation; for the medium of communication is neglected."

Mr. Page, for the purpose of correcting the conditions he describes, urges that men and women who propose to make literature their life-work should have the benefit of professional training by instruction in a postgraduate school.

Interesting and instructive as his presentation of the plan is, it is difficult to see how a postgraduate school, dealing merely with the teaching of writing, could be productive of the best results. When it came to putting the idea of Mr. Page into effect, insurmountable difficulties, it is to be feared, would present themselves. Even though efficient instructors could be secured for such a school, the number of young men who could afford to continue their University studies beyond the four years of their undergraduate life would doubtless not be large. Then would arise questions as to the methods to be adopted. What would be written about? To write academically is not to train the mind in the best way possible for appropriate expression. The very thing which as a rule operates to make the composition of the student on a given theme imperfect and unsatisfactory is that, as he views it, his work serves no practical end, and is a mere task with no direct object-lesson. Even Squeers knew some of the correct methods of teaching, and doubtless the boys of his school never forgot their "winder" or their "bottinney," for, as we recall, the parlor "winder" was invariably washed and the garden weeded by the pupils after their intellectual struggle with these words in the spelling class. Law students who have the advantage of the moot-court come nearer to a practical result than when studying text-books and leading cases, because what they do by way of preparation in brief and argument is to have an actual and immediate application in the moot-court, though, oddly enough, this institution of the moot-court has been abandoned in some of our

law schools. The young lawyer, after having been made generally familiar as a student with the principles of the law, does more to make his ideas a part of himself by a short time devoted in an actual litigation to the preparation of a brief and by subsequent oral argument than he could accomplish by prolonged study. The clinic and hospital experience furnish the true training for the physician. The student who writes his essay, as is now the fashion, at the instance of the college professor, will rarely acquire that degree of confidence essential for acceptable writing. Until this results the student will probably have a view as to his style somewhat similar to that which, according to George Eliot, Amos Barton entertained as to his oratory: "though he thought himself strong, he did not *feel* himself strong. Nature had given him the opinion, but not the sensation."

Some of the articles appearing in these University publications might well be the successful result of competition upon a given theme assigned by the professor of literature after conference with the supervisory editors. Thus at the outset the student would know that superior work on his part would not mean merely perfunctory or private commendation by the professor. The writing of the theme in the first instance would be a kind of preliminary trial or weeding-out process. Then would come the advice of the editors whose knowledge of praiseworthy expression would probably be equal if not superior to that of the professor of literature. As one successful effort followed another, the young man would come to be one of the associate editors, when only a general supervision of his work would be required. Constant rivalry, not only among those who intended to adopt the profession of journalism, or even of the law, but generally among the large body of students, should naturally follow, and it is not difficult to see that amid such surroundings no prizes for popularity would be awarded to students whose conversation was cheap and slipshod and who evinced a contempt for literary aims and pursuits. Even some return like that associated with a fellowship might be connected with an editorship, and what ordinarily is but an irksome task would thus become a distinct privilege.

The best results will not be attained by the students of composition until, by constant drill, such as writing for the University publication would make possible, he is made to understand that a correct style does not consist in ornamentation or adornment,

but in the employment of apt and appropriate words and phrases and their judicious utilization in arrangement for the adequate presentation of the varying shades of thought. As a rule, without this experience he will seek to substitute for precise phraseology and for harmony of proportions a kind of writing fundamentally wrong, but attempted to be made acceptable by decoration. Almost invariably we find in association with an unhappy inartistic selection of words ambitious attempts to write with the aid of metaphors and similes, though the authors fail to distinguish between correct and incorrect figures of speech as readily as they would probably mistake toadstools for mushrooms.

In literary production the transition is treacherously easy from that which might be distinguished by real charm to what is merely commonplace. From Shakespeare down through all the line of gifted authors until we reach Carlyle, little as we may be accustomed to recognize the fact, it is to their choice and marshalling of words, that we are able to trace much of their surpassing excellence. Emerson says we should appreciate in Shakespeare "dexterity in the use of these weapons" much more than we do were it not for the display of his "heroic strength," but this strength, even in Shakespeare, more often than we suppose, is found solely in this wondrous dexterity, if by dexterity Emerson means unerring precision. We need only open the pages of Shakespeare almost at random to have this truth brought home to us. There is the melody of language in such lines as those of Perdita:

> "—Daffodils
> That come before the swallow dares and take
> The winds of March with beauty."

At other times we find employed a wholly different kind of words, as in the apostrophe to England by the dying John of Gaunt; or when Henry IV, the King, craves in vain the sleep vouchsafed "to the wet sea boy . . . upon the high and giddy mast."

Almost with the stroke of a pen Shakespeare portrays the degradation of Antony, who

> "is become the bellows and the fan
> To cool a gypsy's lust."

When Lady Macbeth would compass Duncan's murder, her words are those of the human tigress. The foretelling by Romeo of the coming dawn is no graceful paraphrase of the imagery of

the ancient poets, but the marvellously faithful and creative description of genius. Cordelia, with the magic of exact words, puts into a sentence the story of her sisters' infamy for the exposure of Lear to the merciless storm:

> "Mine enemy's dog,
> Though he had bit me, should have stood that night
> Against my fire."

Substitute a book synonym for a single word in the great passages of Shakespeare, and much of the splendor of the picture has faded. His words of precision are words of inspiration and of revelation.

When Carlyle thus speaks of Burns we listen to the music of our language:

"Neither will his works, even as they are, pass away from the memory of men. While the Shakespeares and Miltons roll on like mighty rivers through the country of Thought, bearing fleets of traffickers and assiduous pearl fishers on their waves; this little Valclusa fountain will also arrest the eye—for this also is of Nature's own and most cunning workmanship—bursts from the depths of the earth with a full gushing torrent into the light of day; and often will the traveller turn aside to drink of its clear waters and muse among its rocks and pines."

It is with the nobility of language that he writes of Goethe:

"He who would learn to reconcile reverence with clearness; to deny and defy what is false, yet believe and worship what is true; amid raging factions bent on what is either altogether empty or has substance in it only for a day, which stormfully convulse and tear hither and thither a distracted expiring system of society to readjust himself aright; and, working for the world and in the world, keep himself unspotted from the world,—let him look here."

From the mouth of Cagliostro we hear the ominous mutterings of the coming upheaval in the social order of a great nation:

"Does the EMPIRE OF IMPOSTURE waver . . . as it rocks and heaves, not in travail throes but in death throes? Yes, Light rays, piercing clear that salute the Heavens; lo, they kindle it. Their starry clearness becomes as red Hell-fire. IMPOSTURE is in flames, Imposture is burnt up, one Red-Sea of Fire, wild, billowing, enwraps the world; with its fire-tongue it licks at the very Stars."

True enough it is that such illustrations may suggest the counsels of perfection, but a faithful study of the unfailing exactness in the choice and use of words by the literary masters will recall some of the fundamental principles of correct composition. And when the infinite variety, adaptability and resources of our vocabulary with the requisitions it has made upon all the great

tongues is understood by the experienced writer, trained in the right atmosphere by study and practice, it is possible for him, having something to say, to attain to a style which will have the distinguishing merit of precision and strength and grace, and on occasions, of great wealth of utterance. Certainly men who drink at such fountains of inspiration will not thirst any longer for the ignoble, debasing things in literature, nor will they be satisfied with much that is proffered to us by the authors of to-day.

Take, now, as an example of the prevalent methods of writing, selections not from a student's composition for submission to the professor of literature, but from a recent address by the president of one of our most important Universities to the representatives of another well-known University:

"True democracy, therefore, while seeking by all possible means to improve the quality of its legislatures, and to make them representative of principles and ideas rather than of special and local interests, will strengthen the Executive *arm* and *protect* it from legislative *invasion* in matters purely administrative."

Throughout the address—which was distinctly elevated in tone—there appear similar infelicities of style which it would be impossible for the most friendly critic to commend.

To such a pass have we come that the following quotation from a reprint by a prominent American publishing house of the "Thackeray" by Anthony Trollope in the "English Men of Letters" series is permitted to pass unnoticed:

"At the usual evening hour the chapel bell began to toll, and Thomas Newcome's hands outside the bed feebly beat time—and just as the last bell struck, a peculiar sweet smile shone over his face, and he lifted up his head a little, and quickly said, 'Adsum'—and fell back. It was the word we used at school when names were called; and lo, he whose heart was that of a little child, had answered to his name, and stood in the presence of his Maker!"

"His Maker" is called upon by the compositor to do service for "the Master," of Thackeray, precisely as false and spurious expressions are substituted by many authors of to-day for what should be true and genuine.

Though the highest art of expression were not developed in the University publications, certainly we should not find the student guilty of such lapses in himself or tolerant of them in others as appear in the examples just given; and, judging from experience, it would be unreasonable to expect that anything approaching

like benefit would result from the postgraduate teaching recommended by Mr. Page, or from the adoption of any other expedient yet suggested for the correction of the conditions whose existence we must all concede.

Then again, even this relative advantage of inculcating a correct style in speech and writing is in itself but means to an end, for we may readily believe that the whole atmosphere of the University would be purified and invigorated through the wholesome influence of such publications. What the accompanying revival of a real love for literature would mean to young men in their student years and afterwards when they have gone out into the world is scarcely to be estimated or even guessed at, and it is not extravagant to think that it would have its marked effect upon the productive as well as the appreciative side of literature. Literature of itself, as John Morley says, will not make fine citizens; but the pursuit or even love of it will do more in this country than any other single agency to fit men to face the solemn responsibilities which are a part of the privilege of citizenship, while at the same time it would enable us to appraise at its true value much of the demagoguery and humbug now preached among us by priests of the new gospel of a cheap denunciation.

The student with muddled thoughts, poor enunciation and feeble expression is blind and deaf to the finer things of life and unsuited for the highest enjoyment or service. Give him tasks which he will come to understand as having an intimate relation to the true aims of existence, and his intellectual and spiritual horizon will have been appreciably widened. He sees things in their true perspective; and listening to the music and learning of the mystery of the universe, he looks out upon life from college windows, and readjusts his conception of ambition and purpose for the world of activity he is to enter. We may well believe that a group of such young men going out from our Universities, aglow with ardor, would, year by year, recruit the ranks of that righteous remnant in which Matthew Arnold, in company with all thoughtful men, believes is to be found the saving grace of our nation.

In this country, more, perhaps, than in any other land, do the ever-thickening problems of existence present themselves.

The student, fresh from his peaceful University surroundings, is suddenly to be confronted, among other things, with the poverty and misery of his fellow men; with crude, ill-considered measures for the relief of public ills, and with socialism or anarchy stalking abroad with busy, unruly tongue, and sometimes with knife and bomb when it concludes that the time for talk has gone by. On the other hand, our life of to-day is throbbing with momentous impulses. Not the dogma of the church, but its creed of righteousness, is being preached among men. The obstructions to the progress of the world, behind which lie entrenched its selfishness and greed and indifference to the needs and even the rights of others, are being carried by assault by a great army of men consecrated at the altars of self-sacrifice to the regeneration of the thoughts and the hopes and the ideals of mankind. Amid the conflicting forces of such environment, the graduate who is to perform his duty to society will in large degree find his contribution to be distinguished or ignoble according as, in proficiency to use his mother tongue, he is fitted or unfitted for the task. Even in a very practical sense and quite apart from any spiritual considerations, mastery over expression means mastery over men and mastery of opportunity. If their vision be not clear, men cannot hope to assume leadership of others; on the contrary, they themselves are bound throughout life to be in the ranks and liable to stumble even there.

Not often is it vouchsafed to one, as it has been to Mr. Harvey, to suggest an idea for the advantage of a whole people. We owe him a debt of obligation, to be discharged also to the man and to the institution with the public spirit to make the idea a reality. The architect with a great plan has appeared; the builders ought not to be wanting.

Under the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral, standing aloft amid the ebb and flow of the never-ceasing energy of London, there is a tablet to the glory of Sir Christopher Wren: "*Si monumentum requiris, circumspice*"; a like tribute should be the portion of those who make possible this new creation that, to the imagination of men, will be as a true temple of learning, from which will go forth, year by year for all time, the long procession of splendid youth disciplined in thought and utterance and quickened in culture and in aspiration for their service to the world.

JOSEPH S. AUERBACH.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED.

BY CLAYTON HAMILTON, GRACE ISABEL COLBRON, F. M. COLBY AND HENRY JAMES FORMAN.

"THE SERVANT IN THE HOUSE."*

MR. CHARLES RANN KENNEDY'S extraordinary play, "The Servant in the House," which is enjoying a prosperous career at the Savoy Theatre in New York, has just been published in reading form and is thereby made accessible to readers throughout the country. Like all good plays, "The Servant in the House" was intended primarily for production; and there can be no doubt that the success of the play in the theatre is to some extent due to the fact that it is being acted by the ablest company of players which could be assembled for its special purpose. Yet the play reads as well as it acts, and is worthy of studious consideration in and for itself. It presents a novel, daring and momentous theme; it exhibits an interesting group of characters drawn, for the most part, with a profound sense of life; it is compact, direct and masterly in structure; it is elevated and often eloquent in style.

The action passes, early on a spring morning, in the living-room of an English country vicarage. The lives of all the little group of people who constitute the Vicar's family are jangled, out of tune and harsh. The Vicar knows his life to be a lie, because he has attained preferment mainly by trampling down his brother Robert. The latter, dejected and embittered by injustice, has sunk to the lowest levels of life. The Vicar's wife has been led astray by an inordinate ambition to advance her husband in society. Her brother, the Lord Bishop of Lancashire, is an abject slave of Mammon, a worshipper of worldliness.

* "The Servant in the House." A Play of the Present Day, in Five Acts. By Charles Rann Kennedy. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1908.

Robert's little girl, Mary by name, has been taken from him by his brother and brought up in the Vicar's house; but she is unsatisfied and perturbed, because all knowledge of her father (whom, in her dreams, she idolizes) has been hidden from her. Each of these people is, in spirit, tangled and awry, because each has left the path of truth and wandered into error.

The play shows how all these tangled lives are straightened out (excepting only that of the Bishop, who is already damned) by the ministrations of a servant from the East, named Manson, whose character is a replica of that of Jesus Christ. It is explained that this servant, who has appeared quietly and unannounced, is a long-lost brother of the Vicar and Robert, who has lived for many years in India, and who there (as the Bishop of Benares) has organized a mighty Church; it is also hinted that he may be the Messiah reincarnate. By the influence of his presence, divinely human and humanly divine, he leads the other characters out of error into truth, and prepares them to take up, in the spirit of brotherhood and love, the lives that God intended them to live.

This lofty theme is handled, for the most part, in a lofty way. Occasionally, however, the reader is made to feel a certain incongruity between the spirit and the letter of a scene. But this defect, it seems to me, can hardly be avoided in any play which presents a romantic story in a realistic guise. Whenever events which have the very look and tang of actuality are employed to suggest a meaning symbolic and remote, it is very difficult indeed to harmonize the two appeals so intimately that they will produce upon the mind an impression which is single. Either the symbol will be dominant and will give the lie to actuality, or else the sense of actuality will overwhelm and crush the symbol. This inevitable discord between the two concomitant appeals is to a great extent avoided in Mr. Kennedy's drama; but every now and then it makes itself evident. The Bishop is merely a type of overemphasized depravity, set up to be satirized. In the last act, Robert is unpleasant at unnecessary length in his description of the symbolic drains and cesspools and charnel horrors beneath the foundations of the church. Here and there throughout the play an occasional line sounds violently out of character. For instance, when Mary, referring to the Bishop of Benares, says to Manson (who is himself the Bishop),

"Think of the very biggest person you ever heard of in this world," Manson replies, "In *this* world: that sounds rather like—— Does he give free libraries?" Surely a remark so ephemeral and trivial in its satire is out of keeping with the character. Also, every now and then, the author does the talking for a speech or two, instead of allowing his characters to speak for themselves. This is especially true in the frequent diatribes of the Vicar, which sometimes degenerate into rhetoric and rant. The Vicar's wife, it seems to me, is wrongly drawn. The one trait of her nature which is emphasized at the outset is her extreme devotion to her husband,—a quality for which we like her; and even though the Vicar and the author hurl against her their collaborate thunders of disapproval, we persist in liking her, until in the fourth act (which surely is too late) she reveals a real obliquity. But these defects are minor, and are matters of detail. In Manson the author has entirely succeeded in the tremendous task of recreating the character of the Christ. Robert is a heroic figure in both his phases,—heroic first in his rebellion against the violent injustice of the world, heroic later in his realization of the labor he is destined to accomplish. Mary is sweetly and sympathetically drawn,—childlike, eager, faltering and tremendously wise.

The play is scarcely less remarkable in manner than it is in matter. It is constructed with an absolute compactness. The action passes in one room, and is entirely continuous. Each of the five acts begins precisely at the point where the preceding act left off. The author also has maintained a careful symmetry in his apportionment of parts. Six out of the seven characters are very nearly equal in importance, and their lines are almost equal in extent. In confining himself to such restricted unity of place and time and to such a symmetry in the allotment of the lines, the author imposed upon himself a task of extraordinary difficulty; but his success in accomplishing this self-inflicted labor adds undeniably to the impression of totality which we derive from his achievement.

Finally, the mere writing of this play stands, in the main, upon a level with the masterly structure and the momentous theme. Perhaps the best evidence of the poetry which pervades and frequently exalts the lines is given by a speech of Manson's in the second act, describing the Church that he has founded:

"You must understand, this is no dead pile of stones and unmeaning timber. It is a living thing. . . .

"When you enter it, you hear a sound—a sound as of some mighty poem chanted. Listen long enough, and you will learn that it is made up of the beating of human hearts, of the nameless music of men's souls—that is, if you have ears. If you have eyes, you will presently see the church itself—a looming mystery of many shapes and shadows, leaping sheer from floor to dome. The work of no ordinary builder! . . .

"The pillars of it go up like the brawny trunks of heroes: the sweet human flesh of men and women is moulded about its bulwarks, strong, impregnable: the faces of little children laugh out from every corner-stone: the terrible spans and arches of it are the joined hands of comrades; and up in the heights and spaces, there are inscribed the numberless musings of all the dreamers of the world. It is yet building—building and built upon."

Surely this play is literature, as well as being drama. It deserves to be seen; it deserves also to be read. The volume under consideration presents it very legibly,—the absence of italics in the stage directions being conservative of continuity in the reading. It is illustrated very beautifully with photographs of every character by Alice Boughton, and is dedicated by the author to Walter Hampden, whose revelation of the rôle of Manson has made possible the salutary appeal of the play to the public in the theatre.

CLAYTON HAMILTON.

"MEMOIRS OF THE COMTESSE DE BOIGNE."*

THROUGH two good-sized volumes — and a third is promised shortly — Adéle d'Osmond, Comtesse de Boigne, chats pleasantly of the things and people that she has seen in the course of a long life. The Countess moved about rather freely among the great social centres of Europe, and was accounted a traveller in a day when women travelled little. As was natural, she never got beyond the limits of her own class, and the rest of the world was a sealed book to her, of which she could read no more than the lettering on the cover. But within these limitations the fair writer saw much, and lived through events that have become part of history. There were many things and many people in her life worth writing about, and, being a true woman, she writes best about the people.

*"Memoirs of the Comtesse de Boigne." Edited from the original MSS. by M. Charles Nicoullaud. First two volumes, 1781 to 1814, and 1815 to 1819. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Severity of criticism is disarmed by the opening words of the Memoirs, which state distinctly that although the Countess was in some sort a writer by profession, having published two novels, she did not intend these scattered notes for the public eye. They were to be a chronicle for the use of her family, that future generations of Osmonds should be taught to love and respect the family name and the family tradition. The Countess says of herself that she "was intended by nature for the post of onlooker." But she is not the watcher on the mountain-top looking down with piercing vision into the very heart of things. She is rather the amiable hostess, forgetting herself in her guests, but for all her care of them seeing with keen feminine eye their little failings, their individual oddities. The two volumes are very readable in spite of many faults. It depends altogether on the reader's point of view. If one takes up these books expecting a clear, coherent and impartial account of the many important political events that shook Europe during the years named, disappointment is inevitable. The books have little to do with history. The political part of them is merely a burrowing in petty detail that leads the eye off the main outlines of great happenings, and told even at that with a partiality, a one-sided point of view so plainly evident that the efforts of the editor to warn the reader of it are quite unnecessary. There are endless tiresome digressions into genealogical statistics, into the minutiæ of family history that can have no possible interest for any one except a heraldic expert. But with this there is much in the two volumes that charms and delights. There are fascinating bits of characterization, descriptions of people who seem to have stepped out of some work of a famous caricaturist, and many an anecdote, personal and unimportant of itself perhaps, but quite clever enough to warrant the telling.

The childhood of Adéle d'Osmond was passed under the immediate shadow of a throne. Louis XVI, Queen Marie Antoinette, and Mesdames Adélaide, Victoire and Louise were the suns around which whirled the orbit of her family life. But this nearness to the exalted personages has not robbed the witty Countess of her keenness of vision towards them, and in the minuteness of her description of those years we see no veneering of the truth. Louis XVI is a weakling, the Queen a vain, pretty woman ambitious only to be a leader of fashion, the

Princesses fussy, quarrelling old maids. The absurdity of court etiquette, the soul and mind stupefying influence of the proscribed *régime* of daily life in the king's house; all is clearly pictured by this woman who was brought up to it, but had wit enough to see its folly.

The terrible events of the year 1789, with their thunder of revolution and crashing of falling thrones, bring a harsher note into the amiable irony of the narrative, and a little later we find the Osmond family in Italy.

Among the interesting personalities met and described during this period is Emma, Lady Hamilton, with her famous "attitudes," her unique talent of posing in imitation of well-known statues. The Countess gives the celebrated beauty credit for some things, although she has little sympathy for her otherwise. She says, "On the whole she was a bad woman, and had a low mind within a magnificent form." One digression into detail of French family history gives us the famous letter written by Mme. de Maugiron to her soldier husband in the field:

> "I am writing to you because I have nothing to do, and I am ending my letter because I have nothing to say.
>
> "SASSENAGE DE MAUGIRON.
>
> "(Very sorry that I am.)"

The journey to England next undertaken by the Osmonds gives occasion for the chapter on Sir John Legard and his family. Apart from the style of the English, of course, this chapter might have been written by George Meredith. Had the octogenarian novelist been born a generation earlier Sir John Legard would most certainly have been the original of Sir Austin Feverel. And the entire family life of the Legards is worthy of Meredith.

During the English sojourn we hear also the true story of Lord Burleigh and his peasant bride, whom he wooed as a poor painter. But the poet who has immortalized this tale does not lead the story on as far as does the Countess de Boigne. She tells us how the low-born Lady Burleigh was not happy in her high station, and made a wreck of her own life and her husband's.

The Countess passes hastily over the details of her unhappy marriage, which took place during her life in England. She wastes little pity on herself and goes on with her good-natured chatting about people and events, when the temptation to make much of her own story lay near.

When Mme. de Récamier and Mme. de Staël enter the narrative it becomes more interesting again.

"(At Lyons) I was staying at the Hôtel de l'Europe and arrived late. The next day the head waiter informed me that Mme. de Staël was in the house and asked if I would receive her. . . . Five minutes later she entered my room escorted by Camille Jordan, Benjamin Constant, Mathieu de Montmorency, Schlegel, Elezear de Sabran and Talma. I was very young, and this great celebrity with her extraordinary escort overwhelmed me at first. . . . I dined with her, and in the evening we went to see Talma in 'Manlius.' He played for her rather than for the public, and was repaid by the delight which she felt and which she communicated to others. . . .

"At first she seemed to me ugly and ridiculous. A big red face, a complexion by no means fresh, and her hair arranged in a manner which she called picturesque—in other words, badly done; no fichu, a white muslin blouse cut very low, arms and shoulders bare, no shawl, scarf, veil of any kind. Such was the strange apparition which appeared in a hotel room at midday. She held a small twig which she was constantly twiddling in her fingers, with the object, I think, of showing off a very beautiful hand, though it was but the finishing touch to the eccentricity of her costume. At the end of an hour I was completely under her charm, and throughout her intellectual enjoyment of Talma's performance I watched the play of her features and was surprised to find her almost beautiful."

A delightful touch, one of many delightful things in this chapter on Mme. de Staël and the life at Coppet, is the remark of the great wit when her latest lover, the young Spaniard Rocca, makes some foolish conventional remark. "Ah," exclaims Mme. de Staël, "human speech is not his language." Whereat the Comtesse remarks to herself that the phrase always struck her "as the outcry of a clever woman in love with a fool."

Napoleon naturally finds little favor in the eyes of the loyal Orleanist Countess, but she makes a noble endeavor to be just to him. She is outspoken in her condemnation of the follies of the extreme Royalists before and during the Restoration, the follies that made the Hundred Days possible. And once or twice during this period the writer seems to come out of herself and touch on things in a broader manner, with a surer touch of bigness than the rest of the book can show.

The second volume has the faults and the good points of the first. The Countess is with her father and mother in official position in Turin and in England. She has much to say of high society and of the dulness of it in either place. She digresses

as tiresomely, she hurries over important events as incoherently, and piles on the names and dates as entangledly as in the first volume. But also does she chat as charmingly and continue her delightful pen-pictures of people, all tinged with the glow of keen humor and a genuine feminine delight in gossip. There is a good deal of padding for a little lightness in these volumes, but on the whole one is repaid.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

"DRAMA AND LIFE."*

THERE is an incidental remark in this volume to the effect that the readers of dramatic criticism are neither the players nor the playgoers, but the people who stay at home. That is a desirable state of affairs, but by no means attained in this country, where dramatic criticism inferior to Mr. Walkley's in every respect still influences a large body of hesitating playgoers and even decides the question whether they shall go or not. Time and again the life of a play has hung on the judgment of professionals, and playgoers seem not to have learned by experience how capricious that judgment is. Our stage commentators are the victims of the strange and cruel system that compels men to write with extreme rapidity and at uncomfortable hours on subjects for which, after the first flush of inexperience, they have no mind. The man who has seen eleven commonplace plays successively and under compulsion is the last man to choose for writing about the twelfth. Unless he has great vital stores to draw upon, he is a damaged and depleted person, incapable of a philosophic or even a merely human point of view, and certainly no fit spokesman for simple, free-born, playgoing folk, who sleep when they feel sleepy, go home when bored, and who, above all, when they have nothing to say recruit themselves by a natural, healthy and nutritious silence. And the American play-reviewer has no great vital resources. Four years or so will drain him dry, and he usually turns to some other calling. Even in that short time ennui will have played strange tricks on him. He will have discriminated absurdly between exactly equal fatuities, complaisant to a "Her Own Way," very austere to a "Taming of Helen." Dozens of harmless little plays, no whit worse than many which have run for months, owe their failure to these

* "Drama and Life." By A. B. Walkley. Methuen & Co.

sudden and unaccountable rigidities. After a most dissolute acceptance of everything that comes along, he will of a sudden straighten up with a sort of drunken dignity. The truth is, our critics generally do not know what to think, so they are constrained to invent some other form of activity. Hence the singular æsthetic or moral contortions we so often observe on the part of veteran stage commentators when there is nothing in the play to account for it. It is the forced gait of a goaded mind on the stretch for a journalistic opportunity. Hysteria is a godsend at such a time, when the chief problem is how to feel at all; and no one can blame them for losing all sense of proportion and riding the first moral hobby that comes to hand, defending the American home against Ibsen and warning our female seminaries against Mr. Bernard Shaw. But although the discourse of these unfortunates would seem to be not at all suited to adult playgoers, it is as a matter of fact addressed to them and read by them almost exclusively. Mr. Walkley's people who stay at home reading current dramatic criticism have no counterparts over here. It may be because no volume of dramatic criticism at all comparable to Mr. Walkley's could be compiled from American sources.

He is not only the shrewdest English-speaking critic of the stage to-day, but so agreeable a writer that he can be read with pleasure by people who have little interest in his subject. For one thing, he writes always of the effect of a play on himself personally, and not as a representative of this or that imaginary group of duly educated or æsthetically orthodox or morally stainless "leading citizens." He scouts the notion that the best acting consists of self-suppression, of sinking one's self in the part, or that the best drama is impersonal. He quotes Bagehot, "After all, an author does not keep a tame engine to do his writing for him." Apropos of Barrie he says, "We must not be duped by the cant about the 'impersonality' of drama. Like any other art, drama is in the last analysis a revelation of the artist, and Barrie's plays charm us because we are aware of a lovable nature back of them." He declares that the object of the theatre is to give pleasure, and that would seem to be a matter on which each man must think for himself. Of certain meticulous Elizabethan stage revivalists he says, "These efforts have their place in an educational curriculum, but none in the catalogue of pleasures.

. . . We of to-day go to the theatre with precisely the same object as the playgoers of Shakespeare's time—to be interested and amused." And in writing his commentaries he himself is not "duped by the cant about the impersonality" of dramatic criticism. The situation is a simple one and not involving any very awful social responsibilities. He is one man seeing a play and reporting faithfully its effects on him—not a Royal Commission, Committee of Public Safety, organ of public opinion, consensus of the right-minded or chairman or vice-president of any sort of public enterprise for the promotion of collective thinking. It is a great point gained when a dramatic critic remembers that there is only one of him. Mr. Walkley does not write as a class or even as an institution.

We wish he had included in this volume some specimens of his comment on the ordinary tiresome little market play of the moment. Would the subject have reduced him to its own dulness as it does our critics? In these papers he has descended no farther than Mr. Henry Arthur Jones, and we have no means of knowing how he would bear up under the usual stage piece, whether he would still be worth reading even in his critical despair—the supreme test in this profession. Here he writes only of matters that are ponderable—the development of the drama in England and France, the contrast between the best modern English plays and the French, Aristotle's "Poetics," changes in dramatic forms, the art of acting, specific plays in some respects noteworthy, such as Shaw's, Barrie's, Pinero's, revivals of Greek plays and of Shakespeare, and the work of the best players, Irving, Duse, Bernhardt, Réjane. The purport of his chapter on "Modern English and French Drama" is that "the transformation of the old drama of rhetoric into the modern drama of illusion is the artistic outcome of a mechanical transformation—the transformation of the platform-stage into the picture-stage." In the following passage he anticipates the new turn in Shakespearian criticism:

"Shakespeare was no more free than any other man from the material limitations of the theatre in which his plays were produced; and it is in those material conditions that the explanation of his craftsmanship is to be found. We have seen S. T. Coleridge and Bodham Donne, two men of letters, explaining Polonius, one solemnly, the other half jocularly, by purely literary and logical means. To this day our Shakespearian commentators, in the seclusion of their studies, pursue this

false method—the bookman's method—of exegesis. If they would only come out of their studies and look at the stage—at some picture or model of the Elizabethan playhouse—they would save themselves the discovery of many mares' nests."

This method has since been applied, perhaps too diligently, in several volumes, and every Shakesperian commentator nowadays has his fling at the bookmen.

The French, he says, "were the first to create what is legitimately entitled to be called modern drama," and this does not date from the Romantic movement of the thirties, for the theatres at that time were given over to the "old drama of rhetoric." Hugo "was not the first of the modern dramatists; he was the last of the rhetoricians." The first of the moderns, according to Mr. Walkley, was Dumas the elder, who

"hit in *Antony* upon the great modern dramatic theme, the conflict of passion and the social world, of the individual and opinions—the very stuff of which his son's plays were afterwards made. . . . 'The ideas of Augier and Dumas *fils* were ideas about society, its economic structure, its hierarchy of castes, its pressure on the individual; and they were ideas about private ethics, the relations of men and women, fathers and children, the disparity between the Civil Code and the moral law. In other words, these men made the French drama, in Matthew Arnold's phrase about poetry, a "criticism of life."'"

Hence the modern French "thesis-play," which in its extreme form is "conditioned not by the probabilities and proportions of life, but by the mathematical requirements of the thesis, and the consequence is that you cannot believe a word of it." The French stage is "suffering from intellectual hypertrophy," and he sees no sign of recovery. It is, at any rate, not to be cured by Rostand, whom he calls an "inspired schoolboy" with a facility for turning "anything into metre—gasconades, a duel, patisserie, a protuberant nose, the Old Guard, a battle-field, Napoleon's cocked hat, what you will." The English stage is at the other extreme—"unidea'd" and incoherent. "What Mr. Jones or Mr. Pinero is driving at remains an inscrutable mystery." "Mr. Shaw's plays do not count as plays at all."

Elsewhere he deals fairly with Mr. Pinero and Mr. Shaw and imparts some of the pleasure he has derived from them, but his love of French logic and trimness and perfectly definite "ideas" carries him too far. "Beyond cavil," he says, "'*Le Dédale*' confers upon M. Hervieu the primacy of the contemporary French

stage," and with "*Le Dédale*" Mr. Walkley is apparently quite satisfied. It is, indeed, technically without a flaw, a marvel of precision, and immediate dramatic effectiveness. But it achieves so fully what it attempts because it attempts little. Admirable economy of French art with its hatred of waste or irrelevancy! Such is the blight of dramatic criticism as practised to-day. The man is pulling a different way from his critical principles. But Mr. Walkley's nature is by no means subdued to what it works in; he breaks a good many of his own laws and is not always consistent or logical. His "Drama and Life" is like some of the plays he enjoys, but condemns. It has in places broken the mould of current dramatic criticism. It is the better reading on that account, and may be commended even to those wise persons to whom the present English stage is a subject of little interest. F. M. Colby.

O. HENRY'S SHORT STORIES.*

For the first time since the eclipse of Mr. Kipling the short story is again beginning to make public appearance between book-covers. Publishers still look upon it somewhat askance, as on one under a cloud, and authors, worldly-wise, still cling to the novel as the unquestioned leader. But here and there a writer now boldly brings forth a book of short tales, and the publisher does his part. The stigma of the *genre* is wearing off, and for the rehabilitation one man is chiefly responsible.

Mr. Sidney Porter, the gentleman who, in the language of some of his characters, is "denounced" by the euphonious pen-name of O. Henry, has breathed new life into the short story. Gifted as he is with a flashing wit, abundant humor and quick observation, no subject has terrors for him. If it be too much to say, in the old phrase, that nothing human is alien to him, at least the larger part of humanity is his domain. The very title of one of his books, "The Four Million," is a protest against those who believe that New York contains only four hundred people worth while. O. Henry backs the census-taker against the social arbiter. The rich and the fashionable are,

* "The Four Million," by O. Henry: McClure, Phillips & Company, 1907. "The Trimmed Lamp and other Stories of the Four Million," by O. Henry: McClure, Phillips & Company, 1907. "Heart of the West," by O. Henry: The McClure Company, 1907.

in his tales, conceived much in the spirit of similar characters in melodrama, except that the ingredient of humor is put in to mitigate them. Indeed, they figure but seldom. But the poor and the lowly, the homeless lodger of the city park, the vagabond of the "bread line," the waitress, the shop and factory girl, the ward politician, the city policeman, the whole "ruck and rabble" of life, so meaningless to the comfortable, unobservant bourgeois, are set forth always with keen knowledge, with a laughing humor, and not infrequently with a tender, smiling pathos. As this panorama of the undenoted faces of the great city passes before the reader, he becomes his own Caliph Haroun-al-Raschid, and New York a teeming Bagdad, full of romance and mystery.

The facility, the light touch of O. Henry, his mastery of the vernacular, his insight into the life of the disinherited, make it needless for him to resort to such inventions as Stevenson's learned Arabian, imaginary author of the "New Arabian Nights." The piquant and picturesque phrasing, the dash of slang, the genial and winning fancy seem to carry off the most fantastic situations. The Touchstone, the jester, the merry-maker has always enjoyed a certain license if he had but the wit not to abuse it. O. Henry's fun is never of the slapstick variety and his pathos never bathos.

We are shaken with sad laughter at the many and divers attempts of the park-bench vagabond, Soapy, to be arrested and sent to the workhouse for the winter months. He eats a meal and does not pay, he steals an umbrella, he accosts unescorted women, but all to no purpose. The police seem to regard him "as a king who could do no wrong." But as he passes by a church the organ music of an anthem vividly recalls his boyhood, stirs the tramp to his depths, and he resolves to turn over a new leaf. He will seek work and be a man. Then a policeman lays a hand upon him, hales him before a magistrate as a vagrant and the city's swirling machinery of the law sends Soapy to "the Island" after all. And the author smiles with tender compassion over this poor shuttlecock of fate.

With no less humorous kindness does he deal with 'Tildy, "the unwooed drudge," the plain little waitress in an Eighth Avenue chop-house. All the hurrying *clientèle* of that eating-house admired Aileen, who "was tall, beautiful, lively, gracious and learned in persiflage." But no one had a word for 'Tildy of

the freckles and the hay-colored hair, until one day a tipsy laundry clerk put his arm round 'Tildy's waist and kissed her. For a brief space that transformed her life. 'Tildy the unnoticed began to bind ribbons in her hair, to prink and to preen after the fashion of daughters of Eve. "A gentleman insulted me to-day," she modestly informed all her customers. "He put his arm round my waist and kissed me." And as the diners turned upon her the stream of badinage hitherto directed at Aileen alone, 'Tildy's heart swelled in her bosom, "for she saw at last the towers of Romance rise above the horizon of the gray plain in which she had for so long travelled." 'Tildy had a thrilling sensation of fear lest Seeders the laundry clerk, in a mood of jealous love-madness, rush in and shoot her with a pistol. This she deplored, for no one had shot Aileen for love, and she did not wish to overshadow her friend. When Seeders does come in it is only to apologize, with the plea that he was tipsy. 'Tildy's towers of romance crumble to earth. The glory fades suddenly, for it was not love at all that actuated Seeders. But Aileen the staunch-hearted comforts 'Tildy in her sorrow, for if Seeders "were any kind of a gentleman," she tells her, "he wouldn't of apologized."

"The Trimmed Lamp" is of a piece with "The Four Million," filled with the tragi-comedy of life much as it appeared to Dickens and to François Villon. In "Heart of the West" the author exploits a vein that many have attempted in the short story as well as in the novel—the so-called "wild West." But no one, it is safe to say, has brought so much fun and humor to the Western story. Cattle-king, cowboy, miner, the plains and the chaparral—material of the "dime novel," but all treated with the skill of a Maupassant, and a humor Maupassant never dreamed of. The merest sketch of them has a certain substance to it. Yet it is idle to compare O. Henry with anybody. No talent could be more original or more delightful. The combination of technical excellence with whimsical, sparkling wit, abundant humor and a fertile invention is so rare that the reader is content without comparisons.

HENRY JAMES FORMAN.

WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON: PARIS: WASHINGTON.

LONDON, *April, 1908.*

I GAVE up my last letter to an attempt to elucidate the education problem in England and the nature of the solution put forward by the Government. This month a question scarcely less vital to the national well-being and in some ways even more controversial has to be considered—I mean the licensing question. The Government have brought in a Licensing Bill which has aroused a veritable tornado of opposition among brewers, distillers and all who have any financial interest in the liquor trade. Four years ago Lord Rosebery declared that if the State did not control the traffic in drink, the traffic in drink would control the State. That is the fundamental issue which is now being fought out. In other forms you are already sufficiently familiar with it in the United States.

The British people spend over $800,000,000 a year on drink. The revenue derived from it—some $180,000,000 annually—more than floats the British navy and amounts to twenty-eight per cent. of the total revenue of the kingdom. About $1,500,000,000 has been invested in the trade in the British Isles; over 110,000 premises are licensed for the sale of alcohol; some seven thousand registered clubs are in existence, a great many of which are simply unlicensed drinking-shops, free from any form of supervision; and the number of people who hold shares in brewery and distilling companies must run into many hundreds of thousands. Moreover, most of the saloons in this country are what is called "tied" houses. That is to say, they are owned by the brewing or distilling companies, whose influence thus finds a local rallying-point in every town and village in the land.

Now it is clear that the attitude of the State towards a business

so huge, so pervasive, so militant, so intimately related to the social life of the people, and so productive of revenue, must always be a matter of supreme importance. In Great Britain, as everywhere else, there is no free trade in the sale of intoxicants. Sale is only permitted by license, the number of licenses is limited, their duration is confined to twelve months, and at the end of the year they must all be renewed. No holder of a license possesses a legal right to have it renewed. Renewal may be refused at the discretion of the local licensing justices (subject to appeal to quarter-sessions) for various reasons—*e. g.*, if the saloon has been improperly conducted or if there are too many of them in the district. I think there is no question that the legislature intended licenses to be the property of the State, liable to termination at the end of any twelve months, and that in point of law the license-holder has no vested interest in his license beyond the period of one year. The point has, indeed, been definitely established more than once by judicial decisions. On the other hand, the license-holder has the reasonable expectation that his license will be renewed unless on grounds of gross misconduct. And this "reasonable expectation" has naturally developed a monetary value. The licensing justices have hesitated to cancel licenses. They have been inevitably reluctant to take away a man's livelihood. The result is that a well-conducted saloon has had little or nothing to fear from the annual formality of renewing its license. Moreover, the State by levying death duties on licensed premises on the basis of the license being a continuing possession; the local authorities by proceeding on the same assumption in the matter of assessments; and the courts of law by protecting the rights of those interested in the reversion or remainder of a license—have all shown that the expectation of renewal is all but a certainty.

And in this expectation, which is all but a certainty, many millions of pounds have been invested. The brewers, as I have said, have acquired control of the licensed premises, often at extravagant prices, and they figure of course among the assets of the brewing companies. Thus the situation has become immensely complicated by the fact that a vast army of shareholders has at this moment a direct pecuniary interest in regarding licenses, not as annual privileges, which is their proper legal status, but as permanent grants. An enormous amount of capital

has been staked on what I have called the "reasonable expectation" that licenses would be renewed. It is easy enough to say that the money should never have been so invested, that the law was perfectly clear, and that those who insisted on treating a probability as an unqualified certainty were simply gambling and cannot complain if they are now to suffer the consequences of their rashness. But as a matter of fact no Government can ignore these thousands upon thousands of innocent investors who have put down their money, for the most part, in ignorance of the facts, without looking into the pros and cons of a very intricate question, and blindly following the financial fashion of the moment. Their presence has had two important results. It has rallied a powerful body of opinion to the view that a license, instead of being an annual tenure, is virtually a freehold and has thus made any drastic remedy by the State politically impossible. Secondly, it has had the effect of popularizing the notion that compensation should be provided for every license that is extinguished.

As a consequence of these various factors it has come about that the State has practically parted with its control of the liquor traffic. It has issued annual licenses at a very low rate of duty. These annual licenses have acquired a high value principally because their prospect of renewal has been very good. They have changed hands and been bought and sold at prices which were the equivalent of a freehold and monopoly value. But from these increased prices the State has derived nothing whatever. Issuing low-duty licenses for one year, it has had the mortification of seeing them treated by hard-headed men of business as though they were licenses for all time. It has, in short, created a vast property, largely monopolistic in character, and has handed it over without receiving in return any adequate consideration. Four year ago the Unionist Government passed a Licensing Bill which in some ways perpetuated the improvidence of the State and added to the one-sidedness of its relations with the trade. The Bill went on the principle that compensation ought to be paid in the event of a license being withdrawn for any other cause than that of misconduct; and it provided the necessary funds by imposing a graduated tax on all saloons in the district, a tax locally raised and administered. The effect of this was that the license-holder found a new security given to his property,

its value immensely increased through the extinction of rivals, and compensation provided if his license were refused renewal—all this without the State being a penny the better. The Bill was vigorously opposed by the Liberals, who made no attempt either at the time of its passage or during the general election to conceal their determination to amend it when they again found themselves in power.

This is the task to which they are now addressing themselves. It is made all the more formidable by reason of the very parlous state in which the brewery companies find themselves. Within the last ten years their shares have enormously depreciated. That is not the fault of the Government, but of the promoters. They bought up saloons at preposterous figures; they over-capitalized their companies; and they have made no adequate provision for writing down their inflated capital and the exorbitant amounts at which their precarious license values stood in their books. Moreover, people are drinking far less than they did and the conditions of the stock-market since the Boer war have depressed the values of all securities. The brewery boom is dead. I have by me a list of twenty-three of the leading companies together with the price of their shares ten years ago and to-day. The list shows that in the last decade the value of the shares in these twenty-three companies has fallen, on an average, slightly over sixty per cent. The brewers feel that if, on the top of all this, the State is now to begin harassing them and is to resume its control over the licenses that at present figure among the most imposing assets in their balance-sheets, then ruin and a wide-spread crash are inevitable. It is, of course, obvious that rigorous financial reconstruction and a resolute writing down of capital can alone restore the market in brewery shares to its old position. At the same time the immensity of the interests involved and the undoubted certainty that too stern a policy would reduce a large number of shareholders to penury or something near it, have made it necessary for the Government to deal as tenderly as possible with vested interests and to recognize the claims of equity on a liberal scale.

The Licensing Bill which they have brought forward is an extremely intricate and technical measure, but its two main objects are clear. First, the Bill seeks to provide for an immediate and compulsory reduction in the number of licenses.

Henceforward, roughly speaking, there is to be not more than one saloon to 750 people in towns and to 400 people in the country. Secondly, the Bill provides for the gradual but complete recovery by the State of those rights in the monopoly of the drink traffic with which it should never have parted. It effects this by imposing a time-limit of fourteen years, after which compensation shall cease to be payable for any extinction of old licenses, and all applications for renewals shall be treated as though they were applications for new licenses and only issued on the basis of their full monopoly value. The Bill has other aims as well. It establishes, for instance, with regard to new licenses the right of localities to exercise a veto. It proposes a more effectual system of supervision over clubs in order that the extinction of the saloons may not be multiplied by the growth of unlicensed and unregulated drinking dens. It empowers the licensing authorities to exclude children from saloons, to prohibit the employment of barmaids, and to order the closing of saloons on Sundays and election days. It provides, too, that while the compensation fund is to continue during the next fourteen years to be drawn as at present from the trade, the methods of assessment are to be changed so that its benefits may be distributed on a fairer and more uniform scale. But these provisions, while extremely important, are of little significance by the side of the two main purposes of the Bill: to reduce the number of licenses—Mr. Asquith hopes to wipe out thirty thousand—and to recover for the State after a period of fourteen years its full control over the drink traffic.

I find it difficult to convey a true idea of the positive fury with which the trade has assailed the Bill. They denounce it as a piece of confiscatory fanaticism. They warn the public that if it passes, no property of whatever kind will be secure. They stigmatize the proposed time-limit, which, after all, merely requires the trade to find an annual sinking-fund of about five per cent. of the total value of the beer and spirits sold in the saloons, as unblushing robbery. The means they have employed to excite prejudice against the measure have, I confess, astounded me by their impudence and audacity. To meetings and pamphlets and newspaper articles and every instrument of legitimate propagandism no objection can be taken. That the trade should muster in force at every by-election and do all it can to

defeat the Government candidate is natural and reasonable. But when it comes to wealthy brewers trying to bulldoze the Church into resisting the Bill, threatening to cut off their subscriptions to charities if it passes, menacing tradesmen with the loss of custom and working-men with the loss of employment, wailing their hypocritical appeals on behalf of the widows and the orphans who are the misguided holders of brewery shares, and replying to every argument of national policy and of social justice and well-being with the conclusive shout, "Your beer will cost you more!"—when it comes to this, and in England it has already gone beyond it, then I think the limit of political indecency has been reached.

There has never since the Liberals came into office been the least secret of how they intended to deal with the licensing problem. The brewers have foreseen this Bill for the past two years and have prepared for it. They are splendidly organized; they have an enormous campaign fund at their disposal; with the inspiring and most honorable exception of the "Morning Post," all the Unionist papers are on their side; every bar and restaurant contains a flaming petition of protest which its patrons are pressed to sign; every saloon in the country is a centre of electioneering proselytism; every shareholder is adjured in circular after circular to make his voice heard. I think myself that the campaign has been too unmeasured, that it is already provoking a reaction, and that the Unionists in the House of Commons are somewhat ashamed of their irrepressible allies. But it is none the less the fact that since the Bill was introduced a Liberal majority of about two thousand in one constituency has been turned into a Unionist majority of two thousand, that the friends of the Bill are by no means so active as its enemies, and that the Government, with three first-class and highly contentious measures on their hands at the same moment, find themselves in difficulties. The Church, I am glad to say, has stood by them unflinchingly, sinking for the time all other questions in order to forward what is felt to be a cause of crucial moment, and steadfastly disregarding both the importunities and the threats of the trade. But I see, on the whole, little chance of the Bill passing in its present form. The time-limit will undoubtedly have to be extended probably to twenty-one years, and the provision for local veto may have to be sacrificed.

PARIS, *April, 1908.*

M. CLEMENCEAU has now been—as Minister of Interior or as Premier—nearly two years and a half in office. No European Prime Minister, not even Chancellor von Bülow, is as popular, or at least attracts as much notice in political circles. He possesses both the intelligence of the high-class journalist and the activity and energy of the political leader. In this respect he stands quite apart from the thirty or so Prime Ministers who have succeeded one another since the far-away days of the Duc de Broglie. All of his immediate predecessors viewed their responsibilities as being of the same order as those of the ornamental President, their sole superior. M. Rouvier quite rose to the occasion at the Moroccan pinch three years ago, but he soon deserted the field; M. Combes was only a bully who took good care never to stir without a Socialist bravo at his elbow; M. Waldeck Rousseau lived long enough to prove that he had been led where he thought to lead; M. Ribot was so intelligent that he never could make up his mind, and, as Jaurès finely put it the other day, in the words of an ancient, he was and still is just like the cypress, "lofty, gloomy, bearing no fruit"; M. Méline, the ex-Communist, had recanted to such an extent that he looked tame and philistinish. One might go further back and only find men anxious to give the Chamber no offence and get into no scrapes.

Of a very different stamp is M. Clémenceau. While he was Minister of Interior he so gallantly took all the burden of power off his Premier's hands that the poor gentleman's name is completely forgotten, and as soon as he became the real head of the Cabinet and had his way, he fearlessly annexed the Foreign and War Offices to his own Ministry of Interior. M. Pichon and General Picquart never take a step or say a word but it is inspired by him.

The Chamber also feels the hand of a master. In the days of M. Combes a curious institution had arisen which, under the name of *Délégation des Gauches*, did duty for both Parliament and Cabinet. This unofficial but all-powerful body consisted of a certain number of representatives from the various groups in the majority who enjoined their decisions on the government and, so long as the Premier submitted to being their obedient instrument, secured him the necessary votes. This arrangement

worked with mathematical accuracy throughout the three years of M. Combes's tenure of office, but lost its force under M. Rouvier, and completely disappeared the moment M. Clémenceau took the reins. The Chamber follows a responsible chief quite as readily as a veiled committee, and if M. Clémenceau arouses occasional discontent among the deputies it is not because he is too firm and self-willed, but because he is too trenchant and positive and sarcastic.

The question now is,—has M. Clémenceau with all his talent and power achieved very tangible results; is it not rumored that his position is far from being as strong as it used to be? The present writer has repeatedly said that whenever M. Clémenceau makes up his mind to have the three great social reforms with which he came forward as Premier passed through Parliament and enacted in good earnest, he will not last another day. It is consequently needless to point out that there are no Old Age pensions, that the nationalization of the Western Railway is at a standstill, and that the Income Tax Bill might be discussed by a Schoolboy's Parliament just as well as by the Chamber. It is more than probable that not only will M. Clémenceau be out of office but the present Chamber will be at the end of its term before any of these measures is in actual operation. But it does not follow that the Premier's influence has been wasted, or that the country is still in the situation where he found it a few months after the downfall of the wonderful trio, MM. Combes, André and Pelletan.

Now it is a fact that while the defects of a *régime* in which the Chamber,—unless it is broken by a Clémenceau,—is absolute sovereign over President, Government and Senate appear more glaring every day, the public spirit, on the other hand, shows considerable improvement.

The Moroccan war is no longer a bugbear. The panic which brought M. Delcassé's resignation or dismissal would be impossible to-day. The idea that France was sinking thousands of men and billions of francs in a war waged to no purpose is still occasionally expressed by the indefatigable Jaurès or by some member of the Right restlessly in quest of something disquieting; but these scare-mongers find no echo. There is a comfortable feeling in the country that France is doing unhampered the very thing which, three years ago, would have seemed the acme

of rashness and an absurd defiance to Germany. For three years the Socialist party, voiced by M. Jaurès, spread a debasing terror among the nation by repeating on every occasion: "If you interfere in Morocco, or if you seem to lean towards an English policy, or if you do not reduce your war budget, you will offend Germany and incur the risks of a war to which the war of 1870 was only child's play." This speech never failed. The Chamber has heard it and the public read it four times within the last five months without giving any signs of alarm. Eighty million francs that M. Clémenceau wanted the other day for the continuation of the war were granted by an almost unanimous vote.

The sham humanitarianism which used to ring in all the Socialist addresses and was becoming a favorite attitude with the elementary teacher as well as with the elegant metropolitan lecturer is mercilessly derided and put down by the Premier, who, without claiming to be what is generally called a disciplined mind,—he is too much of a *frondeur* for that,—is naturally averse to all sort of cant, and the reverse of a visionary. His vigor in opposing this spirit is admirable and contagious. No amount of Socialist threatening has been able to induce him to extend an amnesty to the anti-militarists, condemned with M. Hervé. One need only contrast the tone of his answers with those made under similar circumstances by his predecessors to realize that the era of jejune professions is at an end, and that sentimentalism is fast disappearing from politics as well as from literature. The speech delivered by Clémenceau at the unveiling of Goblet's monument at Amiens was a triumph of patriotism.

The Premier's battle is chiefly with the Socialists, with their spirit and organization. The power of Jaurès during the four years in which the Bloc was at his mercy was simply unlimited, and he had taken advantage of his situation not only to press on the Bills which he favored and hold over such as did not fit into his plans, but to develop—on apparently legal bases—the most formidable institution that ever threatened the peace of a country. I have already had occasion to describe the confederacy of trades-unions known as the *General Labor Confederacy,* and to point out how easy it would be for its leading committee to carry out their menace of a general strike, if ever they should succeed in enlisting the Syndicates of State Servants. Jaurès's effort is mostly turned in that direction, and the weak-

ness or complicity of the latest Cabinets suffered a great many unions of elementary teachers and workers in the postal service to adhere to the confederacy. The men employed in the Naval arsenals, especially at Brest and Toulon, were longing to join it also, and it is probable that, had M. Pelletan remained at the head of the navy, we should have seen thousands employed in the immediate defence of the country ready to strike, under shelter of an indisputable legislative enactment. It required real courage to withstand a movement so widely spread. M. Clémenceau never flinched from what he declared from the first to be his duty, and, on at least two occasions, gave the Chamber the alternative between his giving up office and the punishment of three or four exceptionally impudent leaders.

The immediate consequences of this courageous attitude was, as might have been expected, to cow the fire-eaters in the Socialist meetings and bring them to a sense of decency. But it had another result which had been less foreseen. The old Radical party—sadly in want of a watchword since the termination of the anti-clerical campaign—were only too glad to rally round Clémenceau's patriotic colors, instead of wretchedly following in the Socialist wake, and it must be confessed that the new platform on which they are slowly finding their feet is by far the best they have known since the almost forgotten days of Gambetta and Jules Simon.

On the whole, and to put it in one word, M. Clémenceau is restoring backbone to his country, and after the hagglings and shufflings of the last fifteen years this is no mean glory.

Should the reader now ask how much of the Premier's legislative programme, solemnly read in Parliament two years ago, has become working reality, I should be obliged to give a most disappointing answer. Not one of the three or four points mentioned in the Government declaration has been gained. There is no Income Tax Law, no Old Age Pension fund, and the Western Railway is still in the hands of the company from which it was to be taken over. Plenty has been said and written concerning these measures, but nothing done. Is it the Government's or the Parliament's fault? No, it is the fault of a spirit, the greatest blemish on the present *régime*. I mean the spirit of parliamentary sham or, one might even say, of hypocrisy. The deputies light-heartedly pass impossible Acts, knowing that they

are impossible, and trusting that when they are shown to be so by the Senate, the Government will have made room for another with other Bills, or the Chamber itself will be too near reelection to mind much.

Of the immediate future of the Cabinet I can say nothing. Its great danger lies in a barefaced coalition of M. Jaurès with no other person than M. Combes, lately made public in the "*Rappel*" and the "*Humanité.*" These two gentlemen will have no difficulty in enrolling many petty greeds and disappointed ambitions, and nobody can tell what may result from base intriguing in the lobby. Under the circumstances, in spite of the shortcomings I have pointed out above, Clémenceau's fall would be greatly to be deplored. It would mean the country's relapse into the bog of politics.

WASHINGTON, *April, 1908.*

As was anticipated, the report of the Naval Committee to the House of Representatives provides for the laying down this year of only two battleships instead of the four recommended by the Secretary of the Navy. There is a wide-spread and fervent hope not only in Washington, but also in the South and West, that the report may be amended in this particular, and that, in view of the position taken by President Roosevelt in his special message on the subject, enough Republicans will co-operate with Democrats to pass the minority report of Representative Hobson, which insists upon the four-battleship programme. The majority report evinces indifferences to our retention of the second place among the sea Powers of the world, which, for the moment, we occupy, and the appended statement evinces defective knowledge concerning the preparations making by other countries for naval expansion. The revised German scheme, lately sanctioned by the Reichstag as well as by the Bundesrath, directs that four battleships of the "Dreadnought" or of a superior type shall be begun this year and every year up to and including 1911. The Japanese, on their part, are proceeding in the same direction with great energy, and they have this marked advantage over the United States, that their shipyards can turn out a battleship of the highest class within a twelvemonth. France also is taking vigorous measures to regain, what she once possessed, the second rank among naval Powers. As for Eng-

land, not only Lord Tweedmouth, lately First Lord of the Admiralty, but Mr. Asquith, now Premier, have averred in the House of Commons that if, at the end of the present year, the Ministers find that Germany is financially in a position to carry out her revised naval programme—and she will be by means of her new loan—they will at once authorize the building of a sufficient number of first-class battleships to insure Great Britain's equality to the two next highest maritime Powers. There is no doubt that the assurance can be fulfilled, for England has incomparable facilities for building war-ships with rapidity and in large numbers. We, unluckily, cannot pretend to rival her or Japan in quickness of construction. Under all the circumstances, it seems an act of folly to cut down by one-half Secretary Metcalf's battleship programme. The only substantial plea for doing so is the alleged necessity of reducing Federal expenditure, owing to the shrinkage of the Federal revenue. The plea cannot be reconciled with the proposed huge outlay for Federal public buildings. The report is current—and patriotic Americans, who do not happen to be politicians, trust that it may prove well founded—that, if four battleships are refused in the teeth of his message to Congress, the President will veto the appropriations for public buildings. No doubt, there are enough log-rollers in the House to pass the latter bill over Mr. Roosevelt's veto, but it is scarcely credible that two-thirds of the Senate would combine for such a purpose.

Many onlookers find it hard to discern President Roosevelt's real motive for sending to Congress at this time a Special Message requesting the enactment of more rigorous laws against anarchists. The present session of Congress is fast drawing to a close and members of both Houses are impatient to adjourn, as soon as the indispensable appropriations have been made, in order to supervise primaries and conventions and to further their political interests in their respective States and Congressional districts. No new statutory impediments to immigration should be created without exhaustive debate, lest more harm than good be done, and it would probably take all the summer to assure the passage of a satisfactory measure. This, of course, must be as patent to Mr. Roosevelt as it is to members of the Federal Legislature, and it is reasonable, therefore, to interpret the Special Message about anarchists as an intimation that the Ex-

ecutive means to employ with the utmost energy all the powers already vested in it by statute for obstructing the admission of anarchists into the country, and for the expulsion of those who are already here whenever this is legally possible. As for the circulation of anarchist newspapers, there seems to be no doubt that the Federal Government is already empowered to exclude them from the mails.

Although, thanks to the influence of its promoters, the Aldrich bill providing for the issue of an emergency currency encountered no insuperable obstacle in the Senate, there has been an agreement of expert opinion that in its present form it would have no chance of being sanctioned by the House of Representatives. It is, however, a mistake to assume that the unacceptability of the Aldrich plan practically means that no measure dealing with the subject will be adopted at the present session of Congress. On the contrary, Speaker Cannon and other leading Republicans have determined to call a caucus of the members of their party for the purpose of securing a majority for the Vreeland bill, which is a reproduction of the Aldrich bill with three modifications.

The question as to what should be done by way of rejoinder to the refusal of the Caracas Government to comply with the request of our State Department that certain claims of American citizens shall be submitted to arbitration is a very delicate one, and whether Congress will authorize the President to take coercive measures is considered very doubtful. It is even doubtful whether our Executive, in spite of the rebuffs to which President Castro of Venezuela has subjected it, really desires to pursue a coercive policy. The American claims are five in number. Two of these have already been submitted to arbitration; that is to say, to mixed tribunals, one-half of whose members were designated by the United States, and the other half by Venezuela. Those tribunals threw out the two claims. Now it is quite possible that the soundness of those decisions might be impeached on review if Venezuela would consent to a second arbitration, but, as things stand, the decisions are binding on us, and we certainly cannot afford to propound the principle that whenever the judgment of arbitrators is unacceptable to one of the parties, that party is at liberty to use battleships for the purpose of procuring a rehearing of the case. A third claim is that of the New York and Bermudez Company, which has been deprived of

its property in an asphalt lake by the Venezuelan Courts. We cannot, with any show of decency, use force to compel the reference of this company's claim to arbitration, for the reason that the claimant does not come into Court with clean hands, having been proved to have spent over one hundred thousand dollars in abetting an insurrection against the Venezuelan Government. There remain two claims against which none of the objections specified applies. As to these, however, we seem to be estopped from taking violent measures in order to exact a submission of them to arbitration, for the reason that, at the second Peace Conference, our representatives at The Hague advocated the Drago Doctrine that force should never be used to bring about the settlement of contractual obligations, but that the creditors should be remitted to the Courts of the debtor country. Under all the circumstances, there seems to be nothing for our State Department to do but to express regret that Venezuela should maintain towards its best, if not its only, friend a recalcitrant and ungrateful attitude. We say ungrateful, because in 1896 we were ready to go to war to compel Great Britain to submit the definition of Venezuela's eastern boundary to arbitration.

There has been of late much talk concerning the refusal of Mr. Fisher, the American Consul-General at Harbin, to recognize any but Chinese authority within the zone traversed by the Chinese Eastern Railway, which, so far as the northern section of the line is concerned, is owned and operated by a Russian corporation. There is no doubt that, by the treaty of 1898, China not only granted a franchise to this company, but empowered it to protect its tracks with railway guards, and to issue certain administrative regulations for the maintenance of peace and order within a zone fifty versts in width. There ought, then, to be no clash of authority between Russia and China, for the regulations authorized by the treaty are not, on their face, incompatible with Chinese sovereignty. Such, at least, seems to be the view of the matter taken by Secretary Root, and we have no doubt that Consul-General Fisher was from the outset instructed, or now will be, to conform to it. That is to say, while recognizing Chinese sovereignty, he will not, as a leaseholder of premises in the Russian municipality of Harbin, refuse to comply with such regulations as are clearly sanctioned by the Russo-Chinese Treaty of 1898.

THE EDITOR'S DIARY.

A Plea for Loquacity.

WHY do American women talk so little? Have they suddenly become so religious that they consider it advisable to heed even the dicta of Solomon and the injunctions of Paul? We can hardly believe this to be the case even in the Lenten period. As we have advised frequently, neither the wise king nor the eloquent apostle was suitably equipped by experience and association for the guiding of womankind; one had too many wives, the other had none; wherefore the view-point of each, though varying widely from that of the other, was prejudiced and untrustworthy. The very petulance of Solomon's language in expressing preference for life in a "corner of the housetop" rather than "with a brawling woman in a wide house" suggests the likelihood of an annoying experience still fresh in mind, else he would not have dwelt with so much particularity upon the size of the mansion. Clearly the observation was based upon an actual occurrence resulting apparently in personal chagrin and disappointment at the untoward conduct of one of the six hundred whom he had recently installed in the gilded palace. It is worthy of note, in passing, moreover, that there is no intimation in the proverb to the effect that the cozy corner on the housetop was uninhabited. Indeed, circumstantially, in view of the necessity of stowing away so many companions, it would seem quite improbable, so we may reasonably assume that the king's peevish utterance was only discriminatory and consequently as a matter of general application meaningless.

A like conclusion is not so obvious from the further observation that "it is better to live in the wilderness than with a contentious and an angry woman," but the propinquity of the remarks indicates that the two were inspired by the same obstreperous

lady. And even at that, as has been the case usually since, the conscience of the husband seems to have been pricking even then, for he ingenuously and almost immediately adds, "Whoso keepeth *his* mouth and *his* tongue keepeth his soul from troubles"—a significant reflection and sound to this very day.

Paul's adjuration to the brethren in Corinth to forbid women to speak in the church also was made for a specific, not a general, purpose. The Corinthian women were so forward that they frequently appeared unveiled, contrary to the custom of their country, and not only spoke their minds freely in public assembly, but garbed their persons in fine raiment to attract favorable attention. Needless to add, their efforts were successful, and the meetings of the church were characterized by scenes of ribaldry and profligacy. It was only fitting and necessary, consequently, for Paul, whose first unfortunately unrecorded warning had passed unheeded, to insist that "if they would learn anything, let them ask their husbands at home"—in other words, let them remain away from the church altogether until they should be willing to "adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefacedness and sobriety, not with braided hair or gold or pearls or costly array," and "learn in silence with all subjection." It was a severe rebuke, and justified, but meant only for the flirts of Corinth, not for women generally. So in every instance it will be found that the occasional Scriptural injunctions of silence so frequently quoted were placed upon womankind solely to remedy local or spasmodic evils. There is no ecumenical prohibition of feminine loquacity applicable by any stretch of the imagination to women of the present day. Their growing reticence, therefore, cannot spring from religious motive or prejudice.

Can it be that Nature is reasserting her authority? We may not deny that upon all females, except those politely considered as human, she did and does enjoin submissive silence. It is the cock that crows, the gander that honks, the father bird that sings, the bullfrog that gulps, and even the masculine grasshopper that stridently rasps his wings. So to-day, in conformity with barbaric custom, quietude is imposed upon the harem of a Turk as upon that of a chanticleer, but how long since not without cause did we suppose we perceived the disappearance of the habit among civilized peoples!

Are we not, then, driven to the conclusion that women of to-

day are beginning to talk less in the hope of thus better pleasing men? If so, while commending the motive, we would unhesitatingly question the method. American women err grievously in assuming that their actual or would-be lords dislike to hear them converse upon all suitable occasions. The mere music of their voices as contrasted with the raucous male note easily counterbalances any possible disparity in the ideas expressed. And, compared with sheer stupidity or studied sulkiness, loquacity is a joy to all mankind. Upon all grounds, therefore,—in the interest of progress and enlightenment, for the unburdening of the spirit, to enhance cheerfulness, to discourage care, to brighten the home, for sincerity's sake no less than for circumspection's, even for the preservation of peace and quiet within and without the American family,—we cry out for a loosening of the delicate tongues now so strangely and so suspiciously stilled.

LA SENTENCOJ DE SALOMONO.*

(El la Biblio.)

EL LA ORIGINALO TRADUKIS, L. L. ZAMENHOF.

ĈAPITRO XI.

(1) MALVERA pesilo estas abomenaĵo por Dio, sed plena pezo plaĉas al Li. (2) Se venis malhumileco, venos ankaŭ honto; sed ĉe la humiluloj estas saĝo. (3) La senkulpeco de la piuloj gvidos ilin, sed la falsemo pereigos la maliculojn. (4) Ne helpos riĉo en la tago de kolero, sed bonfaremo savas de morto. (5) La justeco de piulo ebenigas lian vojon, sed malpiulo falos per sia malpieco. (6) La justeco de piuloj savos ilin, sed la pasio de maliculoj ilin kaptos. (7) Kiam mortas homo malpia, pereas la espero, kaj la atendo de la funebruloj pereas. (8) Piulo estas savata de mizero, kaj malpiulo venas sur lian lokon. (9) Per la buŝo de hipokritulo difektiĝas lia proksimulo, sed per kompreno piuloj saviĝas. (10) Kiam al la piuloj estas bone, la urbo ĝojas, kaj kiam pereas malpiuloj, ĝi estas gaja. (11) Per la beno de piuloj urbo altiĝas, kaj per la buŝo de malpiuloj ĝi ruiniĝas. (12) Kiu malhonoras sian proksimulon estas malsaĝulo, sed homo prudenta silentas. (13) Kiu iras kun kalumnioj, tiu elperfidas sekreton, sed kiu havas fidelan spiriton, tiu konservas aferon. (14) Ĉe manko de prikonsiliĝo popolo pereas, sed ĉe multe da konsilantoj estas bonstato. (15) Malbonon faras al si tiu, kiu garantias por fremdulo, sed kiu malamas donadon de mano, tiu estas ekster danĝero. (16) Aminda virino

* Dr. Zamenhof has made this translation of Proverbs from the original text especially for THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. The first chapter appeared in the December, 1907, issue. The subsequent chapters will be published during 1908.

akiras honoron, kaj potenculoj akiras riĉon. (17) Bonkora homo donas bonon al sia animo, kaj kruelulo detruas sian karnon. (18) Malvirtulo akiras profiton malveran, kaj la semanto de virto—veran rekompencon. (19) Bonfarado kondukas al vivo, kaj kiu celas malbonon, iras al sia morto. (20) Abomenaĵo por Dio estas la malickoruloj, sed plaĉas al Li tiuj, kiuj iras vojon pian. (21) Oni povas esti certa, ke malvirtulo ne restos senpuna, sed la idaro de virtuloj estos savita. (22) Kiel ora ringo sur la nazo de porko, tiel estas virino bela, sed malbonkonduta. (23) La deziro de virtuloj estas nur bono, sed malvirtuloj povas esperi nur koleron. (24) Unu disdonas kaj riĉiĝas ĉiam pli, alia tro avaras kaj tamen nur malriĉiĝas. (25) Animo benanta ĝuos bonstaton, kaj kiu trinkigas, tiu mem havos sufiĉe por trinki. (26) Kiu retenas grenon, tiun malbenas la popolo, sed beno venas sur la kapon de tiu, kiu disdonas. (27) Kiu celas bonon, tiu atingos plaĉon, sed kiu serĉas malbonon, tiun ĝi trafos. (28) Kiu fidas sian riĉecon, tiu falos, sed virtuloj floros kiel juna folio. (29) Kiu detruas sian domon, tiu heredos venton, kaj malsaĝulo estas sklavo de saĝulo. (30) La frukto de virtulo estas arbo de vivo, kaj akiranto de animoj estas saĝulo. (31) Se virtulo ricevas redonon sur la tero, tiom pli malvirtulo kaj pekulo.

ĈAPITRO XII.

(1) Kiu amas instruon, tiu amas scion, sed kiu malamas atentigon, tiu estas malsaĝulo. (2) Bonulo akiras favoron de Dio, sed homo malica estos kondamnita. (3) Ne fortikiĝos homo per malvirto, sed la radiko de virtuloj ne ŝanceliĝos. (4) Brava virino estas krono por sia edzo, sed senhonora estas kiel puso en liaj ostoj. (5) La pensoj de virtuloj estas justeco, la meditado de malvirtuloj estas malico. (6) La paroloj de malvirtuloj estas insido pri sango, sed la buŝo de virtuloj ilin savas. (7) La malvirtuloj renversiĝos kaj malaperos, sed la domo de virtuloj staros forte. (8) Oni laŭdas homon laŭ lia saĝo, sed maliculo estos hontigita. (9) Pli bona estas homo negrava, sed laboranta por si, ol homo, kiu serĉas honoron, sed al kiu mankas pano. (10) Virtulo kompatas la vivon de sia bruto, sed la koro de malvirtuloj estas kruela. (11) Kiu prilaboras sian teron, tiu havos sate da pano, sed kiu ĉasas vantaĵojn, estas malsaĝulo. (12) Malvirtulo serĉas subtenon de malbonuloj, sed la radiko de virtuloj donas forton. (13) Per siaj pekaj

vortoj kaptiĝas malbonulo, sed virtulo eliras el mizero. (14) Per la fruktoj de sia buŝo homo bone satiĝas, kaj laŭ la merito de liaj manoj homo ricevas redonon. (15) La vojo de malsaĝulo estas ĝusta en liaj okuloj, sed saĝulo aŭskultas konsilon. (16) Malsaĝulo tuj montras sian koleron, sed saĝulo kaŝas ofendon. (17) Kiu estas verama, tiu diras tion, kio estas ĝusta, sed falsama atestulo trompas. (18) Ofte nepripensita parolo vundas kiel glavo, sed la lango de saĝuloj sanigas. (19) Parolo vera restas fortike por ĉiam, sed parolo malvera nur por momento. (20) Malico estas en la koro de malbonintenculoj, sed ĉe la pacigantoj estas ĝojo. (21) Nenio malbona trafos virtulon, sed la malvirtuloj havas plene da malbono. (22) Abomenaĵo por Dio estas buŝo mensogema sed kiuj agas laŭ vero, tiuj plaĉas al Li. (23) Saĝa homo kaŝas scion, sed la koro de malsaĝuloj elkrias malsaĝecon. (24) La mano de diligentuloj regos, sed mano maldiligenta pagos tributon. (25) Zorgo en la koro de homo ĝin premas, sed bona vorto ĝin ĝojigas. (26) Al la virtulo estas pli bone, ol al lia proksimulo, sed la vojo de malvirtuloj ilin erarigas. (27) Maldiligenteco ne pretigos al si manĝon, sed homo diligenta havas riĉecon. (28) Sur la vojo de virto estas vivo, kaj ĝi estas ebenigita kontraŭ morto.

ĈAPITRO XIII.

(1) Saga filo lernas de la patro, sed mokanto ne aŭskultas moralinstruon. (2) La frukto de la buŝo donas al homo bonan manĝon, sed la animo de krimuloj estas malbono. (3) Kiu gardas sian buŝon, tiu gardas sian animon; kiu tro malfermas sian buŝon, tiu pereas. (4) La animo de maldiligentulo deziras kaj ne ricevas, sed la animo de diligentuloj satiĝas. (5) Vorton malveran virtulo malamas, sed malvirtulo malhonoras kaj malgloras. (6) La virto gardas tiun, kiu iras ĝustan vojon, sed la malvirto pereigas pekulon. (7) Unu ŝajnigas sin riĉa, havante nenion, alia ŝajnigas sin malriĉa, havante grandan riĉecon. (8) Per sia riĉeco homo savas sian animon, sed malriĉulo ne aŭskultas atentigon. (9) La lumo de virtuloj estas ĝoja, sed la lumilo de malvirtuloj estingiĝos. (10) Nur de malhumileco venas malpaco, sed la akceptantaj konsilojn havas saĝon. (11) De vantaj elspezoj malgrandiĝas riĉeco, sed kion oni kolektas en la mano, tio multiĝas. (12) Espero prokrastata dolorigas la koron, sed plenumita deziro estas arbo de vivo. (13)

Kiu malŝatas diron, malutilas al si mem, sed respektanta ordonon estos rekompencita. (14) Instruo de saĝulo estas fonto de vivo, por evitigi la retojn de la morto. (15) Bona prudento plaĉigas, sed la vojo de perfiduloj donas dolorojn. (16) Ĉiu prudentulo agas konscie, sed malsaĝulo elmontras malsaĝecon. (17) Malbona sendito falos en malfeliĉon, sed sendito fidela sanigas. (18) Malriĉa kaj hontigata estos tiu, kiu forpuŝas instruon, kaj kiu observas instruon, estos estimata. (19) Deziro plenumita estas agrabla por la animo, sed malagrable por la malsaĝuloj estas deturni sin de malbono. (20) Kiu iras kun saĝuloj, estos saĝa, sed kamarado de malsaĝuloj fariĝos malsaĝa. (21) Pekulojn persekutas malbono, sed virtulojn rekompencos bono. (22) Bonulo heredigas la nepojn, kaj por virtulo konserviĝas la havo de pekulo. (23) Multe da manĝaĵo estas sur la kampo de malriĉuloj, sed multaj pereas pro manko de justeco. (24) Kiu ŝparas sian vergon, tiu malamas sian filon, sed kiu lin amas, tiu baldaŭ lin punas. (25) Virtulo manĝas, por satigi sian animon, sed la ventro de malvirtuloj havas mankon.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER.

Augustus Thomas

was born in St. Louis in 1859, educated in the public schools, and subsequently he studied law in New York. He had a varied newspaper career in several American cities, and politically he has been prominently identified with the Democratic party. He is best known, however, as the author of a number of popular plays, including "Alabama," "In Mizzoura," "The Earl of Pawtucket," "The Witching Hour" and many others.

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was born July 16th, 1869, at Macon, Georgia. He was educated at the University of the South and subsequently became editor of the "Knoxville Sentinel," one of the leading Southern newspapers. In 1900 he was delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Kansas City and at St. Louis in 1904. Among his published works are "The Constitution of Tennessee" and "Compulsory Education and the Southern States."

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was born at La Pointe, Wisconsin, February 14th, 1859, and admitted to the bar of Minnesota, April 17th, 1880. He was Assistant City Attorney of St. Paul, 1883-8, Prosecuting Attorney of Ramsey County, 1891-2, and a member of the National Democratic Committee for Minnesota, 1896-1904. He served as Insurance Commissioner of Minnesota, 1905 to 1907, then resigned to resume the practice of law.

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Secretary of War of the United States, was born in Cincinnati in 1857, and graduated at Yale in 1874. He has held public office with distinction almost continuously since the year 1881. He has served as United States Circuit Judge, as Governor of the Philippine Islands and, since 1904, as Secretary of War.

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SENATOR F. G. NEWLANDS,

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William Wilson Cook, LL.D.,

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is a native of Bury, in Lancashire, England. For several years he was connected with a number of English papers. In 1884, he came to the United States and joined the staff of the "St. Louis Globe-Democrat." Returning to England, he was employed for some time as a parliamentary reporter. He now resides in the United States as correspondent for important British newspapers. He is the author of "The Englishman at Home" and "The History of the Unreformed House of Commons."

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Charles Johnston

was born at Ballykilbeg, County Down, Ireland, in 1867, and educated at Trinity College, Dublin. For several years he was Assistant and, later, Deputy Magistrate, at Murshidabad, in Lower Bengal, and afterwards at Cuttack, in the District of Orissa. In 1891, he returned to England from India, and spent the subsequent four years on the Continent, travelling in Belgium, Holland, Germany, Russia, Austria and France. Since 1896 he has resided in the United States.

Carl Snyder

was born at Cedar Falls, Iowa, in 1869. He was educated in the Iowa State University and in Europe. He is the author of "New Conceptions in Science" and other scientific publications.

Note

The Editor has learned, with surprise and regret, that the Earl of Rosebery did not authorize the publication of the article entitled "Bookishness and Statesmanship," which was published over his name in the February number. As the Editor has explained to the Earl of Rosebery (who has courteously stated that he "quite understands the position of the Editor in regard to the publication of the article"), the article came to the Review from a literary agent in whose good faith the Editor had reason to have full confidence, but who, it appears, unfortunately misconstrued a communication he had received from the Earl of Rosebery as empowering him to arrange for the publication of the article.

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THE CLAIMS OF THE CANDIDATES.

BY AUGUSTUS THOMAS, GEORGE F. MILTON, TOM FINTY, JR., WALTER EDWARD HARRIS, THOMAS SPEED MOSBY, THOMAS F. BAYARD, EDWARD B. WHITNEY, THOMAS D. O'BRIEN, O. O. STEALEY, AND MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN.

THE reasons for the nomination of a candidate of either party may be divided broadly into those of expediency and those of sentiment.

In the first division, while there may be such remote considerations as the upbuilding of a party for future contests, the obliteration of undesirable control and the like, the chief question is the chance of success in the immediately ensuing elections. Under this head—the chance of success—must be considered, first, the strength of the man himself measured by the popularity of his position upon questions which divide public opinion; and, secondly, his strength of that kind compared with that of his probable or possible antagonist, the leader of the opposing party.

The question uppermost in the mind of the American electorate to-day is the undue influence of wealth upon the Government as that influence is expressed, not only legally and overtly, but also illegally and covertly. In one or the other of these fields

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of its expression and activity are to be found all of the evils of which the great body of the people make complaint.

The open influence of wealth used oppressively has an example in the establishment of the protective tariff and in the successful resistance of any attempt within the ranks of the dominant party to revise that tariff. It has another example in the use of the courts in the so-called government by injunction. Still another in the paralysis of executives when the laws against the big criminals are permitted to slumber while those against the small offenders are drastically enforced.

The covert use of wealth has many examples brought to light through judicial and legislative investigation showing the corrupting of executive and legislative officers, the corrupt arrangement with party managers to nullify ante-election promises, and the suppression of the people's voice in the elections themselves.

Outside of the machinery of government the iniquitous effect of the influence of wealth is felt in the discrimination of the railroads in favor of the large shipper and the exploitation of the public through the dishonest manipulation of corporate stocks.

No man in the United States in either party stands so indelibly associated with the protest against all of these evils as Mr. Bryan stands. A majority of his party knows, and all the members of both parties may be brought to know, that the last three Democratic National platforms have contained planks demanding the enlargement of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission with a view to correct the evils of railroad discrimination, also planks demanding the vigorous prosecution of trusts, the revision of the tariff, and the forbidding of judicial writs in industrial disputes except after notice to defendants and full hearing, and that these planks, while absent from the Republican platform, were in the Democratic documents chiefly through the advocacy and influence of Mr. Bryan.

It is also a fact that the principal reforms which have come to be associated with President Roosevelt in the public mind and in the demand for which his party is by no means unanimous, were first indicated by Mr. Bryan as the needed remedies possible by National legislation. In his Madison Square Garden speech in August, 1906, Mr. Bryan advocated specifically the enforcement of the criminal clause in the cases against the trusts—a correction of the evil known as government by injunction—the

enactment of an eight-hour law—arbitration in labor disputes—a graduated income tax—the prohibition of campaign contributions from corporations, and a Federal license for corporations. President Roosevelt, in his message six months later, recommended to Congress the enactment of legislation to each and all of these ends.

The recommendations of President Roosevelt are popular with the people, however unwelcome and tiresome they may be to Congressmen and Senators. Because of these recommendations the President himself is popular. His popularity, judging from present indications, is such that nothing but his repeated refusal to be again a candidate can prevent his renomination in the approaching National convention of his party.

Of all the men thus far named in connection with the Democratic nomination only Mr. Bryan is at all associated in the public mind with these enumerated policies. He is not only associated with the policies, but he very properly is recognized as their strongest and first and most consistent advocate.

If it shall be possible next November to elect a Democratic President that possibility will exist chiefly because accessions may be gained from Republican ranks. Those accessions may come either from the progressionists, who form the Roosevelt wing of the party, or from the reactionists, who form the Cannon wing. The members of the Cannon wing, however, are the stand-patters, the hard-shell protectionists. The Roosevelt Republicans are the men who are conscious of existing evils, who confess the need of tariff revision, and who form the progressive and mobile element of their party. If a successful bid for assistance and support can be made to either wing it is to this latter. The popularity of Roosevelt's measures with these men is not because of Roosevelt, but Roosevelt himself is popular with them because of his measures. It is the fact of a man personally expressing policies.

As far as any man can be himself the expression of a policy Mr. Bryan expresses, and in pre-eminent degree, the vital policies of the Democracy.

There are those within the party who believe that the sole issue is the tariff, that all of the evils are traceable to this iniquity. The difference between those members and Mr. Bryan is merely one of terms. Mr. Bryan believes that the tariff itself in its present form is not the product of the wisdom of the country

nor yet of the wisdom of the party that is responsible for it, but that it exists through the demand of interests now predatory in their activity.

Coming to the consideration of the candidate's strength as practically recorded, we must recall that when in 1904, under the leadership of the New York "World" and other so-called Democratic organs suffering, as Mr. Watterson described them, from both provincialism and landlordism—some of them from absentee landlordism—the party abandoned the forward movement inaugurated by Mr. Bryan and retreated to the parade-ground dominated by Mr. Parker, the total vote of Democracy in the United States fell 1,280,000 behind its total vote of four years before. An attempt to account for and to locate this loss results, first, in the discovery that Mr. Roosevelt, with all his San Juan popularity, increased the national vote for McKinley only 414,000. Nearly one million Democratic votes reported among the missing, therefore, must be assumed to have been left in the trenches of the enemy and beside the abandoned standards of the Bryan Democracy.

When we consider his strength in comparison with the strength of the Republican candidate—probably Taft, possibly Roosevelt—we have only to decide whether the public faith and allegiance will flock to those standards borrowed from Democracy and raised by Mr. Roosevelt above a mutinous Congress, as notably in the recent refusal to repeal the duty on wood pulp, or whether the public faith and allegiance would follow the same standards in the hands of Mr. Bryan, who first raised them and who has unceasingly supported them and behind whom there would be a united Democracy.

Mr. Bryan's ability to stand inflexibly for a principle, his superiority to clamor, has been shown on many occasions and in many trying situations. There is a well-founded belief in the public mind that as an executive he would abide by the provisions of the Constitution, feel himself bound by their restriction and insist upon their enforcement, and that neither the legislative nor the judicial department of our Government would feel the encroachment of the executive.

Mr. Bryan is informed upon Old World affairs and conditions. His information has been gained by personal visits, examinations and study, and is of a practical quality and modern equipment—

perhaps more valuable to a Chief Executive than a literary willingness to write critically of English history. Of the United States his knowledge, both intimate and comprehensive, is exceeded by that of no other man. He knows the country, its cross-roads, its hamlets, its towns, its cities; he knows its resources, its people, their needs. His almost continuous journeyings through the States have been for purposes of intercourse with their citizens and not to acquire camp-fire tales or nature stories.

If we turn from Bryan to the selection of some other candidate from the ranks of Democracy, we look in vain for one with a sufficiently assuring record, for one well enough known to the rank and file of the party, or for one who could be sufficiently introduced between now and election by any possible campaign of education to unite the party and invoke the enthusiasm necessary to victory.

It cannot be successfully disputed that Mr. Bryan has the personal affection of a greater number of Democratic voters than any three candidates combined. In the last twelve years, with the exception of two trips abroad, the majority of his Sundays have been occupied by the delivery of addresses and sermons to religious congregations of mixed political beliefs. The voters of his own political opinions in these audiences have been strengthened in their devotion to him. Those of opposing parties have acquired a personal appreciation and respect for him which have taken the place of former misapprehension and distrust. On many Sundays two of these addresses, sometimes three, have been delivered in a day and evening. A conservative estimate may place the number of voters, members of religious organizations, who have listened to Mr. Bryan in that time at 250,000. In addition to this number probably 1,000,000 citizens have attended the lectures which Mr. Bryan has given in his regular tours, exclusive of the free political gatherings that he has addressed. These auditors have invariably gained a high opinion of the sincerity, the profundity, the stability of the lecturer. It is impossible to listen to Mr. Bryan through an extended discourse and not gain an added appreciation of the character of the man. The impression that he makes at these times is abiding, and no estimate of his strength with the people is reliable that omits from its calculation the friends he has gained in these talks of a non-political kind.

A great writer has said that "Napoleon, discarding the established rules of war, conquered Europe with the bivouac." Mr. Bryan, temporarily deserted by the managers of the so-called conservative wing of his organization, regained and held the hearts of its rank and file by personal and fraternal contact. He has made converts and recruits. Other candidates in the party may command equal respect, but no other can so thoroughly evoke, sustain and augment the enthusiasm necessary to a militant and progressive and successful campaign.

AUGUSTUS THOMAS.

EDWARD WARD CARMACK.

THE measure of character of the subject of this sketch was taken in Tennessee in the year 1896.

For nine years he had been engaged in newspaper work. First elected to the office of justice of the peace of Maury County, Tennessee, and then, when only twenty-seven, sent to the Legislature, he had not given himself up wholly to politics. An opportunity offering in 1887, he took up editorial work on the Nashville "American." In 1892, he left that paper to establish the Memphis "Commercial." For three years the contest between the new aspirant and its competitor, the "Appeal Avalanche," with long and honorable history, was bitter. It was largely due to Carmack's able pen that the supremacy of the new paper was finally established. The brilliant editor was now at the head of his profession in the State. He received a salary which was at that time the highest paid to any editor in the South. He had every reason to be proud of the position which, unaided, he had created for himself. His name was linked with that of the "Commercial-Appeal." His newspaper was widely circulated over three States. He could reasonably look forward to a career of emolument and honor. It was at this time, however, that the country became absorbed in the discussion of the currency question. Josiah Patterson represented the Tenth district of Tennessee in the House of Representatives. He had been in favor of free silver, but through the influence of Grover Cleveland now espoused the views of his chief and became a candidate for re-election to Congress. The principal owners of the "Commercial-Appeal" were friends of Patterson. They were conservative

business men. They insisted that Mr. Carmack support Patterson in the columns of the "Commercial-Appeal," whatever might be his individual views. The brilliant young editor did not hesitate. Wealth and ease were on one side, and uncertainty as to his future on the other. But he never wavered. His resignation was sent in and he left the paper which he had created and on which he had stamped his individuality.

Thus Tennessee came to know Edward Ward Carmack.

Since that time none has doubted his honor, his courage or his sincerity.

The young journalist, thrown adrift by reason of his conscience, found himself the logical candidate of those of his view against Josiah Patterson, and from that resignation out of journalism—giving up all the fruits, apparently, of the work of years—has come a public life which has extended over the ensuing twelve years, and is not likely soon to be ended.

In the memorable race for Congress, which followed, Carmack secured a majority over Patterson. The latter contested his seat, however, and the final scene in the contest between these two big men was on the floor of the House at the Capitol, where each argued his own case. Patterson thought he would receive the support of the Republicans, because of the fact that he was a gold Democrat, many of whom had cast their votes for Mr. McKinley. Mr. Carmack's speech in his own behalf marked his entrance on the national arena. It was considered one of the great speeches of the session. Rarely in the history of a Congress has a member of the minority whose seat has been contested been able to secure votes of the majority, or to induce them to refrain from voting. Despite the appeals which Mr. Patterson made, however, the Republicans were carried away by Carmack's great address, so full of wit, sarcasm, logic and invective, for which all his speeches have been notable, and he was sustained in his seat. It was in this speech that he termed the mugwump "a political mule having neither the pride of ancestry nor hope of posterity," a phrase which has stuck.

Mr. Carmack served two terms in the House. On the death of Isham G. Harris, in 1897, Governor Robert L. Taylor appointed Thomas B. Turley to succeed him. When the Legislature convened Turley was a candidate for the remaining unexpired term of Harris and had as his opponent Benton McMillin, for a long

time Democratic leader in Congress. Mr. Carmack managed Mr. Turley's campaign and Turley was re-elected. This contest, however, was provocative of political animosities which have since followed him and were prominent in his own campaign for re-election to the Senate last year.

In the United States Senate, to which he was elected in 1900, Mr. Carmack made more reputation in a single term of service than any other Southern Senator, except, probably, Ben Hill, of Georgia. He came to the front almost immediately. The Philippines was the uppermost topic, and he bitterly opposed imperialism. In the Tennessee State Convention of 1900 a large number of delegates favored a platform which did not commit the Democratic party to opposition to the policy of expansion. At a critical time in the discussion Mr. Carmack was called for and in ringing terms he denounced the imperialistic programme. He secured the adoption of a substitute for the resolutions reported, the substitute declaring unmistakably against the policy of the administration. Mr. Carmack was a member of the Philippines Committee of the Senate. He denounced "benevolent assimilation," terming it "malevolent dissimulation." He put life into the Democratic opposition to the party in power. The nominal leader of the Senate was Senator James K. Jones. Younger men, like Carmack, Bailey and Culberson, were the active floor leaders. It was largely at his instance that some of the cruelties practised in the Philippines were shown up. Some of his conservative friends thought he went too far in his denunciation of the policy of imperialism, but events finally brought the thinking people of the country very much to his point of view.

Personally, Mr. Carmack was popular with members of both parties in Washington. In impromptu debate he was at his best. Senator Spooner, skilled parliamentarian, learned lawyer and shrewd beyond most of his party fellows, said that Carmack was the only man he really feared in debate. It was not to be expected that this bold spirit could accord with that of Mr. Roosevelt. After the President had found himself mercilessly roasted on the Carmack gridiron a few times he lost his temper. Carmack said of the President: "He resembles in his habits of speech my friend Joe Ballanfant's horse, of which remarkable animal it was said that running away was his natural gait." This comparison probably broke the camel's back. Invitations to

the White House came no more to the Tennessee Senator. He did not care, however. No man was more utterly indifferent to patronage or Executive favors.

On January 16th, 1907, he defended the action of the Executive in the Brownsville matter. He opened his speech by saying:

"The President once said that he would see a certain member of the Tennessee delegation in Hades before he would do anything for him, a remark that was entirely gratuitous, in view of the fact that the person referred to had never stooped to ask a favor at his hand, but with supreme indifference to his opinion had censured him when he was wrong, and with a like indifference to his opinion can support him when he is right."

Mr. Carmack's ridicule of the President was in its richest form in his speech on the Indianola post-office case, February 24th, 1903. Mr. Roosevelt had persisted in the appointment of a negro postmistress in defiance of the sentiment of the people of that Mississippi town, and, when the people had refused to get their mail at the post-office, had closed it. This speech was one of the best expressions of the position of the white men of the South on the race question. Replying to Senator Spooner, of Wisconsin, he said:

"The Senator from Wisconsin, seizes upon certain inconsequential expressions like 'unpleasantness' and 'strained relations,' and he finds them a threat of violence as easily as Sergeant Buzfuz found a proposal of marriage in the words 'chops and tomato sauce.' I ask, Mr. President, if this is worthy the man of the 'strenuous life'; he who rode into the jaws of death and the mouth of hell, who showed like Bellona's bridegroom on the red edge of battle, who the 'multitudinous seas incarnadined' with the crimson torrent which from the top of San Juan hill ran bubbling to the main—he abandons his post of duty and flies beaten and discomfited by a little band of ruffians [laughter]. What a lame and impotent conclusion for this strenuous administration! . . .

"Mr. President, we are the same kind of people you are, or would be under the same circumstances. The Southern people are the purest blooded Americans in this country. They are not cruel; they are not bigoted; they do not hate the negro; they sincerely wish him well. But they have this characteristic which is in the blood of their race, they will not divide sovereignty and dominion of their own country with a lower or inferior race."

Referring to a division of the white vote he said it would lead to a riot of corruption at elections.

"We know, Mr. President, how far men will go in the stress of politics. We know the progressive power of debauchery. We know how the public

conscience is calloused by long contact with corruption. What may not be done in States where there are thousands of voters eager to be bribed and without any sense of shame or consciousness of moral delinquency in the transaction? So, Mr. President, I say that while present conditions are unfortunate, it would be tenfold worse; it would be ruinous and destructive to all the Southern States if the white people should ever divide and the colored vote should wield the balance of power."

One of the great speeches made by Mr. Carmack was on the Brownsville affair, in the course of which he said:

"President Roosevelt must fight the course, and I say to the Senators upon the other side of the chamber, you must take your alternative, you must either renominate Theodore Roosevelt, or you must give us back our platform. You have got to do it. It was never yours. In your hearts you are longing for the time to come when you can cast off this Rooseveltian incubus. The Republican party, for the first time in years, will look natural when it sits for its photograph in the next campaign. But, Mr. President, in the mean while the sentiment which President Roosevelt has created, which he has helped to arouse against plutocracy, will turn millions of voters to the ranks of the Democratic party, and if President Roosevelt himself chooses to come, he will find there ample opportunity to render great service to the American people and to learn some respect for the Constitution and the law."

The last speech of Senator Carmack in the Senate was on March 3rd, 1907, when he talked the Ship Subsidy bill to sleep, much to the amusement of the Senate and apparently to the satisfaction of the country. Usually filibusters arouse angry feeling. That of Mr. Carmack, put up by the Democrats for this unpleasant duty, had none of the usual features. Although he held the floor for many hours his remarks were so interlarded with wit that they kept the Senate in good humor.

Mr. Carmack was succeeded in the Senate by ex-Governor Robert L. Taylor. This is no reflection on Mr. Carmack, but merely proves that "Bob" Taylor is the most popular man in the State since "Lean Jimmy" Jones rubbed the coon-skin in the campaign of 1840 and defeated James K. Polk, afterward President. The campaign, while hotly contested, left no ill feeling and Taylor and Carmack are now good friends. He was not allowed to remain long in private life. Although he was offered lecture engagements worth $7,500 the first year, he yielded to the insistent demand that he become a candidate for Governor. The county primaries which will decide the issue occur June 27th. Mr. Carmack has been the leader in Tennessee in the fight against

the open saloon, and this will, no doubt, be one of the issues. He is an advocate of the direct primary in the nomination of candidates by political parties, and, as the State Executive Committee denied such a primary, this question will be discussed. Mr. Carmack was recently suggested by "Harper's Weekly" for the Presidency, and there has also been talk of nominating him for the Vice-Presidency.

Mr. Carmack's mind is saturated with the fundamental principles of Democratic faith. He thinks that every unconstitutional extension of Federal power as against the States, or of the Executive power as against other departments of the Government, should be resisted. He favors keeping well within the "shadow of our rock of safety, the counsel of Washington and the maxims of Jefferson in our foreign policy." He advocates the "putting aside of all dreams of conquest and colonial empire, and the casting out of the devil of militarism from the hearts of the people." He thinks one of the deadliest of monopolies is "the monopoly of power in the government at Washington." On the tariff question he is conservative. "I realize," he says, "that even a vicious policy that has rooted in the industrial system of the country cannot be destroyed at a blow without danger of catastrophe. Free trade in England was not attained by sudden flight, but by the gradual elimination of protective duties, each step justifying itself and gaining confidence for the next. The Democratic party should move gradually, but steadily, toward the goal of a tariff for revenue alone—tariff that will yield the largest possible proportion of revenue with the least possible protection."

"Ned" Carmack, as he is familiarly known in Tennessee, is a man without any political machine, except such as he has established in the hearts of the people by his great qualities. He is not a hand-shaker or letter-writer. He knows nothing about intrigue. He is open and aboveboard. He does not trim or truckle. Without any apparent effort on his part and without what ordinarily is called personal magnetism, he draws men to him by his courage, his manliness and his matchless ability. When he was defeated for the United States Senate strong men wept. On his retirement his friends gave him a loving-cup on which were engraved the words in an editorial in the Washington "Post" of February 2nd, 1907:

"He would have been an ornament to British Parliaments that knew Burke and Fox and Pitt. He would have been distinguished in American Senates that contained Clay and Calhoun and Webster. He might have been rich. He had but to stoop. . . . But in the true sense who dares say this American Senator is poor? Where is the man who does not respect him? All the wealth of either Ind would not buy for the base his lofty character, his unblemished honor."

Those who have followed his career do not think these words extravagant. That at some future day the nation will again claim his services, the Tennessee people do not doubt. He is only fifty years old, his faculties are at their very best. Few men have had such a career, so rich with experience, so triumphant in victories and so marked in growth. He has those endowments which the Latin philosophers believed necessary for the best earthly success, "a sound mind in a sound body." It is not beyond the range of probability that some day, with a truly reunited country, the South, the palladium of Anglo-Saxon institutions, will furnish to the nation a defender of constitutional liberty in the person of this brilliant Tennesseean.

——— GEORGE F. MILTON.

CHARLES ANDERSON CULBERSON.

FOR forty-three years the South and its favorite sons have held aloof from contests for the nation's honors through a sense of duty and loyalty to the dominant party of the South. Within very recent years, however, the idea has grown that the time is near at hand when the Democratic party would choose its standard-bearer from a Southern State; and during the past three years that feeling has found voice in the definite expression of a hope, both North and South, that Charles Anderson Culberson, senior United States Senator from Texas, should head the national ticket of the Democratic party.

Pronounced in his friendship for and advocacy of Mr. Bryan, Senator Culberson has discouraged the mention of his own name in this connection with such earnestness as to leave no doubt of his sincerity. Nevertheless, his friends take comfort in the thought that should his own choice fail to receive the nomination, the Democracy will logically turn to him for leadership.

His long public career, marked by high achievement; a record without blemish; demonstrated great ability as lawyer and as executive officer; conservatism, caution, courage and discretion

are urged as entitling Senator Culberson to consideration as a Presidential possibility.

By inheritance, breeding and education he is a type of the very highest American citizenship. Of Scotch-Irish ancestry, his mother was of the famous Crawford family of Georgia, a member of which, William Harris Crawford, was a United States Senator, minister to France, Secretary of War and Secretary of the Treasury, in the early part of the last century, and in 1824 was a candidate for President as an exponent of the views of Jefferson. No man ever enjoyed greater or fairer fame as lawyer, jurist, statesman and patriot than did Senator Culberson's father, the late David B. Culberson, who, until but a decade ago, was a colossal figure in the American Congress. Before the Civil War Judge Culberson was a Whig and Unionist. When the war came he followed the fortunes of his State, as did Lee, and became a soldier of the Confederacy.

Counselled by a most conservative father, and being witness in his boyhood, in the years immediately following the war, to the most terrible political strife that has ever cursed this country, it is but natural that conservatism should be a leading trait in the character of Charles A. Culberson.

Senator Culberson is absolutely devoid of superlatives and floridity of expression. He is precise, accurate, methodical and punctual, his conduct conforming in the fullest degree to the famous precept of Davy Crockett, "Be sure you are right: then go ahead." And he is quite as sure to go when he knows he is right, as he is to be sure he is right before he starts. He leaves nothing to chance, but is a close observer, an untiring student, an adept investigator, possessing marvellous skill as a developer of facts. Although social and companionable, he is nevertheless markedly non-communicative. The average man tells Culberson all he knows; Culberson has never had to reproach himself for misplaced confidence or for talking too much.

His ability as an investigator and his penchant for absolute accuracy and precision in statement have made him invincible and invulnerable in his declarations. Long ago friends and adversaries came to know that when Culberson said anything, it could be taken for granted he was prepared to verify every detail in many ways. Devotion to accurate truth carried him successfully through his brilliant but turbulent terms as Attorney-

General and Governor of Texas, and his attention to details enabled him to master every question which arose touching any branch of government. His strength in this regard is well illustrated by his literary taste, which is largely turned in the direction of history. Perhaps no other man in the public life of this country knows as much of the minute history, the details, of the battles of the Civil War, and of other great battles of the world, and of the giant figures of history.

An orator of great ability, brilliance and power, Senator Culberson rarely makes public speeches, never when he can avoid doing so; but when he does speak, his utterances are thought out and delivered with that degree of care which characterizes the opinions of our higher courts. A master of the English language, his speeches are pure in diction, flawless in rhetoric and simplified to the last degree. He has never been called upon to explain or correct a public utterance, and, when he has spoken upon a subject, little, if anything, remains to be said.

Aggressive, without being impetuous, Senator Culberson is remarkably prescient and investigates in advance of possible contingencies, and is therefore prepared to act when action is necessary or desirable. For instance, while Governor of Texas, he seemingly had a man picked to fill every possible vacancy. Committees journeying to the capital to advance the claims of favorite sons would find that the vacancies had "just been filled." When he has reached a conclusion, he is prompt to act, and presses the object with a determination which will brook no interference. In fact, he is rather disposed to obstinacy, and upon the defensive is a resourceful and insatiable antagonist.

Senator Culberson had the very best of educational advantages, his alma mater being the University of Virginia. Upon leaving it he immediately won recognition as an able lawyer and magnificent advocate, and, entering politics, he was elected to every office to which he aspired, making an enviable record in each. To his preparatory school—the Virginia Military Institute—Senator Culberson largely owes his sense of order and his extraordinary capacity for organization. The elder Culberson, being a product of "the old school," used to say that the bane of his life was that he never could find his hat. He determined that his son should be trained in method. Therefore, he sent him to the military school.

In his earlier campaigns, Senator Culberson was several times hard pressed, but when the returns came in his State was astonished at the amount of political work done and the magnificence of the army which had been called into action. In the South he has no superior as an organizer, and never had one. His work is done with precision, but quietly, without disturbing the surface, yet it is always clean, subject to inspection.

While still serving as Governor, he won the nomination of his party for his first term as Senator before the campaign had fairly started, defeating Hon. Roger Q. Mills. And this notwithstanding Culberson had spent eight tempestuous and busy years as Attorney-General and Governor, antagonizing many influential persons and interests by succeeding in his undertakings.

He made a brilliant record as Attorney-General, defending the reforms instituted by the administration of Governor Hogg, who had been his predecessor in the legal department, as well as in important litigation instituted upon his own initiative. His most notable achievement in this office was his successful defence of the Railroad Commission Law, at that time (1891) the most far-reaching measure designed for government regulation of carriers. Its validity being upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States, the law has been copied to some extent by many other States; some of its provisions are embodied in the Federal rate law of 1906, and some of the reforms now advocated by President Roosevelt are its salient features.

The administration of Governor Hogg was characterized by the enactment of laws to regulate corporations. Its fiscal policy was weak. Culberson's administration was notable chiefly for activity and vigor in the enforcement of the laws, the reformation of the State and county governments and a strong fiscal policy. He put the State upon a cash basis by raising revenue, reducing expenses and cutting off excrescences. He secured the passage of a law which deprived thousands of officers throughout the State of the swollen fortunes which they had been receiving through fees of office, requiring them to turn the surplus over to the public treasury. When the Legislature failed to heed his recommendations, he made demands. A general appropriation bill was passed carrying a total largely in excess of the limit he had suggested as safe. Reconvening the Legislature in extraordinary session, he vetoed the bill, and announced that the

legislative branch of the Government would be held at work until it passed a bill within the limits named by the executive. The result can be imagined.

The Legislature passed a bill granting the Southern Pacific Company authority to consolidate its Texas railways. Governor Culberson vetoed it, and wrote a message which made the State gasp. He declared that the members of the Legislature had been "blandished" with free passes. An effort to pass the measure notwithstanding the veto failed.

Two other instances well illustrate his determination and imperturbability. In the spring of 1895 he gave public warning that the proposed Corbett-Fitzsimmons fight would not be permitted to take place. Nevertheless, preparations for the fight went forward, and feeling ran high. Governor Culberson went to the storm centre—the city of Dallas, which was the situs of the projected fistic carnival, and the Governor's home city as well—and in the streets he made speeches of the riot-act order, reiterating his purpose. Then a judge of the court of last resort declared the anti-prize-fight law invalid. Governor Culberson, to the astonishment of practically everybody, convened the Legislature, and had an anti-prize-fight law "with teeth in it" passed. The old law carried a fine penalty. The new one made the offence penal. In consequence, Carson City got the fight.

When Mr. Bryan's eloquence swept the Chicago convention off its feet, the venerable John H. Reagan and former Governor Hogg, both of whom Culberson loved, joined other members of the Texas delegation in begging Culberson, the chairman, to permit the Texas guidon to join in the frenzied march around the Coliseum. Calm and unmoved by the excitement, he answered that the guidon would not march, and march it did not. "We are instructed for Bland," said he, "and, so far as I am concerned, we stay for Bland." When the ballot was completed, the Texas guidon, like the flag, "was still there." Only when Bryan had been nominated did it move.

Senator Culberson is democratic in thought and conduct without being demagogic; cordial without being voluble, and companionable without being hail-fellow. He is a fine-looking man, dignified, erect as an Indian, of military bearing, patrician features, and immaculate in dress. A generous man, he is nevertheless economical and guilty of no extravagant habits. Greed,

the desire to make money, has never seized upon him, his total accumulations, both from earnings and inheritance, probably not exceeding $50,000.

The talents which made Senator Culberson so successful in his public career in Texas have gained him recognition in the Senate of the United States as one of the ablest debaters, learned lawyers and soundest statesmen of that body, and he has been called to the highest place within the gift of his party in the Senate, the leadership of the minority.

A type of the highest American citizenship; by birth, breeding, education and experience superbly fitted to command and direct; clean in his personal life; impeccable in his official career, Charles A. Culberson, those who know him best believe, is logically the man to lead his party to victory, and admirably qualified to serve the nation in its highest office.

TOM FINTY, JR.

JOHN WARWICK DANIEL.

WHEN William Jennings Bryan delivered his Madison Square Garden speech in 1906, in which he declared that in his opinion the general Government would have to assume the ownership of the railway lines, he made the country gasp. Lack of breath may have been responsible for the delay of many of the leading men of his party in expressing their views regarding Mr. Bryan's attitude. It is equally possible that some doubt as to how the views of Mr. Bryan on this subject were regarded by the majority of Democrats was responsible for the silence of the party's leaders.

The first man of national prominence in the Democratic party to express vigorous dissent from Mr. Bryan's views was John W. Daniel, of Virginia. As soon as Senator Daniel returned to Washington from New York, whither he had gone to join in welcoming Mr. Bryan on his return from his trip around the world, he gave out an interview in which he exercised his wonderful command of English to make it plain that no doctrine could have been enunciated which was more abhorrent to the traditional tenets of the Democratic party than that of Federal ownership of railways. Since Senator Daniel's utterance on the subject scores of men high in the councils of his party have

followed the Virginia Democrat in declaring against this radical departure from traditional Democracy.

In the early nineties Senator Daniel declared for the free and unlimited coinage of silver. It was no new doctrine to him, although it was one the urgent necessity of applying which had not, in his judgment, arisen during his term of public service. Senator Daniel was among the first of Eastern Democrats to declare for free coinage. It caused him to break with many party friends of long standing, and in some instances it cost him personal friendships. But he did not hesitate, and threw himself into the fight for Bryan in 1896 with as much zeal and enthusiasm as he had shown in the days of his early manhood when he had led his people in the struggle against negro and carpetbag rule in Virginia.

In the arena of national affairs Senator Daniel has been a commanding figure for a quarter of a century. On every subject of legislation which attracted anything like general attention he has taken position, and while, from the nature of things, he has been in the minority more frequently than with the majority, and has seen many measures he advocated defeated and many whose principles he opposed get on the statute-books, his views have never failed to receive the most respectful consideration at the hands of his adversaries and have impressed themselves to a greater or less degree upon legislation enacted by his opponents. When the Democrats were in power in the Senate during Mr. Cleveland's second administration Senator Daniel's influence was second to that of no other Senator. Earlier, in 1890, when the so-called "force bill," which proposed to deprive Southern States of the control of their elections, was being considered in the Senate and its passage seemed almost assured, it was the influence of Senator Daniel as much as that of any other man which brought about the agreement with the Republican leaders which resulted in the death of the measure. Senator Daniel himself, in discussing this episode in his career, always minimizes the part which he bore in defeating the "force bill," and ascribes chief credit to Senators Vest and Gorman on the Democratic side and Senator Quay of the Republicans. He votes himself second; his colleagues voted him first.

A less modest man than Senator Daniel would occupy a far more prominent place in the councils of his party. His dif-

fidence and dislike of "fuss and feathers" are proverbial. His home life, in Washington and in Lynchburg, reflect the simplicity and modesty of the man. Some of his dearest and closest friends wore the gray of the Confederate private soldier. A large portion of Senator Daniel's life has been devoted to work in behalf of unfortunate comrades of '61-5. He is a poor man, but no old soldier ever appealed to Senator Daniel for assistance and came away empty-handed.

It is thoroughly characteristic of the man that his warmest friends in the Senate are soldiers of the great war, without reference to whether they wore the blue or whether they fought in gray. Whenever a Union soldier Senator is trying to get through a measure in behalf of veterans of the Union army he always counts upon the active support of Senator Daniel and is never disappointed. For years William McKinley and Senator Daniel were warmest friends.

No Confederate soldier ever accepted in better faith the verdict rendered at Appomattox than did Senator Daniel. Every public utterance of his on occasions where the subject was in any way appropriate has been for the complete restoration of good feeling between the sections of a common country. Naturally, some of the most notable utterances of Senator Daniel have been in the form of tributes to the valor and devotion of the men of the South who fought and died for the truth as they were given to see it. But hardly less notable have been his tributes to the American soldier, whether fighting under the Stars and Stripes or the stars and bars, who stood ready to risk all and to surrender all for the sake of a principle. The writer has heard Senator Daniel say more than once that some of his dearest friends fought on the Union side, and that had he been born in Massachusetts, or New York, or Pennsylvania, probably he would have fought under Grant instead of under Lee.

"Patriotism is simply standing with one's people," remarked Senator Daniel to the writer some years ago. "Why did I enter the Confederate army? How much did I know about the great questions which the civil leaders of the two sections had been fighting out in the forum? Nothing. I simply felt the great movement of my people to repel the invasion of my State and went with them. I think the feeling which I had was the feeling which many thousands of others of my comrades had. They

were patriots, and I was not conscious of any but a patriotic motive."

Senator Daniel has never displayed aught but the loftiest courage, whether it were needed to hold him steady on the battle-field or to make him espouse a cause in time of peace. His splendid democracy impresses and appeals as does no other of his characteristics. It is unquestionably true that with a large section of Senator Daniel's party, in Virginia and elsewhere, the name of William Jennings Bryan is one to conjure with. Criticism of Mr. Bryan, opposition to any of his views, will endanger the political existence of even the most popular Democrat in many of the Southern States, yet for eight years Senator Daniel has not hesitated to withstand Mr. Bryan to his face in the discussion of a number of public questions. As a member of the committee on resolutions of the Democratic national convention at Kansas City, in 1904, Senator Daniel spent the night endeavoring to convince the committee that the issue of the free coinage of silver was no longer pressing. He lost, the platform reiterated the sixteen-to-one declaration made at Chicago four years before, and Mr. Bryan again led the party to defeat. In 1904, at St. Louis, Senator Daniel, as chairman of the committee, led such a fight against Mr. Bryan as no Democrat had ever dared to inaugurate against the Nebraska statesman. This time Senator Daniel's defeat was not so decided, but the national ticket went down under an unprecedented majority.

To many serious-thinking Democrats there is a chance to elect a Democrat to the Presidency with Senator Daniel leading the party. He is not a conservative in the sense that Mr. Fairbanks, or Speaker Cannon, or Senator Knox is a conservative, yet Senator Daniel is both a radical and a conservative. There is no man in public life who clings so strongly to the principles which have been tested and which have made the country great. He is like the general of an army who keeps his pioneer corps well in his front, but who never ventures his main column on unknown ground. Senator Daniel has found time in a busy life to study nearly every Governmental question which has arisen in our history. His intimates are often surprised to find that what was to them a new question was one upon which Senator Daniel had amassed information and taken a position long before.

"The Democratic campaign," said Senator Daniel, recently, "should be based upon the purpose of getting together the voters of the United States to assert the plain and simple Democratic creed that this is a Government of the people; that the highest and plainest duty of Government is to secure to the people equal rights, and to oppose all monopolies and special privileges.

"The tariff, transportation, the trusts, and centralization are the subjects of public interest and consideration. We need no new issues and no new Constitution of strained construction. Those who seek to invent new issues and new versions of the Constitution perplex and divert the minds of the people from substantial issues and just views that exist. It is principles and not "isms" that Democrats stand for; and if you take the compass of sound principle it will guide you through the tangles of contention.

"Real issues are made by the people themselves, and grow out of their necessities.

"Artificial issues are like artificial flowers, good for nothing except in the gaslight.

"The extreme question of State rights that came to the issue of battle has been long since settled," said Senator Daniel, "but as long as the United States is a federation of States, questions of Federal and State jurisdiction will continue to arise and will pass to the peaceful jurisdiction of the courts. Democracy has its fixed principle on the subject, and no one has better stated it than did Jefferson, in his first inaugural address, when he stood for, 'The support of the State Governments in all their rights as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, the surest bulwarks against our anti-republican tendencies; the preservation of the general Government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet-anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad.'"

Were Senator Daniel made President of the United States his administration might not compel the applause of thousands who love the spectacular; it would not shock thousands who believe that the quiet, orderly, unostentatious administration of Government is the best administration, and that bluster does not always betoken power.

WALTER EDWARD HARRIS.

JOSEPH WINGATE FOLK.

ERADICATE from the minds of men all empirical concepts of political philosophy and erase from the pages of history all grotesque political theories, all fanciful untried social schemes, all the vagaries that ever disturbed or threatened to disturb the peace or mar the happiness and security of mankind, all the radical doctrines that ever menaced the stability of free institutions or lowered upon the horizon of constitutional government, and the record made by Joseph Wingate Folk will still remain unaltered, undiminished and undisturbed; but strike out the page in which his record is written, and you will eliminate from the history of American politics an era.

For a quarter of a century before Folk entered the arena of public affairs, graft had been talked about. President Cleveland denounced "the commune of pelf." Ingalls of Kansas proclaimed that honesty in politics was "an iridescent dream." Here and there, at rare intervals, there had been sporadic efforts at reform. But, in the main, the rule of the boss was supreme.

In 1894 there came to St. Louis from the State of Tennessee a young lawyer, lately graduated from Vanderbilt University, and schooled in the best traditions of the South. He came of a race of lawyers, and his blood was of the old Virginia and Carolina stock. He was not a politician, but was reared in the statecraft of the old Southern school. He sought no political honors, but entered at once into the practice of his profession, confining his work to the civil courts. With those innate qualities of patience and indomitable diligence which have always been among his most admirable and distinctly individual traits, he followed his profession, looking for success in the only place where one ought to expect and may reasonably hope to find it, in the work immediately at hand. It was his rule in legal practice to accept no employment that he did not know to be absolutely honest; but once he took a cause in hand, no labor was too arduous and no sacrifice too great. And thus his clientage grew, and his fame became noised about the city. Here was a young attorney who was no dashing orator, no politician with a pull, but one who was learned in the law, diligent in his calling, and, withal, as true as the steel and as keen as the edge of the Saracen's blade; in short, a man who could be relied upon to do his duty.

At this juncture came the great St. Louis street-railway strike. The union needed counsel. But the union men did not hunt up a labor agitator; they did not seek out a politician with "influence." They wanted a man of courage, a man of ability, a man who enjoyed the absolute trust of all who knew him, and a man who would not betray a trust. They found Folk. After looking into the nature of the proposed employment he accepted it, and undertook to settle the strike. The great strike was settled in a manner pleasing to all parties, and Folk went back to his law office, to continue his patient, persistent plodding in behalf of other clients.

Then came the campaign of 1900. A small coterie of political bosses were naming a Democratic ticket for the city of St. Louis. One by one the offices were checked off as the names of the nominees were written down. When they came to the office of Circuit Attorney there was a pause. There was no available man. Then some one suggested Folk. He had settled the strike. Labor and capital were both grateful for this, surely; Folk was the man for the place. The young attorney was seen. He declined. He was building up a good law practice in an honorable way; city politics was notoriously dishonest and corrupt; he would have none of it. But the bosses insisted. Folk began to hesitate. Finally he said, "Yes, I will accept the nomination—but if elected I shall obey my oath of office." The bosses heeded not the remark. Perhaps, thought they, the young lawyer was only seeking to save appearances. At any rate, what was an oath of office in a city where bribery had so long been, as an attorney for some of the boodlers afterwards declared, "merely a conventional offence"? How well Folk obeyed his oath of office they soon learned, and the world now knows the story.

Immediately after the election, cries of fraud were current. But so had it been for a quarter of a century, after every election. No one paid much attention to the charges—excepting Circuit Attorney Folk. He listened; he heard the complaints; he investigated. Indictments were found against a number of persons, charging them with election frauds. An angry face greeted the Circuit Attorney in his office. "These men are my friends," it said; "I made you Circuit Attorney; I nominated you and I elected you. What do you mean by this?" Folk turned upon him the clear, deep, earnest eyes that afterwards so often struck

terror into the hearts of the corruptionists who appeared before the St. Louis grand jury, and calmly said: "I simply mean to do as I said—to obey my oath of office." This was the beginning of the great struggle which has since been re-echoed in nearly every great city of the United States.

The bosses declared that they would destroy him; they would make an example of him, for the guidance of all such impertinent prosecutors who should chance to arise in the future. All through his term of office he was hounded, vilified and slandered by such a torrent of malicious lies as seldom falls upon a single human head. His life was often threatened. All the wealth, power and shrewdness that graft and craft could summon to the onset were brought into play against him. But he kept up the fight, and won. The story has been too often told to need rehearsal here. Let it now suffice to say that at the end of Folk's four years he had convicted more boodlers than were ever before convicted by any single prosecuting officer in the world's history, and had laid bare more official venality than was ever before revealed at any one time and place.

The great civic awakening in St. Louis soon spread throughout Missouri, and it has since spread throughout the Union. Folk's subsequent candidacy for the Democratic nomination for Governor was the necessary and legitimate response to a natural and resistless popular demand. Then came the most spectacular political campaign in the annals of Missouri. In opposition to Folk, all officialdom stood as a stone wall. With but few exceptions, every official in the State, from the highest to the lowest, from Governor down to township constable, including the professional politicians, leaders and party managers of high and low degree, all were solidly aligned against Folk. But back of all the opposition to Folk stood the political corruptionist, the gambler, the crook, the wine-room roué and the debauchee, with exhaustless wealth, boundless experience and unlimited nerve, fighting desperately and as only entrenched corruption knows how to fight, for existence. Against this appalling array stood Folk, unappalled. He hurled against them the challenge to mortal combat. It was a fight to the finish. He went forth single-handed and alone, but was soon cheered on by the plaudits of three millions of Missourians. Party leaders were stunned by the onslaught; it was not a rebellion, but a revolu-

tion. Long before the convention met all open opposition to Folk had broken down, and his nomination was practically unanimous. In the ensuing canvass preceding the general election of 1904 the lawless elements concentrated their whole fight against Folk. But Folk alone, of the entire Democratic State ticket, was elected, his plurality being more than thirty thousand. He ran fifty thousand votes ahead of others on his ticket who were not fought as he was fought by the corruptionists.

During his administration as Governor he has continued to take his oath of office seriously. He was the first Governor of Missouri to enforce the laws requiring the closing of saloons on Sunday. In Missouri, as in most other States, before Folk's entry into the executive office, there had been no effort to enforce the Sunday dramshop law in the large cities of the State, where the Governor, through his police commissioners, has practically unlimited power to do so. But Folk enforced the law, and the result has been a noticeable decrease in the aggregate of Sunday crime and a perceptible saving in criminal costs. But this step aroused the brewing interests against him, and the combined liquor interests now constitute the bulwark of whatever opposition to Folk still exists in Missouri.

Chief among the scores of good laws enacted in response to the recommendations of the present Governor of Missouri are the anti-race-track gambling law, which put the most powerful gambling syndicate in the country out of business; a law making the operation of bucket-shops a felony; a general State primary election law, giving each voter in the State the right of a secret ballot in the choice of all party nominees; a law providing for the regulation of rates charged by public-service corporations, which had theretofore been permitted to charge whatsoever they pleased; a "derelict official" law, providing for the removal of public officials who fail to do their duty; a two-cent railway passenger fare law; factory inspection, child labor and pure food laws; an eight months compulsory school law, and a new road law providing for highway engineers, and designed to place highway construction in Missouri on a scientific basis. While these are but a few of the scores of good measures attributable to the influence of Governor Folk, they serve to mark out the broad scope of his work and to illustrate his deep interest alike in the moral, political, educational and material welfare of his State.

Indeed, so numerous are his public services that the student of his work will be tempted to say, as Macaulay said of Bacon: "Turn where we will, the trophies of that mighty intellect are full in view: we are judging Manlius in sight of the Capitol."

Taken all in all, the record made by Governor Folk may be said to fairly meet the famous standard set by Edmund Burke: "A disposition to preserve, and an ability to improve, taken together, would be my standard of a statesman." While Folk's legislative record shows him to be possessed in a remarkable degree of the faculties of constructive statesmanship, and while he has shown an eminently progressive spirit in dealing with new problems as they have come before him for solution, yet his genius is, upon the whole, profoundly conservative. He expressed it in his New York address of welcome to Bryan: "In this epoch, so important to American liberty, we ask the people to set up no new gods; we ask them to follow no new paths which may lead into the quicksands of dishonor and despair. Our safest and surest guide is still the old maxim, that there shall be 'equal rights to all; special privileges to none.'" He expressed it again elsewhere when he said: "Let us be conservative in charging wrong-doing; but, once sure of the wrong, let us be radical in its extermination."

His official record presents an inspiring example of devotion to the Constitution and the laws. No American of equal fame has ever been more free from that un-American taint, the appeal to class. He knows but one Constitution—the document as it came from the hands of its makers. He knows but one code—the laws as they are written, not for the rich, nor for the poor, nor for labor nor capital, but for all alike. It has been his high privilege to vindicate the Constitution and the laws with such wisdom, with such matchless courage and with such distinguished fidelity, that everywhere the name of Folk is known it is known as a synonym for law-enforcement. He appealed to his native city to strike off the shackles of the boss; and every great city has echoed the call. He touched the public conscience, and it was awakened, as from a sleep. He brought no new doctrine, unless the doctrine of common honesty in public life was new. He offered no new theories, unless the principle of obedience to law was new. But where the sovereignty of the State was trampled upon he lifted it up, and where the law was a dead

letter he made it alive. Multitudes who had lost faith in laws which were made only to be disregarded, and in a government which could make laws but not enforce them, have found in Folk's record a proof, a promise and a prophecy that a government of, by and for the people shall not perish. He is known by his works; more distinctly so, perhaps, than any other American of equal reputation. His career has been one rather of performances than promises; of deeds rather than words. Like Jefferson, he trusts the people implicitly, and they have not deceived him; and like Jefferson again, he is implicitly trusted by the people in return.

THOMAS SPEED MOSBY.

GEORGE GRAY.

"WHO will best lead the Democratic hosts in the impending struggle for the restoration of honest government and the constitutional rights of the States and of their people?" These words were used by Judge Gray when, at the Democratic National Convention in Cincinnati in 1880, he placed his fellow Delawarean, the late Thomas F. Bayard, in nomination for the Presidency. To-day the question may well be asked in these same words, and the name given in answer would be that of George Gray, of Delaware.

The people of the United States have before them to-day the rare and wholesome example of the office seeking the man, and in this case a man of peculiar and eminent qualifications for the position. Of the many candidates now about to be presented by both the great political parties for the coming conventions to pass upon, no one has had the experience and training which should qualify the nominee of either great party such as Judge Gray has had, and no one who has held office at the gift of the people has rendered a finer or more conscientious account of his stewardship.

Born in Delaware some sixty-odd years ago, of Revolutionary stock, Mr. Gray exemplifies those sturdy traits of ability and integrity which so well mark the men who, through the stress of the Revolutionary War and the adoption of the Federal Constitution, gave all of their best for the cause to which they were pledged. He entered Princeton College in 1857 as a Junior, and

graduated two years later with high honors; thereafter he studied law partly at the Harvard Law School and partly in the office of his father, the late Andrew C. Gray, and was admitted to the Delaware bar in 1863. His first public office was that of Attorney-General for the State of Delaware, to which he was appointed by Governor Hall in 1879, and again reappointed by Governor Stockley in 1884. His record as Attorney-General was not only a matter of pride to his friends and admirers, but to all citizens of the State regardless of party, and the learning and abilities which he displayed readily led to his appointment as United States Senator from Delaware in 1885, to succeed Mr. Bayard, who had just entered Mr. Cleveland's first cabinet, and his election in 1887 and re-election in 1893. Immediately upon his entry into the United States Senate he became not only one of the leaders on the Democratic side, but a power in the National Legislature in assisting to pass laws for the benefit of the whole people, and in opposing measures which tended towards centralization of power and class interests. His well-remembered fight in opposition to the so-called "force bill" in 1892 can never be forgotten by true lovers of civil liberty in this country; and to the Southern States, whose cause he then represented, his name must ever be recalled with peculiar affection and loyalty. And his well-known attitude in regard to the tariff is best exemplified in his own words as spoken on the floor of the Senate in 1886, as follows: "What right has the Government to go into partnership with people who are engaged in one industry to the detriment of those engaged in another? What sort of conception of government is that which allows the hand of governmental power to go down into my pocket to take out the dollar there, not for the purpose of putting it into the treasury of the nation, but to transfer it to the pocket of another? Against this monstrous claim of power I have been protesting during all my political life. No class of our people have so suffered from the exercise of this power as the farmers of our country. Compelled to sell in an open market, and to buy in a protected one, they have borne upon their bowed backs for many years the burden of a protective tariff. I have no public ambition greater than that I may be permitted in some humble way to aid in removing some portion at least of that burden." And his position on the subject of "trusts" as recently expressed, to the effect that the passage and

administration of law in restraint and regulation thereof should be directed towards the individuals who operate them, is too well known to require further comment. That he is opposed to centralization is no better exemplified than in his own words, when he says: "The danger of this centralizing sentiment is that it appeals to the selfishness of human nature and to the willingness to be relieved of the burdens and responsibilities of self-government. But I am persuaded that the prevailing sentiment of the American people does not favor the exchange of our self-governed communities and the individual liberty that they foster for the paternalism of a national Government, which suppresses the one and must, in the nature of things, tend to extinguish the other. . . .

"I do not believe in centralization. It would seem that, having survived through more than a century, our dual scheme of government has passed the experimental stage, and was destined to rest for generations to come on the foundations upon which it was erected. We cannot, however, close our eyes to present-day conditions, which, if they do not now seriously menace the permanence of our constitutional scheme, at least should challenge serious thought." In 1898, President McKinley appointed him a member of the Canadian Joint High Commission, in connection with which he rendered well-known and eminent services, and later, at the close of the Spanish War, he was appointed a member of the Paris Peace Commission, and after his return was largely instrumental in securing the ratification of the Spanish Treaty by the Senate. After the close of his term as Senator he was appointed United States Circuit Judge, and has since occupied this position upon the bench with an increasing reputation for fair-mindedness and high order of ability.

When the whole country was shocked at the strife of the miners and operators in the anthracite regions, Judge Gray was appointed at the head of the commission to arbitrate their differences, and so just and able were the findings of the commission in which he was so largely instrumental that to-day his name is a beloved household word among all the coal miners of the country and a synonym for fairness and justice with all employers of labor. The coal strikes threatened or occurring since the anthracite strike in 1903 which have been referred to him as arbitrator have passed off so quietly and successfully that we are

not apt, in the busy rush of to-day, to notice the vast accomplishment of the powers of one man to satisfy both parties to such harsh controversies. And perhaps, but for the fact that the daily papers had noticed the reference to him as arbitrator of the differences between the operators and the miners, the public at large would hardly have known of the great and lasting good he was doing for all the people. And growing out of this series of arbitrations we must not forget his words in an address delivered before the miners in Pennsylvania, wherein he said: "It is individual liberty—not class liberty, not corporation liberty, not guild or society liberty—that our fathers fought for and established on this great continent. The right to your home; the right to go and come; the right to worship God according to the dictates of your own conscience; the right to work or not to work, and the right to be exempt from interference by others in the enjoyment of those rights; the right to be exempt from tyranny of one man or of a few; the right to so live that no man or set of men shall work his or their will on you against your consent. This is liberty worth living for. It is liberty worth dying for. And it was this blessed inheritance that has come to us from the fathers and which means to us all that it meant to them. While it is maintained all things are possible that tend to the expansion, the development, prosperity and glory of our common country. Under the folds of our dear flag I fondly believe this liberty will live forever among us. That is what our flag means to us, and that, as it floats over the land and over the sea, is its message that it delivers to all of the toiling millions in other lands."

Judge Gray, by reason of the pre-eminent ability which he has shown in the many public offices which he has been called upon to fill, is now well known to the whole people of this country, regardless of party, and while his name was presented at the National Democratic Convention in 1904, the circumstances leading to Mr. Parker's nomination were too strong to permit any show of success for Judge Gray. But to-day, when every one, regardless of party, is looking for a man to whom the high office of President can most safely be entrusted, many Republicans as well as Democrats find in him the man of their real choice. The resolutions adopted by the Democratic State Central Committee of Delaware in December last state: "The Democratic State Central Committee of Delaware desires to call the attention of

Democrats to Judge George Gray, whom we believe to be the most available man for the Presidential nomination. It is known that Judge Gray is not personally desirous of being a candidate for this great office, but we believe that if nominated he would lead his party to victory at the polls, and if elected he would make a great, wise and good President. Therefore, not to gratify Judge Gray, and not in accordance with his wishes, but to promote the welfare of our party and country, we conceive it to be our duty to urge his nomination upon the consideration of fellow Democrats in our sister States." And the resolutions instructing the Delaware delegation to work and vote for him at the coming Democratic National Convention include these words: "The time has come when the Democratic party needs a national victory. The welfare of the nation also demands a Democratic victory. In George Gray we have a Democrat in whom all classes of our voters and all of the conflicting interests have perfect confidence. The great bodies of wage-earners and the rank and file of men engaged in larger business enterprises would alike be glad to accept and support him, knowing that the rights of each and all would be equally protected by him.

"For the reasons we have indicated, we, his neighbors, knowing his great attainments, his sound and just judgment, his civic courage and his pure patriotism, commend his name to the Democrats of the nation as the man best fitted to lead the party in the coming campaign and to conduct the affairs of government in the event of Democratic victory."

With such a man as its standard-bearer surely the Democratic party can go into the coming campaign with every prospect of success. For not only does Judge Gray represent in their best sense the principles of true Democracy, but also the principles which all true lovers of our national Union believe in.

THOMAS F. BAYARD.

JUDSON HARMON.

IF the history of half a century past is to be taken as a guide, a successful Democratic candidate for the Presidency must come from a State torn with factional dissension, and must show among his credentials strong opposition at home. Even a candidate at other times invincible, if nominated with the unanimous endorse-

ment of his own State, becomes temporarily clothed with the attribute of vincibility.

One of the four or five men who have been most discussed throughout the country will not be presented for the nomination by his own State at the Denver convention. Yet after a hard contest he has become the party's candidate for Governor of Ohio.

The peculiar constitution of the Senate, and its present overwhelming Republican majority, make the enactment of any party legislation during the term of the next President an impossibility if he be a Democrat. Any change in the Federal statute-book will be non-partisan in character. So far as he affects the policy of the country without first securing the consent of his political adversaries, it will be by his method of enforcement of laws already existing. But if as an executive he concentrates the attention and commands the approval of the nation, he will establish his party as well as himself in the public confidence, and eventually bring the party into an effective working majority in both branches of the national Legislature. Circumstances beyond its control will force the Democratic party, if entrusted with the executive power for the next four years, into a position of conservatism. It will not be devising new laws, but seeking what may be accomplished with the laws that we have now. In selecting its candidate it may wisely seek for a man who is not only an administrator of proved capacity, but also experienced in the workings of the great organism by which the public business of the nation is done; in other words, for a man who has won distinction in a Cabinet position. That is one of the reasons for the prominence which has been given to the name of the last Democratic Attorney-General of the United States.

No man becomes President of the French Republic, or Prime Minister of France or of Great Britain, without previous experience in a Cabinet position. Our earlier tradition was the same; and while since the days of national conventions the man of Federal executive experience has had less advantage over the military hero, the favorite son and the dark horse, yet Van Buren, Clay, Cass, Buchanan, Bell, Grant and Blaine, like Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Adams, Crawford and Calhoun, were nominated from among men who had had Cabinet experience, while Roosevelt's knowledge of practical statecraft was gained in subordinate Federal positions at Washington. For the purpose

of familiarizing its occupant with the whole machinery of the Federal Government no office below the Presidency is superior, perhaps none equal, to that of the Attorney-General. For he, besides controlling his own department, is the legal adviser, and therefore in a large sense necessarily the general adviser, of the President and of the other members of the Cabinet.

Judson Harmon was born in Ohio on February 3rd, 1846. His father was a Baptist minister. He was graduated at Denison College, an educational institution of that denomination, at the age of twenty. He was a baseball-player there, and is an athlete still. Twice as a boy, when his native State was threatened with invasion, he joined volunteer organizations hastily formed for its defence. At seventeen (to use his own words), when Morgan crossed the State on his famous raid, "I joined a volunteer company of cavalry and pursued him; at least, he travelled rapidly ahead of us and in the same direction for some days." In 1869 he was admitted to the bar and settled in Cincinnati. After seven years of active practice, he was elected Judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Hamilton County, but was unseated by a Republican Legislature after a few months of service. His popularity and brilliant qualities, and his eminent fitness for judicial office, led to his election by very large majorities in 1878, and again in 1883, to the bench of the Superior Court of Cincinnati, a tribunal famous for the large number of distinguished men who have been among its members. Soon after his election he was joined by Joseph B. Foraker, who after short judicial service went back into active politics and became the Governor of the State. The reputation which Harmon made for himself as a judge, as is so commonly the case, deprived the community of his judicial services. Early in 1887 George Hoadly, one of the leaders of the bar of the United States, removed from Cincinnati to New York, and his partners invited Judge Harmon to resign and fill the vacancy in their firm. Harmon accordingly tendered his resignation to Governor Foraker, who appointed as his successor William H. Taft. For a little more than eight years, as one of the recognized leaders of the Cincinnati bar and head of a law firm having wide business connections, Judge Harmon was out of public life. Then President Cleveland appointed him Attorney-General of the United States to succeed Richard Olney, upon the latter's promotion to the office of Secretary of State.

The efficiency of Judge Harmon's administration of the Attorney-Generalship, which he held from June 8th, 1895, to March 3rd, 1897, was conceded. It was a period when great administrative ability was needed in all the departments of the Government, and was found there: the close of the lean years of bad crops and financial fallacies, when the country was recovering from the legislative extravagances and follies of 1890, and being put upon the firm foundation that has supported the extravagance and imperialism of the past decade. Space forbids discussing more than one feature of his work. That which is now of most public interest is probably the establishment of the Federal power to deal with corporate aggression under the commerce clause of the Constitution. Among the biographers of Republican Presidential candidates in the May number of this REVIEW, one claims that this power was a "new idea" of his own hero (an Attorney-General of later days), quoting in support no less an authority than the present President; and, indeed, the claim contributed considerably to the marvellous combination of history, mythology, prophecy, politics and cash by which the great popular majority of 1904 was rolled up. But the "new idea" had been long before propounded in a statute of disputed authorship, passed by non-partisan vote, known as the Sherman Anti-Trust Law of 1890; and its enforceability was first and for all time demonstrated by Judson Harmon.

When he took office the judicial decisions had been so adverse that the general opinion of the bar had pronounced the law impracticable of enforcement. The only case that had been pending long enough to reach the highest tribunal before the administration should come to an end was the so-called Trans-Missouri case, which had been commenced by the Harrison administration, but had been unsuccessful in both the lower courts. It had been let drag in hopes of finding one more advantageous to the Government to make a test of, but in default of a better, Attorney-General Harmon took it up. He briefed and argued it himself against an array of the ablest lawyers whom the companies could bring together, put behind it the whole force of his intellect and personality, and won it by a vote of five to four, establishing the constitutionality of the law and its enforceability against a combination of railroad corporations.

To Secretary Taft, as his biographer claims, belongs the fame

of writing the first judicial opinion sustaining a suit under the Anti-Trust Law against a combination of industrial corporations; but the suit was brought by Attorney-General Harmon. This was the Addyston Pipe case, commenced late in 1896, when evidence long vainly sought came suddenly into the hands of the department, and so rapidly pushed through its earlier stages as to be in shape for argument at the appellate tribunal within three months after the Cleveland administration ended. The Joint Traffic Association case was also commenced and carried through the first two courts during Judge Harmon's term, and its ultimate success was made possible by the Supreme Court decision in the Trans-Missouri suit. That decision was not handed down until just two weeks after his retirement to private life; but the original work, the difficult work of construing and establishing the law, had been then already done. Early in his term the House of Representatives asked him what further legislation was necessary in his opinion. He answered, indicating certain amendments which would make the law effective, and saying that if he was to conduct investigations as to its violation he must be provided with a liberal appropriation for that purpose. On November 30th, 1896, he repeated his recommendations in submitting his annual report to Congress, and again called attention to the fact that his fund was "wholly inadequate." The Republican Congress preferred that the trusts and conspiracies should flourish, rather than that so energetic a Democratic official should receive needed assistance in curbing them.

Among the amendments thus proposed by Attorney-General Harmon to the Anti-Trust Law was one which would probably have been more effective than any that have received the endorsement of the present administration. He proposed to insert that terror to evil-doers, a clause casting upon the defendants the burden of proof as to matters peculiarly within their own knowledge. To the same effective weapon he appealed when retained with Mr. Frederick N. Judson of St. Louis, some years later, as special counsel for the Government for the punishment of unlawful rebates granted to certain shippers of coal by the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railway Company. The so-called Elkins laws of 1903 had taken away the penalty of imprisonment in criminal proceedings, but before the rebates an injunction order had been issued, of which if valid they constituted a violation.

The then Attorney-General concurred with the special counsel in regarding the order as valid. The latter recommended that the railroad "and all its principal officers and agents who had during the period above named or any part thereof power and authority over traffic agreements and freight rates, be arraigned for contempt of court." But the Attorney-General, after consulting the President, took the position that the granting of rebates by a railroad company, although upon an enormous scale and to a shipper of great power and wealth, affords no sufficient presumption that the traffic officers of the company knew or suspected what was going on. Messrs. Harmon and Judson then withdrew from the case, saying, "The violation by a corporation of an injunction directed against it and its officers always calls for a rule against such of them as had control of its conduct to show cause why they should not be held personally responsible. They are *prima facie* guilty of disobedience. It was their duty to see that the acts forbidden were not done, as well as not to do them. . . The action of the corporation is necessarily presumptive evidence against its principal officers who had charge of the department in question. . . . What we have said is peculiarly true of the great corporations of our day. They cannot be imprisoned, and punishment by fine is not only inadequate, but reaches the real culprits only lightly, if at all. The evils with which we are now confronted are corporate in name but individual in fact. Guilt is always personal. So long as officials can hide behind their corporations, no remedy can be effective. When the Government searches out the guilty men, and makes corporate wrong-doing mean personal punishment and dishonor, the laws will be obeyed." The nomination of Harmon would be the adoption of his theory of how to deal with corporate abuse and corporate crime.

Except for that one abortive retainer, Judge Harmon has been out of public life since March 3rd, 1897. His career has been as a leader in court, as an adviser in important business transactions, and as an arbitrator of important controversies. The reputation which he made as a business executive at Washington he has increased by his skilful management of insolvent railroad corporations. In 1899 he was appointed receiver of the Baltimore & Ohio Southwestern Railway Company, and remained in office for about a year. In 1905 he was appointed by

Judge Lurton, upon consent of all parties, as receiver of three railroads, the Père Marquette, Toledo Railway & Terminal, and Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton, having in all 3,500 miles of road and 18,000 employees. The last named is still in his hands. Upon taking charge, he declared his belief that a railroad could be fairly and honestly managed according to law without losing its business, and that this was exactly what he proposed to undertake to show. The employees and patrons of the roads are the witnesses to his success. EDWARD B. WHITNEY.

JOHN A. JOHNSON

IN selecting the candidate of a political party two considerations should be kept in view. The candidate must first be worthy and, second, available, or likely to be elected. No candidate should ever be considered who does not possess the first attribute and if the inquiry were to end there it would not be at all difficult to make a selection. When the second element is sought to be combined with the first, greater difficulties arise.

There are many well-meaning people who seem to consider that it is evidence of venality or at least of a lack of high ideals to pay any regard to the practical side of politics, and yet, if one believes that the success of his party is essential to or even desirable for the best interests of the country it becomes his duty by all honorable means, which must also be practical means, to secure that success. "A glorious defeat" is often beneficial to an individual or a party, but a series of defeats inevitably results in disaster. Idealists have rocked the world, but those who have rocked it for the best results have combined the enthusiasm of the idealists with practical common sense. Peter the Hermit preaching the Crusades did not advocate sending children or unarmed men to Palestine. Columbus did not imagine he could prove the truth of his claims by trying to swim the ocean.

Again, the availability of any particular man depends upon existing conditions at the time his claims are being considered. General Grant, who seems to have been devoid of the slightest approach to vindictiveness, made an admirable President immediately following the Civil War, but no one believes that his training, accomplishments or disposition would have fitted him to cope with the problems of to-day.

The state of the public mind in this country at the present time must be taken into consideration. Almost overnight there has come the belief that American ideals have been lost; that a few have sequestered the wealth which should belong to many and no one is now so sure of an audience as he who accuses some one of "grafting."

The Republican party, through whose protective tariff this condition has been produced, finds its leader the fiercest in denouncing present conditions, while the lesser lights of the organization sigh for the good old days of peace and large profits.

The attitude of the Democratic party for many years past has been most unfortunate. Man is a progressive animal and the American man is both impatient and progressive, but the last three platforms of the party might be epitomized in the words "come back," and so while we have contented ourselves with mumbling, "The old days were better than the new," President Roosevelt has taken up the Sherman anti-trust law, discarded by a Democratic administration as worthless, and at least has convinced the people that there is something moving, moving to the great satisfaction of some and to the dismay of others, but all are conscious of the motion.

The situation presents an opportunity for the party and for the man. What is required in a Chief Magistrate at this time is honest purpose, intelligence, knowledge of affairs, calm, deliberate judgment and cool, serene courage, the courage to refrain from catering to extreme fanatics as well as the courage to stay the spoiler's hand, no matter whose it may be; withal he should be a constructive statesman, for we are in a period of transition. The people have been so eager to foster great enterprises, that they gladly went on their knees to public service corporations, and it is not surprising that now when they attempt to reverse the position a heavy hand, not unlike the "dead hand" of English history, seeks to prevent them from rising. Let us pray with Carlyle that the readjustment come not "In a horror of great darkness, and shakings of the world and a cup of trembling which all nations shall drink."

These are severe tests by which to judge any candidate, but apply each in turn to John A. Johnson, the present Governor of Minnesota, and it is remarkable how the operation reveals his peculiar fitness as a candidate for the Presidency.

Governor Johnson was born in Minnesota of Swedish parents about forty-seven years ago and has under peculiarly adverse circumstances fought his way to his present position. He has been newspaper editor, Captain of Militia and State Senator, bearing himself modestly and indeed, as he still does, with an utter lack of self-consciousness. It was not until he became Governor that even the people of his native State recognized his really great qualities. It is true he assumed the duties of that office with a personal record free from taint or blemish, with the respect and kindly regard of all who knew him, but from that time on he became, as the Democratic Governor of a Republican State, a marked and closely watched man.

The Western people, as a rule, are not intensely partisan, and this is particularly true in Minnesota, where honest effort by public officers meets with a quick response. The Legislature and the other executive officers of the State, although belonging to a different party from the Governor, accorded him cordial support, and under the inspiration of his example and advice reform after reform has been introduced, the public business transacted with an alertness and despatch hitherto unknown, until now it can be said that Minnesota is one of the best-governed States in the Union. And all this has been done in so direct, simple and yet kindly a way that love for the Governor's personality has kept pace with admiration for his ability and character, so that if he were to be a candidate for re-election this year there would be no doubt of his success.

It must not be understood, however, that during the three years Mr. Johnson has been Governor he has had no encounter with "the interests"; upon the contrary, he has met and overthrown or brought to terms almost every large interest in the State. Timber trespassers, thieving insurance officials, tax dodgers and powerful railroad officials have successively been unhorsed by his lance and in such a way as to remind one of Scott's description of the "Gentle and glorious passage of arms at Ashby."

To illustrate: At the convening of the Legislature of 1907, the liquor interests feared the passage of a law granting local option to the counties of the State. The leading brewer sought an interview with Governor Johnson and asked him what he would do if such a bill was enacted. The reply was instantaneous: "Such a measure is peculiarly within the sound discretion

of the Legislators and no Governor would be justified in vetoing it; if the bill passes the Legislature I will approve it and so would you if you were Governor." "I guess that's so," returned the caller and the interview ended, but with no animosity rankling in the heart of the man whose interests were likely to be affected, because perforce he recognized the frankness and honesty of the public official who proposed to simply perform his duty.

This same unostentatious method of going directly to the heart of a situation was shown in the Governor's conduct during the great strike last summer in the iron mines, in which some seventeen thousand miners were involved. At once the usual demand for troops was made by the Steel Trust; instead, Mr. Johnson went himself to the scene of the strike, gave definite and precise interpretation to the respective rights of the parties, convinced both sides that he was not only impartial, but prepared and determined to carry out the law and preserve the peace, and the strike passed into history with a record of less disorder than would have occurred in the affected region under normal conditions in the same length of time.

In making appointments to office, Governor Johnson has selected men of the highest standing regardless of political effect, and his appointments to the bench, to the regency of the University, to the tax commission, as well as all other departments, demonstrate his independence and singleness of purpose. His subordinates have always realized this, for whenever a question of policy has arisen, the final instructions of the Governor have always been to follow the law regardless of the political effect.

John A. Johnson is the most available candidate the Denver Convention could select. He has made it eminently respectable to be a Democrat in Minnesota, and if he were the candidate of the party for President he would accomplish the same result in Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, the two Dakotas, Colorado, Oregon, Washington and perhaps Illinois, New York and the New England States. He has so many elements of strength that it is impossible to analyze them all within the limits of such an article as this, but a Democrat in the prime of life who has succeeded in everything he has undertaken, who as Governor of one of the great progressive States has compelled the love of his party and the admiration of his opponents, who has in his private or public life nothing to explain or apologize for, and who by reason of his

residence, antecedents, race and personality gives the very highest promise of success—must be considered most available.

THOMAS D. O'BRIEN.

HENRY WATTERSON.

HENRY WATTERSON, of Kentucky, holds a distinctive and distinguished place in the politics and journalism of the time. He is, and has been for thirty years, the most widely quoted newspaper writer of the country. Until the Free Silver Movement of 1896, he stood to the Democratic party in the same relation which Horace Greeley had borne to the Republican party until 1872, when Greeley became the Democratic nominee for President, but, unlike Greeley, Watterson did not sever his party relations in 1896. He is still a Democrat, and, although he has consistently declined to accept office, his friends believe that, if he were nominated for President, he would bring to the campaign and election an independent following such as no other candidate could command.

Mr. James Gordon Bennett, and the late Mr. John W. Mackay, never wearied of recounting his availability and his virtues. Since 1888, the New York "Herald" has each four years put him forward as the one Southern leader who could unite the two sections of the Union. It is certain that he is the only Southerner whose record could stand before the close, critical inspection of the North.

He came out of the Civil War thoroughly reconstructed, having gone into it reluctantly, opposed to slavery and secession, but going with his State, which was at that time Tennessee. He might be called "the great pacificator," for he antedated all others, except General Grant, in his appeals for sectional reconciliation, accepting and describing the three last amendments to the Constitution as, "The Treaty of Peace between the North and the South," passing to and fro between the two hostile political camps preaching justice to the negroes by the people of the South and justice to the South by the people of the North, and preparing the field for such sowers as Lamar and Grady, who came long after, the one his close associate and friend, the other his professed pupil and disciple.

He fought Greenbackism, and all forms of fiat money, against

the united sentiment of the West and South, and twenty years later gave up an undisputed leadership to fight Free Silver. His cable message from Geneva in the latter year, "No compromise with dishonor," rang like a bugle note and gave the signal for Sound Money Democracy.

From 1872 to 1892, he either wrote or dominated the National Platforms of his party, a leading figure in its National Conventions. He was the author of the Democratic Tariff Policy embraced by the demand for "A Tariff for Revenue Only," which he incorporated in the Platform of 1876, having been as early as 1872, with David A. Wells, the most earnest and aggressive assailant of the Protective System, the *beau sabreur* of the Free Traders as Wells was their Heavy Artillerist. At Chicago in 1892, he changed the Platform agreed upon in Committee, in open Convention, by a two-thirds vote. He is likewise the author of the slogan, "Back to the Constitution."

Mr. Watterson was the confidential friend and lieutenant of Mr. Tilden, presiding over the National Convention that nominated him for President and accepting a seat in Congress solely on Mr. Tilden's insistence, that great man desiring, as he said, "A personal representative on the floor of the House during the counting of the Electoral Vote." As recognition of his party standing he was placed on the Ways and Means Committee and was the most influential member of the Joint Democratic Steering Committee made up of six Senators and eight Representatives. He opposed the Electoral Commission Bill in Committee, but supported both the Bill and its ultimate findings in the House. During all these high party times no word that could be called sectional—that was not broadly national—fell from his tongue or pen. Such a line of antecedents can be presented by no other Democrat—certainly by no other Southern Democrat—and the friends of Mr. Watterson think that, submitted to the people, along with great oratorical talent and a most attractive personality, his candidacy, carrying with it a united South, would as surely carry the independent vote and draw from the more liberal Republicans a larger diversion than could be hoped for by any other Democrat.

Mr. Watterson's attitude on the Negro Question would insure him the bulk of the colored vote of the North, for late and early he has stood for the elevation and education of the black people

of the South, fighting their battles when it was not, in Kentucky, even physically safe to fight them.

The non-partisan demonstration which he recently encountered, when, after thirty years of absence, he appeared on the floor of the Hall of Representatives at Washington, is cited in proof of his extraordinary personal popularity. Both sides of the House rose and cheered him to the echo, Republicans vying with Democrats to do him honor.

But Mr. Watterson has steadfastly refused to stand for office. Declining to allow himself to be voted for as United States Senator for Kentucky, not long ago, he said:

". . . It may not be improper, or irrelevant, for me to repeat, what I have often declared, that if a certificate of election were placed in my hand I would not go to Washington to take the oath of office. If I had wanted that sort of thing I would have sought it thirty years ago, when, as a young man, I stood in the line of succession and all the ways were open to me.

"I was born and grew up in the National Capital. I was brought into too close touch with the ups and downs, particularly the 'downs,' of political life to be enamoured of it. In point of fact, I knew too familiarly too many poor great men, their servitude, their disappointments and their sorrows. I early resolved that if I ever gained a footing in my chosen profession I would not follow the fatal examples of Greeley, Raymond and Forney, but would pursue my destiny as ever a free man and never a slave wheresoever it might lead me, hewing to the line, leaving the chips to fall as it pleased God and Truth. From that resolution I have never swerved. . . .

"I not only want no preferment, but I protest against newspaper nominations to office which imply that journalism is not an eminently honorable Department of the Public Service. The journalist who has his weather eye fixed upon office cannot be a disinterested journalist, and disinterestedness is the soul of journalism. Men in their places are the men who stand; not self-seeking aspirants dazzled by the glitter of the footlights of Washington.

"Success in public life means preparation as much as success in professional life. No man is born to it. Experience, special training, aptitude, no less than ability and learning and eloquence, lie at the foundation of a career in statesmanship, and whilst all these great qualities might exist in a journalist, they would not necessarily fit the wearer to shine upon the scene of another stage of action. Mr. Greeley, Mr. Raymond and Mr. Forney paid the penalty for the mistake of mixing journalism and officialism with shipwrecked lives and broken hearts. As I said in the outset, I early made up my mind never to follow in their footsteps.

"I am profoundly grateful for the good-will of my professional brethren.

But I cannot help feeling a kind of resentment that they should think office a 'promotion' and call it a 'reward.' It is rather a badge of servitude. For all dignities my respect is reverend; of the Army and the Navy, of the Senate and the Church; but there is also a dignity in duty done for its own sake, in pride of profession for its own sake; and this dignity cannot be enhanced by any blue ribbon or titular distinction."

It is believed by Mr. Watterson's friends that good Presidents are made of just such stuff, and they point to their favorite's long familiarity with affairs—a Doctrinaire among Statesmen and a Statesman among Doctrinaires, as John Russell Young once aptly described him—his intimate knowledge of men and measures of his time—his sturdy independence—his orthodox Democracy of the School of Jefferson and Tilden—his sound record on every national question—as not only eminently fitting him for the office of President, but as going to the making of a vote-catching candidacy in case the managing politicians, with whom he has never been a favorite, except during doubtful campaigns, felt themselves compelled to take a Southerner as their standard-bearer.

For nearly forty years Mr. Watterson has represented the best thought of the South. He has stood by his convictions with a devotion that has known no rest, and a courage which would not yield an inch to sectionalism or partyism where these seemed to him in the wrong, and he has lived to see every position for which he fought so valiantly vindicated by events. Closing a long article upon his career, particularly as the friend of the black people of the South, the "Kansas City Star," itself one of the foremost of the enlightened and independent journals of the West, made the following summary, which in a national campaign would be amplified by abundant specification:

"Mr. Watterson is now, and for a long time has been, the wisest counsellor in his party. He is right on every great question he discusses. He is not only right, but he is courageously, aggressively right. He is far-sighted. When others are groping their way, he has arrived at the correct conclusion. And his present conclusions ought to have additional weight in view of the vindication of those of the past."

O. O. Stealey.

WOODROW WILSON.

On March 4th, 1909, twelve years will have elapsed since Democrats lost control of the Federal Government. The two imperative questions as to which it now behooves them to make up their minds quickly are: first, do they believe that William

J. Bryan can obtain a majority of the electoral votes next November; and, if they feel themselves constrained to answer this inquiry in the negative, Do they deliberately prefer to lose the Presidency with Mr. Bryan or to win it with some other candidate? That Mr. Bryan cannot be successful, or, in other words, that he cannot get the 242 electoral votes necessary for a choice, is patent on the record of his two experiments. In 1896 he obtained only 176 electoral votes against McKinley's 271; in 1900 he got but 155 against McKinley's 292. If, now, we turn from aggregates to an examination of the figures in detail, we find that it was especially in the West, his "own country," that on his second experiment Mr. Bryan converted what four years before had given a promise of victory into the assurance of hopeless defeat. In view of these undisputed facts, what possible chance has Mr. Bryan of achieving more this year than he achieved in 1900, or even of recovering what he possessed in 1896?

Before putting forward the name of a substitute for Mr. Bryan, who is not yet by any means assured of a two-thirds vote in the Democratic National Convention to be held next July at Denver, let us inspect somewhat narrowly the conditions with which a Democratic nominee must comply if he is to gain the Presidency. He may count, of course, upon retaining the 120 electoral votes belonging to Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. He ought also, if he is to have any prospect of triumph, to carry all the border States, with the exception of West Virginia (which, apparently, is unobtainable), namely, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri. All of the States, however, thus far named would not suffice. He would require also to carry New York, New Jersey and Connecticut, with either Indiana or Minnesota and North Dakota. Having thus got clearly in our mind the precise goal to be attained, it behooves us to look carefully for a man capable of attaining it. First, then, as regards the former slave States which lie on the border, and which (including West Virginia) gave Mr. Roosevelt four years ago 29 electoral votes, as against 20 given to Judge Parker. When one recalls that not since 1844 has the united Democracy nominated for the Presidency a man born and brought up in the South, can anybody familiar with the force of sectional pride believe that, if a Southern man were now put forward as the

Democratic standard-bearer, he would fail to sweep all of the former slave States from Delaware to Missouri, with the sole exception of West Virginia, or that even there he would not poll a phenomenal vote? Whatever else the presentation of a Southern nominee might accomplish, it would unquestionably stop, and probably once for all, Republican inroads upon Southern territory. Moreover, on patriotic, as well as partisan, grounds it has become expedient that the Democracy should nominate for the Presidency a man of Southern birth and breeding. Is it not obviously true that, although nominally the South was restored to the full privileges of States in the Union, when she was permitted to send Senators and Representatives to Congress she remains partially disfranchised so long as her sons are debarred from the highest honor in the gift of the Republic? We shall never witness a veritable reunion—not of force and law, but of heart—until, with the cordial concurrence of a large part of the North, a Southern man becomes Chief Magistrate. We profess in the North to have forgiven the South, but not yet can we claim to have brought forth fruits meet for forgiveness. In the South they professed—and they proved in 1898 that the profession was sincere—to have accepted accomplished facts and to have acquiesced loyally in a Union which they had failed to subvert. As we pointed out some two years ago in this REVIEW, their acquiescence deserves acknowledgment and their loyalty reward. That reward can only take one adequate, one convincing, one decisive form, namely, the elevation of a Southern man to the Presidency of the United States. As we also formerly pointed out, no observant and fair-minded Northerner will deny the existence of an abundance of Presidential timber in the South. It is not true that the States once Confederate have lost the breed of statesmen that used to dominate the Commonwealth. We could name many a Democratic Senator to-day, and more than one Democratic Representative or Governor, who, in respect of political experience, political insight and political prescience, measures fully up to the standard of Chief Magistrate. May it not, however, be true that these distinguished Southern legislators and State executives, by the very reason of their prolonged prominence in public life, and of their strenuous and gallant upholding of the interests of their section, are ill qualified to extirpate lingering prejudices at the North that ought to be extinct, and to

quench the last flickering embers of sectional animosity which it is a shame to keep alive? In the consideration of this question we would have our Democratic readers bear in mind that the question of nominating a Southern man to the Presidency is complicated with the imperative necessity that the first *post-bellum* Southern administration shall be memorably successful. If the first Southern administration since the Civil War should prove a failure, or only a half success, it is much to be feared that there would never be another, so vast and so rapidly increasing is the numerical preponderance of the North. To insure the necessary entire success it is indispensable that the temper of the Republicans, if beaten in 1908, shall be resigned and acquiescent, not angry, vindictive and defiant. In other words, if a Southern-born and a Southern-bred President is to leave behind him a bright record of constructive statesmanship and useful legislation, he must have the good-will, if not the active support, of the whole country, and such good-will is only to be gained from a conviction deep implanted at the North as well as at the South, that both sections can count upon his sympathy, and, above all, upon that intimate acquaintance without which sympathy is fruitless.

It is doubtless as true to-day as it was when we made the assertion in these pages two years ago, that such indispensable, all-embracing sympathy, such intimate and comprehensive acquaintance with the views, wishes and interests of all sections of the Republic, is not possessed at the present juncture by any professional Southern politician. No veteran Southern statesman would claim it, we think, though we are sure that more than one of them sincerely regrets the lack of it. Is it necessary, however, that the Democracy, in its search for a worthy and promising candidate for the Presidency, should confine itself to men who have spent the best part of their lives in the political arena? In this country political parties that have coveted success have not always circumscribed thus narrowly their field of selection. It was not, of course, his brief and almost speechless legislative experience in the Virginia Assembly that caused Washington in 1788 to receive every electoral vote for the Presidency. It was not his civil record in Tennessee that carried the victor of New Orleans to the White House in 1828. It was not the fact that he had been a member of both Houses of Congress and Governor

of Indiana Territory, but the fact that he had triumphed at Tippecanoe and had beaten British soldiers in the War of 1812 that caused the country to go "hell-bent" for William Henry Harrison in 1840. It was, of course, the battles of Palo Alto, of Resaca de la Palma and of Buena Vista that made Zachary Taylor Chief Magistrate, although he was asserted and believed never to have voted in his life. If the Republicans were overwhelmingly successful in 1868, it was because their choice had fallen on the man who hailed from Appomattox, although he had not voted for years, and although the latest vote cast by him before the Civil War is alleged to have been cast for a Democrat.

Nor, again, as we pointed out in 1906, have party managers in the United States always confined themselves to the army when, turning away for the moment from professional politicians, they have discussed or agreed on the selection of a candidate from some other field of public usefulness. We can see, for instance, in retrospect that if the Republican National Convention in 1856 had followed the advice of Thaddeus Stevens and nominated Justice McLean of the United States Supreme Court the latter would probably have carried Pennsylvania and, in all likelihood, have gained a majority of the electoral votes. Is it only in the legislative arena, in the army or in the judiciary that great political parties must seek a name to conjure with in contests for the Presidency? Is it true that, as things are now, the intellect of the nation flows solely or mainly through those channels? Has not industry its generals, its commanders-in-chief, its conquerors? It is possibly true, however, that in our day, owing to the inimical relations of labor and capital, a conqueror in the field of industrial evolution, highly qualified as he might be on the score of intellectual worth and of services to the country, would be unavailable as a candidate if considered from the viewpoint of his vote-getting ability.

There remains a field of activity and usefulness, the importance of which to the nation cannot be overestimated, nor would any thoughtful man dispute that the eminent and fruitful workers in that field may challenge the highest office in the gift of the American people on the score of merit and of availability. We refer, of course, to the victors in the vast and inestimable department of public instruction; to the great captains of the higher education. The designation of such men for distinguished func-

tions under the Federal Government is by no means unprecedented. George Bancroft had been a college tutor and schoolmaster, and he left incomplete his famous "History of the United States" to become Secretary of the Navy in the Polk administration, and subsequently he was sent to represent his country in London and in Berlin. Edward Everett left the Presidency of Harvard College to become Secretary of State. Mr. Andrew D. White, the former President of Cornell University, has more than once been invited to occupy the highest posts in the nation's diplomatic service. No one has ever disputed that the statesman-like duties assumed by these organizers, directors and inspirers of the higher education were admirably discharged. Why, then, should not the Democratic party in 1908, when seeking a nominee for the Presidency, who will not only deserve, but command, success, turn its eyes in the same promising direction? Is it not quite possible to find among the Presidents of honored universities a man richly qualified for the headship of the Federal Government by great natural ability, by long and distinguished professional experience, by the illuminating and invigorating trend of his historical studies, by the sanity and prescience of his political and politico-economical opinions, by his exceptional popularity and by his unique power of securing the confidence, the sympathy and the support of all sections of the Union—South and North?

We submit that such a man may be found in Woodrow Wilson of Virginia and New Jersey, now President of Princeton University. Woodrow Wilson was born at Staunton, Virginia, in December, 1856, and is not, therefore, fifty-two years old. After graduating from Princeton in 1879, and studying law in the University of Virginia, he began the practice of his profession in Georgia, where he married a native of Savannah. Impelled by his personal tastes and aptitudes to transfer his energies from the law to the field of the higher education, he became successively a Professor of History and Political Economy in Bryn Mawr College and in Wesleyan University; then a Professor of Jurisprudence and Politics at Princeton; and, finally, since August, 1902, he has been the President of the last-named seat of learning and of science. We need not say that he is held in the highest honor by every Princeton graduate and by all university men in the United States. He is known to a multitude of thoughtful

readers as the author of "Congressional Government: A Study of American Politics"; of "The State: Elements of Historical and Practical Politics"; of "Division and Reunion, 1829-89"; of a life of "George Washington"; and, finally, of an elaborate and comprehensive "History of the American People." No one who reads understandingly the last-named work can fail to be impressed with the conviction that, by instinct and education, the author is a statesman. The grasp of fundamental principles, the seemingly intuitive application of primary truths to changing conditions, the breadth of thought and the cogency of reasoning exemplified in the "History of the American People" have rightly been acclaimed as clear evidences of sagacity worthy of Virginia's noblest traditions, as have also been the eloquent appeals addressed in 1905 by President Wilson to his brethren of the South, in which he called upon them to rise manfully from the ashes of prejudice and lethargy and come back into their own. It was only last month that in the pages of this REVIEW President Wilson directed attention to the ominous fact that we are now stripping the States of the powers reserved to them in the Tenth Amendment of the Constitution, and transferring those powers to the hands of Federal commissions. In the same article he warned us that this centralizing process was sapping the "vitality" of the Union, and that uniform Federal regulations of the economic conditions of a territory so vast and a people so various as are those of the United States would be highly mischievous if not impracticable.

We have pointed out the qualifications of Woodrow Wilson of Virginia and New Jersey on the score of intrinsic merit and of availability for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency in 1908. If, now, we are asked what States we believe that he could carry we answer, first, every State south of the Potomac and the Ohio, together with Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas and Oklahoma; secondly, New York, New Jersey and Connecticut; thirdly, if Governor John A. Johnson of Minnesota can be prevailed upon to accept the second place upon the Democratic ticket, we claim for it the States of Minnesota and North Dakota. A moment's computation will prove that the States which we have designated command a majority of the electoral votes.

MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

DELAYS AND DEFECTS IN THE ENFORCEMENT OF LAW IN THIS COUNTRY.*

BY WILLIAM H. TAFT.

If one were to be asked in what respect we had fallen farthest short of ideal conditions in our whole Government, I think he would be justified in answering, in spite of the glaring defects in our system of municipal government, that it is in our failure to secure expedition and thoroughness in the enforcement of public and private rights in our courts. I do not mean to say that the judges of the courts are lacking in either honesty, industry or knowledge of the law, but I do mean to say that the machinery of which they are a part is so cumbersome and slow and expensive for the litigants—public and private—that the whole judicial branch of the Government fails in a marked way to accomplish certain of the purposes for which it was created.

Generally in every system of courts there are a court of first instance, an intermediate court of appeals and a court of last resort. The court of first instance and the intermediate appellate court should be for the purpose of finally disposing in a just and prompt way of all controversies between litigants. So far as the litigant is concerned, one appeal is all that he should be entitled to; the community at large is not interested in his having more; for the function of the court of last resort, usually called the Supreme Court, is not primarily for the purpose of securing a second review or appeal to the particular litigant whose case is carried to that court. It is true that the court can only act in concrete cases between the litigants, and so incidentally it does furnish another review to the litigants in every case where it entertains an appeal; but the chief reason for granting such

* Based on an address delivered before the Civic Forum, New York City, at Carnegie Hall, April 28, 1908.

a review is to enable the Supreme Court to lay down general principles of law in the interpretation of State or Federal constitutions or statutes, or in the application of the common law, for the benefit and guidance, not of the particular litigant affected, but of the communities at large. Therefore, the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court should generally be limited to those cases which are typical and which give an opportunity to the court to cover the whole field of the law upon the subject involved. The highest function of the Supreme Court of the United States is the interpretation of the Constitution of the United States, so as to guide the other branches of the Government and the people of the United States in their construction of the fundamental compact of the Union. Take it all in all, in the discharge of this function, the judicial department is the most novel, as it is in many respects the most important, branch of the Government. It is the background of the whole Government. In its power of ultimate decision as to the respective jurisdictions of the various departments of the National Government, as to the boundaries between State and national control and as to the guarantees of life, liberty and property to the individual, it is the balance-wheel of the governmental system. The Supreme Courts of the States exercise a similar, but of course a less important, function within their respective States. It is to be presumed that the Supreme Courts in the course of their decisions on general law will lay down with reasonable accuracy principles with sufficient clearness to enable the inferior courts to dispose of cases involving similar principles. The great body of the litigation involving particular controversies between individuals should be confined to the courts of first instance and the intermediate appellate courts, and one appeal is all that any litigant should be entitled to.

In the Supreme Courts of the United States and of the several States, business is disposed of with as great promptness as is consistent with the proper exercise of their important jurisdiction. It is in the courts of the first instance and in the intermediate appellate courts, however, that there is much more delay than is necessary. In the first place, the codes of procedure are much too elaborate. It is possible that they should be both simple and effective, as is shown by the present procedure in the English courts framed by rules of court. The code of the State of New

York, however, is staggering in the number of its sections. A similar defect exists in some civil-law countries. The elaborate Spanish code of procedure that we found in the Philippines could be used by a dilatory defendant to keep the plaintiff stamping in the vestibule of justice until time had made justice impossible. Every additional technicality, every additional rule of procedure, adds to the expense of litigation; and it is inevitable that with an elaborate code the expense of a suit involving a small sum is in proportion far greater than that involving a large sum. Hence, it results that the cost of justice to the poor is always greater than it is to the rich, assuming, as we reasonably may, that the poor are more often interested in small cases and the rich in large ones.

Jury trials also add to the elaborate machinery necessary for the adjustment and decision of the rights of the litigants and they greatly increase the time and expense involved in the disposition of litigation.

Another reason for unreasonable delay in the lower courts is the disposition of judges to wait an undue length of time in the writing of their opinions or judgments. I speak with confidence on this point, for I have sinned myself. In English courts the ordinary practice is for the judge to deliver his opinion immediately upon the close of the argument, and this is the practice which ought to be enforced so far as possible in our courts of first instance. It is a great deal more important that the court of first instance should decide promptly than that it should decide right. The practice of deciding cases at the close of the hearing makes the judge very much more attentive to the oral argument of counsel and much more likely, on the whole, to decide right when the evidence and the arguments are fresh in his mind. In the Philippines the system had been adopted of refusing a judge his regular monthly stipend unless he can file a certificate, with the receipt for the money, in which he certifies on honor that he has disposed of all the business submitted to him within the previous sixty days. This has had a marvellously good effect in keeping the dockets of the court clear.

One of the great difficulties with the profession of the law is the disposition both of judges and of advocates to treat the litigants as made for the courts and the lawyers, and not the courts and lawyers as made for the litigants. And as it is lawyers who

in Judiciary Committees of the legislatures draft the codes of procedure, it too frequently happens that the motive for simplifying the procedure and making the final disposition of cases as short as possible is not as strong as it should be. In the end such simplification would be greatly in the interest of the lawyers, for the present conditions of delay in the courts lead many people to arbitrate their case out of court or to yield to unjust claims rather than to expose themselves to the nervous strain and expensive burden of a long-drawn-out contest in court.

In my opinion the best method of securing expedition in the disposition of cases is to leave to the judges of the court the forming of the procedure by rules of court, imposing upon them the obligation to adopt rules making the course of litigation as speedy and as inexpensive as possible. I venture to think that the plan by which the justices of the peace who try smaller cases, and who are neither professional men nor apt in the disposition of business, is not a wise feature of the present system. The poor should have the benefit of as acute and able judges as the rich, and the money saved in the smaller salaries of the judges of the inferior courts is not an economy in the interest of the public. Such judges, after their reputations have become established, would lead the parties seeking their jurisdiction to dispense with juries and to submit their controversies for immediate decision. Under able, educated judges, who understand the purpose of the law in creating them, I am quite sure that courts of conciliation, for the purpose of settling small controversies without pleading, without lawyers and without appeals, could be made successful. They have been made successful in Germany, and I do not see that there is such a difference of conditions in this country as to prevent their being useful here.

It may be asserted as a general proposition, to which many legislatures seem to be oblivious, that everything which tends to prolong or delay litigation between individuals, or between individuals and corporations, is a great advantage for that litigant who has the longer purse. The wealthy defendant can almost always secure a compromise or a yielding of lawful rights on account of the necessities of the poor plaintiff. While such a condition in the administration of human law cannot be entirely eradicated, its injurious effect may be minimized by speeding

the litigation and reducing the opportunities of either litigant to prolong it.

Many people who give the subject hasty consideration regard as the noblest product of human wisdom a system of appeals, by which a suit can be brought before a justice of the peace, and carried through the several intermediate courts of appeal to the Supreme Court of the State. How many legislative halls have rung with the eloquence of defenders of the oppressed and the poor, in opposing laws which were designed to limit the appeals to the Supreme Court to cases involving large sums of money or questions of constitutional or other important law! Shall the poor man be denied the opportunity to have his case re-examined in the highest tribunal of the land? Never! And generally the argument has been successful. In truth, there is nothing which is so detrimental to the interests of the poor man as the right which, if given to him, must also be given to the other and wealthier party. It means generally two, three and four, and in some cases even five and six years of litigation. Could any greater opportunity be put in the hands of wealthy persons or corporations to fight off just claims and to defeat, injure or modify the legal rights of poor litigants, than to delay them in securing their just due for several years? I think not. The fact is that procedure which limits the right of appeal works in the end for the benefit of the poor litigant and puts him more on an equality with a wealthy opponent. While it is probably true that the disposition of the litigation is more likely to be just when three tribunals have passed upon it, the injustice which meantime has been done by the delay to the party originally entitled to the judgment, generally exceeds the advantage that he has had in ultimately winning the case. So confirmed have we become in our views that delays are essential in litigation, that in the minds of many lawyers and other persons familiar with the courts the right of a litigant to delay before being called upon to respond in damages, or in other ways, to the just claim of another, is supposed to inhere either in the Constitution of the State or in the orderly administration of courts. To hasten a litigation to an end within six months against the protesting defendant who is mulcted and compelled to pay within that short period, is even characterized as "railroading."

There is no foundation in the attitude of the courts for the

complaint that the courts are made for the rich and not for the poor; for the judges of this country are as free as possible from prejudice of that kind. But the inevitable effect of the delays I have referred to is to oppress and put at a disadvantage the poor litigant; and while I do not mean to say that it is possible, humanly speaking, to put the rich and the poor on an exact equality in regard to litigation, it certainly is possible to reduce greatly the disadvantages to the man of little means if the courts and legislatures would devote themselves to the elimination from the present system of those provisions which tend to prolong the time in which judicial controversies are disposed of.

When we come to the administration of criminal law and the assertion of public right, which have a more direct bearing upon the welfare of the whole people than the settlement of private rights, the injurious delays caused by the procedure provided by legislative act are greatly accentuated. No one can examine the statistics of crime in this country and consider the relatively small number of prosecutions which have been successful, without realizing that the administration of the criminal law is a disgrace to our civilization. Some of the causes for the lax administration of the criminal law may be found in the lenient, happy-go-lucky character of the American people, absorbed in their own affairs, and not fully realizing that this tremendous evil exists in the community.

In criminal cases the jury system is essential to secure the rights of the individual against possible abuses by the Government; but it necessarily causes delay. The grand-jury system enforced by the Federal Constitution, although not required in many of the States, is another cause of delay in bringing criminals to justice. Fully conceding the necessity of these constitutional restrictions as essential under our form of Government to the preservation of the liberty of the individual, we still find a large field in which the legislature, by formulating proper and expeditious criminal procedure, could avoid the discouraging and disgraceful delays that now exist, when the criminal has the means to employ acute lawyers who take advantage of every technical necessity presented by the rules obtaining in the trial of criminal causes. Every month of delay in bringing a person charged with crime to justice inures, in his ultimate trial, to his benefit. In order to resist the amiable tendency of human nature

toward mercy and compassion for the unfortunate charged with crime, a jury must be strongly imbued with the right of the public to have crime punished, and the further backward into the past the facts upon which the prosecution is based are pursued, the less strongly does the jury feel its obligation to the public at large to restrain future crime by the punishment of offences committed in the distant past.

Again, the procedure provided by legislative enactment for the trial of the crime itself too frequently affords the opportunity to prolong the trial, and exaggerates into undue prominence circumstances having no direct bearing upon the innocence or guilt of the defendant, but calculated to divert the minds of the jury from the real issues, and ultimately to lead to a disagreement or to an acquittal of a really guilty man. Of course such a result could hardly be obtained except by the employment of skilled counsel of dramatic power, able to confuse the minds of the jury, to destroy their sense of proportion, and to make them reach conclusions as jurymen which as men in their own business they would repudiate as absurd. The creation of an atmosphere of fog and error and confusion is only possible under a system in which the power of the court to control its own proceedings and to guide the jury to some extent in the way in which it should go, is so limited by rules of judicial procedure laid down by legislative enactment that the judge becomes nothing but a moderator of the proceedings and helpless in the hands of an acute and eloquent counsel for the defence. The theory of legislatures in this country and, indeed, the popular view, seems to be that it somehow works for the benefit of the public that the power of the judge in the court-room should be greatly reduced and the power of the jury greatly magnified; and we discover the tendency to this view more and more as we go toward the western and the newer States. The fact is, however, that every expedient which weakens the power of the court and increases the power of the jury has an effect wholly different from that which is intended, and increases the advantage enjoyed by the wealthy when brought before the bar of a criminal court.

No legislature can legally take away from the jury in this country its power to do what it believes to be right under the instructions of law received from the court. The power of the court to comment on the evidence, to point out its strength or

its weakness, can never take from the jury its authority to decide upon the facts. The restoration, therefore, of the procedure which obtained at the common law and which still obtains in England, in the courts of the United States and in some State courts, by which the verdict rendered is the result of the independent judgment of the jury guided both by instructions by the court as to the law and also by suggestions and comments as to the facts, could work no injustice to any person brought into court and would secure not only greater efficiency in the enforcement of the criminal law, but also much greater speed in the disposition of cases.

We have, as is well understood, certain constitutional restrictions as to the procedure in criminal cases which offer protection to the accused and present difficulties in the proof of his guilt. But these obtain as well in the English courts as in our own, and their existence does not offer a reason for the delays from which we suffer, for such delays do not exist in the administration of justice in England. A murder case which in this country is permitted to drag itself out for three weeks or a month, in England is disposed of in a day, two days, or at the most, three days—certainly in less than one-fifth the time. This is because the English judges insist upon expedition by counsel, cut short useless cross-examinations and confine the evidence to the nub of the case. They exercise the greater power which under the common-law rule has always been exercised by the court. Under such practice it would be possible for the prosecuting attorneys to clear their dockets; as it is now they are utterly unable to do so.

At the present time in our larger cities, a man who is indicted and has means with which to secure bail is released on bond, unless he is confined for murder in the first degree. The pressure upon the prosecuting officers is for the trial of those who are in jail and unable to give bail, and as a result of the delays I have mentioned jail cases are protracted and the trial of those who are released on bail is postponed oftentimes to the indefinite future, the evidence disappears, newer and more sensational cases come on, and ultimately nolles are entered and the indicted man escapes. This is one explanation why so many crimes go wholly unpunished.

Another cause of the inefficiency in the administration of the criminal law is the difficulty of securing jurors properly sen-

sible of the duty which they are summoned to perform. In the extreme tenderness which the State legislatures exhibit toward persons accused as criminals, and especially as murderers, they allow peremptory challenges to the defendant far in excess of those allowed to the prosecution. In my own State of Ohio for a long time in capital cases the law allowed the prosecution two peremptory challenges and the defendant twenty-three. This very great discrimination between the two sides of the case enabled the defendant's counsel to eliminate from the panel every man of force and character, and to assemble a collection in the jury-box of nondescripts of no character who were amenable to every breeze of emotion, however maudlin or irrelevant to the issue.

I do not think that the members of the bar can escape the responsibility for the demoralizing tendencies to which I have referred. The perversions of justice in my own city of Cincinnati in 1884 led to the appointment of a committee of the bar to visit the legislature to urge it to rid our criminal code of procedure of those features which placed the prosecution at an unfair disadvantage in the trial of capital cases. The indignation of the public at some of the failures of justice in flagrant cases of crime had led to a riot and to the burning of our court-house, and the public finally became aroused to the serious defects in the law. I had the honor of being one of those who waited upon the Judiciary Committee of the Ohio Legislature and preferred the request that the twenty-three challenges allowed to the defendant be reduced to twelve, and that the State be allowed a similar number; but we found that there were upon that committee lawyers a substantial part of whose practice consisted in acting as counsel for defendants in criminal trials. When I protested that twenty-three challenges was an outrageous number, the chairman of the committee leaned back with the remark, "Many a time I would have given all my fee to have had twenty-four challenges for the defendant." I cite this instance because I believe that the unjust disposition to curtail the power of judges is due more or less to the intervention of some members of the bar whose practice is more or less beneficially affected, as they conceive, by obstacles thus created to the due course of justice.

Another reason for delays in the enforcement of criminal law is to be found in the right of repeated appeals which are given

in criminal cases. The code of evidence with its complicated rules and numerous technical statutory limitations designed to favor the defendant, are all used as a trap to catch the trial court in error, however technical, upon which in appellate proceedings a reversal of the judgment of the court below may be obtained. The rule which generally obtains in this country is that any error, however slight, must lead to a reversal of the judgment, unless it can be shown affirmatively that it did not prejudice the defendant. The disposition on the part of the courts to think that every provision of every rule of the criminal law is one to be strictly construed in favor of the defendant, and even widened in its effect in the interest of the liberty of the citizen, has led courts of appeal to a degree of refinement in upholding technicalities in favor of defendants, and in reversing convictions, that renders one who has had practical knowledge of the trial of criminal cases most impatient.

In a case carried on error to the Supreme Court of the United States the point was raised for the first time in that court that the record did not show an arraignment of the defendant and a plea of not guilty; and on this ground the court, three judges dissenting, reversed the judgment. There was not a well-founded doubt of the fact that the defendant was arraigned and pleaded not guilty. The record itself raised a presumption that this was the fact; but the judgment was reversed, although there was not a pretence that the defendant had suffered any injury at the trial by reason of the alleged defect in the procedure. When a court of highest authority in this country thus interposes a bare technicality between a defendant and his just conviction, it may be pertinent to inquire whether some of the laxity in our administration of the criminal law may not be due to a proneness on the part of courts of last resort to reverse judgments of conviction for narrowly technical error. There ought to be introduced into the statutes of every State and of the United States in regard to appeals in criminal cases, and, indeed, in regard to appeals in civil cases, a provision that no judgment of a trial court should be reversed except for an error which the court after reading the entire record can affirmatively say would have led to a different verdict and judgment. This would do no injustice and would end reversals for technicalities.

And, now, what has been the result of the lax administration of criminal law in this country? Criminal statistics are exceedingly difficult to obtain. The number of homicides, the number of lynchings and the number of executions one can note from the daily newspapers, but the number of indictments, trials, convictions, acquittals or mistrials it is hard to find. Since 1885 in the United States there have been 131,951 murders and homicides, and there have been 2,286 executions. In 1885 the number of murders was 1,808. In 1904 it had increased to 8,482. The number of executions in 1885 was 108. In 1904 it was 116. This increase in the number of murders and homicides as compared with the number of executions tells a startling story. As murder is on the increase, so are all offences of the felony class, and there can be no doubt that they will continue to increase unless the criminal laws are enforced with more certainty, more uniformity and more severity than they are at present.

The strongest force in our community is public opinion, and frequently the existence of evils in the community is due to the fact that it is not sufficiently directed to the evil in hand. The enormous discrepancy between the crimes which are committed and the crimes which are actually brought to trial is sufficient to show that public opinion is not alert enough, and is not directed against prosecuting officers and judicial officers with sufficient vigor to bring to trial every man guilty of an offence. In recent years, we have been engaged in the trial of wealthy men and corporations charged with violating the anti-trust laws and the anti-rebate laws, or laws against railway-rate discrimination. In these trials there has been brought home to the public the difficulty of securing the conviction of wealthy defendants who employ acute counsel to take advantage of all the technicalities and delays which the present criminal procedure makes possible. And it is quite possible that the escape of wealthy malefactors from just punishment will bring home to the people at large the conviction which ought to obtain, that by the tenderness toward the individual charged with crime manifested by legislatures and lawmakers during the last fifty years in this country, great injustice has been caused to the interests of the public and that the time has come to call a halt.

WILLIAM H. TAFT.

"THE TRUTH ABOUT GERMAN EXPANSION."

BY ANGLO-AMERICAN.

Baron von Sternburg has made himself widely known as one of the ablest and most assiduous Ambassadors in the German service. Thanks to his tact and social adaptability and the many bonds of sympathetic interest that unite him to President Roosevelt in a personal camaraderie, the German Embassy to-day commands an influence and prestige at Washington such as even the British Embassy in Lord Pauncefote's day hardly surpassed. In five years Baron von Sternburg has succeeded in dissipating the cloud of distrust and animosity that settled over German-American relations after the Spanish war. He has been the means of establishing between the Kaiser and the President an intimacy as close and cordial as any that subsists between any two rulers to-day. His adroitness and popularity have secured for his countrymen some valuable commercial concessions. On more than one occasion, but especially during the Algeciras Conference, he has powerfully influenced American policy in Germany's interests. Whenever American opinion has seemed to him an asset worth cultivating, he has skilfully cultivated it. No Ambassador has been more prolific of interviews, statements and articles dexterously designed to impress American sentiment.

The latest, and, in my judgment, quite the boldest, of his Excellency's efforts to philo-Germanize the United States took the form of an article that appeared in the March number of this Review under the title "The Truth About German Expansion." It was written to convince Americans that neither Holland nor Belgium nor Denmark nor the German-speaking part of Austria-Hungary has anything whatever to fear from the expansion of the German Empire, and that the United States may therefore dismiss all anxiety lest Curaçoa or Dutch Guiana or the Danish

West Indies should one day pass under the German sceptre. The German Empire, so runs the argument, has been proved by the history of the past seven-and-thirty years to be an Empire of peace, and her subjects have no other desire than to mind their own business. Those who maintain that the economic pressure of a rapidly increasing population must eventually force Germany to expand in spite of herself are wholly wrong. Germany needs no colonies; she is quite content with the open door. It is to her "a matter of complete indifference" whether the Lower Rhine belongs to her or to Holland or to Belgium so long as the traffic on its waters remains, as at present, free from all duties or restrictions. So far, indeed, is Germany from desiring to annex the small states on her northwestern border that she does not even wish to enter with them into a union of economic interests. Such a union would subject German industries to the unrestricted competition of Belgian coal and iron and German agriculture to the free importation of Dutch cattle. Nor are there any political considerations that might make annexation desirable. The Netherlands have lost their old strategic importance and are never again likely to be the arena of a great European conflict. Their freedom and independence are no menace to Germany; she is sure of their neutrality in the event of war and that is all she requires. Again, the German Constitution is a far more complex and delicately adjusted instrument than most foreigners realize, and the enormous difficulty of incorporating new states into its framework is in itself a powerful obstacle to any scheme of annexation. Moreover, Baron von Sternburg believes that "the importance of the mental element in politics is habitually underestimated," and he is persuaded that the psychological community between Germany and the Netherlands and Belgium, and the recollection of their intimate and helpful association in the past, will not only, "in the absence of every legitimate reason, prevent these nations from imputing to each other enmity and ill-will, but will promote instead an eminently sane, mutual cordiality." The fear of annexation, he concludes with idiomatic raciness, is neither more nor less than a bugaboo.

Why, then, does the bugaboo persist? If everything is as stable and simple as Baron von Sternburg asserts, how account for the indisputable uneasiness with which the Belgians and the Dutch contemplate their future? His Excellency accounts for

it quite easily. It is the handiwork of "political calumniators" in France and Great Britain. "A certain group of foreign political writers" has done it all. The point is recurred to and emphasized again and again. "I certainly do not believe that the fairy-tales of annexation originate in Belgium or Holland. Their sources are to be found elsewhere." If any of Germany's neighbors are apprehensive of her power or policy, it can only be because "some chauvinistic papers of Western Europe" have conspired "to undermine Germany's reputation." The fear of annexation "certainly does not emanate from Belgium or Holland, but from some place where persons, unacquainted with Germany and the Netherlands, blindly believe that the big German Empire simply must be possessed of an ambition to annex its two smaller neighbors." Baron von Sternburg admits the possibility that after the Franco-Prussian war and the unification of the German states, "some Hollanders and Belgians" may have been perturbed. But their anxieties, he thinks, soon crumbled away. "To-day the home of such apprehensions is neither Belgium nor Holland. Several years ago a group of writers, inspired by influential politicians of some Powers of Western Europe, started a virulent campaign for a Holland-Belgium Alliance, indicated to be the only means of saving these states from threatened annexation by the German Emperor. It is possible that such politicians promulgated these views in good faith, and believed themselves to be acting in the interests of their own countries, by holding up the German bugaboo to all the small states and frightening them into seeking the protection of their own altruistic and less dangerous friendship. At all events, the best refutation of the needlessness of this dread of annexation is the fact that the German bugaboo is not 'made in Holland or Belgium,' but is a strictly imported article."

In these passages the service which Ambassadors are popularly supposed to be sent abroad to render their country is fulfilled, as it seems to me, with an almost paralyzing completeness. I can only explain their inclusion in Baron von Sternburg's article by supposing that for the moment he forgot that the circulation of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW was not confined to the United States.

I think myself that he overestimated American credulity when he imagined it would swallow the remarkable assertion

that the fear of German expansion in Holland and Belgium was the work of foreign journalists. But the thing was clearly worth trying. If Baron von Sternburg had been able to report home that he had hypnotized the Americans into believing that "political calumniators" in France and England were the sole source of strife or mistrust between an unaggressive Germany and the smaller states resting in her shadow in confidence and security, the Kaiser and Prince von Bülow, besides appreciating the full exquisiteness of the jest, could hardly have failed to form an even higher opinion of the jester. But success in such an enterprise could only be attained on impossible conditions of secrecy and selection. His Excellency's one chance lay in breathing his revelation into American ears alone. He should have bought up the entire March issue of this REVIEW; he should personally have seen to it that it was distributed only in suitable quarters; above all, he should at any cost have prevented a single copy from reaching Europe, where the facts were known. With these precautions omitted the sequel was inevitable. When the cables flashed a *précis* of his article a smile began to creep across the face of Europe. When the full text could be studied in all its perfection, the smile broadened into an outburst of laughter and amazement at the sheer audacity of so huge a gamble upon American gullibility.

For the truth is, of course, that the apprehensions of the smaller states that border on the German Empire have their root partly in overt acts of German policy, partly in the contingencies that are likely to be provoked by any great European struggle, but chiefly in the writings and speeches of the Germans themselves. Baron von Sternburg holds forth as though he had never heard of the Pan-Germans, as though Professor von Halle had never written a line, as though Lamprecht, Lexis, Reismann-Grone, von Waltershausen, Anton and innumerable other propagandists were either Englishmen or non-existent, as though the Pan-Dutch League were fiction, and as though the project of bringing Holland and her colonies within the sphere of German control had not been from the first one of the leading items on the Pan-German programme. The Pan-Germans, it may be said, are not Germany. I am aware of that, just as I am aware of the coincidences that so often bring it about that Pan-German policies, officially repudiated at the outset, are officially adopted in

the sequel. All Germans are Pan-Germans at heart. All cherish the sentiment that the ethnographic boundary of the German race may some day be the political boundary of the German Empire. It is a magnificent, a natural and, to my mind, a thoroughly laudable aspiration, one of those great ideals that keep the soul of a nation alive and hearten and amplify its temper with an element of poetic fervor. But between Pan-Germanism as a dream and Pan-Germanism as a policy the gulf is very great. The responsible statesmen of Germany, the "Real-Politiker," regard the propaganda of the Pan-Germans alternately as a folly, as a nuisance and as a convenient pioneer. They cannot approve a policy which, being advocated without reference to the concrete circumstances of the day, is at once nebulous and irritating. They cannot, on the other hand, wholly disavow a policy which sows the seed of a wider nationality, deepens and intensifies German patriotism and corresponds with the secret instincts of the people. That, however, is not the point. Baron von Sternburg has definitely asserted that the anxieties entertained in Holland, Belgium, Denmark and Austria-Hungary are the product of "some chauvinistic papers of Western Europe." I challenge that assertion. For every paragraph in this connection that his Excellency is able to produce from a French or English journal I will undertake to produce a hundred from the papers of his own countrymen. For every "Western European" article written for the purpose of arousing the fears of Germany's neighbors, I will show him a German book, and for every "Western European" book a German library.

The best statement of what may be called the Pan-German case against Holland—to confine ourselves for the moment to that country alone—is to be found in Professor von Halle's pamphlet, "*Volks-und-Seewirthschaft,*" published in 1902. Professor von Halle is no obscure Pan-German scribbler; I am not sure that he even calls himself a Pan-German at all. He is one of the ablest of the younger professors in Germany and threw himself heartily into the Emperor's campaign for a larger fleet. Unlike Baron von Sternburg, but not unlike almost all German publicists with whom I have discussed the subject, the professor is very far from thinking that the Dutch control of the Lower Rhine is "a matter of complete indifference" to Germany. He regards it, and I have every sympathy with him, as a "monstrosity"

that the mouth of the Rhine, the German Tiber, should be in the hands of strangers. He believes it to be the cause of Germany's failure thus far to acquire that degree of naval strength and prestige which would secure respect for her wishes on the ocean. Canals have been built and preferential railway rates granted to divert traffic from Rotterdam. A small and weak people astride of Germany's busiest river is as vexatious an anomaly as though the mouth of the Mississippi were still in Spanish hands. Seeing that Holland is becoming increasingly dependent on her German neighbor, and "continues, as she has done for centuries, to draw her sustenance from the products of German labor," that she "participates in the advantages of German progress, but will not share its burdens," the professor finds it exceedingly objectionable that "a small coast people should be in a position to influence the traffic on the Lower Rhine and to take measures opposed to the interest of the Hinterland and to prevent the adoption of improvements, such as the deepening of the river and its connection with Antwerp." Passing from economic and commercial to political considerations, Professor von Halle discovers the necessity of union to be yet more clearly indicated. The German Empire must be able to erect its line of defence in a favorable position and to protect it. So long as Holland is at liberty to close the Rhine valley and obstruct traffic with Belgium, she must continue to be a thorn in Germany's side. "A Holland which is weak either on land or at sea is a constant danger for the most important industrial districts of Germany. Consequently, the question is how to revise the international treaties between the two countries, both from an economic and a military standpoint, in a manner more in accordance with the actual condition of affairs, and so bring Holland and Germany closer together. A naval convention and a customs and commercial union must be concluded between them." Above all, the professor warns Holland that without a military understanding with Germany it will be impossible to protect the Dutch possessions in the East and West Indies from the aggressiveness and "ruthless seizures" of Great Britain and the United States. Java and Curaçoa can only be saved from the fate that has overtaken the Philippines and Porto Rico by being brought under the protection of the German fleet. At the same time it is unquestionably Germany's interest to take timely measures for protect-

ing her growing trade with the Dutch East Indies from the danger of being hindered or restricted with which she is now faced in the Philippines." In fact, when it is so obviously to the larger advantage of both countries to take counsel together, "lest Holland's fate be that of Spain," why, asks the professor, most persuasively, should a petty narrowness stand in the way? The union he contemplates would preserve to Holland her complete independence, but it would prevent her from pursuing that merely dynastic and particularist policy which in the long run is bound to be as harmful to herself as to her neighbor.

A whole literature has grown up in Germany during the past decade to foster arguments, threats and appeals such as these. The Dutch are plainly told that Germany must advance to her "natural" confines and that, while Holland remains detached, Germany is in the intolerable position of a man who is denied a key to his own front door. They are reminded that the more Germany develops her canal and railway system, the more the Dutch ports will lose their trade. They are warned that in time of war Germany could not be expected to regard the Dutch ports as neutral. The colonial peril is repeatedly insisted upon, and always with reference to the predatory ambitions of England and America. The ethnological, linguistic and spiritual affinity of the two peoples is emphasized with an almost tearful tenderness. The commercial dependence of Holland upon Germany is convincingly driven home, and the advantages of an economic union are dwelt upon with alluring iteration. Holland, it is argued, does not need Free Trade as a general policy. So long as she has Free Trade with Germany her permanent interests would be amply safeguarded and enhanced. Even supposing that a Zollverein would lead to an immediate increase in the price of food, Holland would be more than compensated by free access to the vast German market, by the abolition of the veterinary restrictions on the importation of live-stock into Germany, by the relief given to unemployment, by co-operation between the two Powers in the development of colonial communications, and by the institution of common systems of coinage, patent laws, fiscal policy, railway tariffs, harbor and river dredging and postal arrangements. Germany, on the other hand, would gain by an increased commerce with the Dutch colonies, by practically possessing the mouth of the Rhine, and extending her North Sea

frontier, and by the stimulus that would assuredly be given to German shipping.

Such is a bare summary of the arguments with which the Germans have striven to win over the Dutch to the idea of economic amalgamation. And many of them are of unquestionable force and have, indeed, already borne tangible fruit. A beginning, that is to say, has been made towards effecting a postal union, and the German and Dutch Governments have co-operated in laying a joint cable to the Dutch West-Indian colonies. There are Dutch papers, too, that favor both a customs union and a military alliance with Germany, and the whole subject is one that is never far from the forefront of popular discussion. But the masses of the people remain resolute against any scheme that threatens to compromise their independence. They are not willing to give up Free Trade; they foresee that an economic union foreshadows an ultimate political subserviency to Germany; they intensely dislike the German militarist and bureaucratic spirit; they are far more conscious of the points of character, speech and manners that differentiate, than of those that tend to unite, the two peoples; and they cling with a hardy pride to the memories of the greatness of their past. But their position as a weak Power adjoining one of the most virile and aspiring nations in the world must always remain precarious; the tendency of events is towards an economic, if not a political, convergence; and a fiscal union of the two countries is, in my judgment, something more than a probability of the future. It will not, I think, come by force. I absolutely acquit Germany of any intention to impose her wishes upon Holland by conquest. The present Kaiser's policy towards his neighbors and kinsmen has been uniformly correct, and I see no reason why it should not remain so. But whether as the result of some great political upheaval, or in obedience to the pressure which Germany is both able and skilful to apply, or from a change of fiscal opinion in Holland itself and a clearer realization of the advantages of economic union, I think it, not perhaps inevitable, but exceedingly likely that eventually the commercial, naval and colonial policies of the two kingdoms will be regulated in common.

I have, however, somewhat digressed from my point, which was merely to prove the hollowness of Baron von Sternburg's assertion that Dutch apprehensions are artificially stimulated from

abroad instead of being the natural reflex of German speeches, writings and deeds. And what, in this respect, holds good for Holland holds equally good for Denmark, Belgium and Austria-Hungary and to a lesser degree for Scandinavia and Switzerland. In all these countries the Pan-German idea is at work. In Scandinavia it takes the form of popularizing the notion of cultural, linguistic and ethnological kinship—not perhaps without an eye to a future German-Swedish alliance. In Denmark, where it encounters a formidable obstacle in the resentment aroused by the Germanizing policy in Schleswig, it is associated with the enormous importance of Denmark's benevolent neutrality in time of war. Denmark holds the keys of the Baltic and possesses also in the island of St. Thomas an invaluable naval base in the Caribbean. On both grounds she is an object of interest not only to the Pan-Germans, but to all Germany. In Belgium the propaganda is mainly directed towards emphasizing the community of race and tongue between the Low Germans and the Flemish peoples and towards fostering the anti-French spirit in the Flemish renaissance. In Switzerland also, which the Pan-Germans magnificently describe as "a German province," the appeal is rather to sentiment and to racial and literary affiliations than to hard political fact, though the project of a customs union is always in the air and may conceivably take visible shape. In Austria, on the other hand, where the German population numbers some ten millions, Pan-Germanism aims at nothing less than the absorption of the German-speaking districts of the realm of the Hapsburgs into that of the Hohenzollerns. I am not concerned to discuss the practicability of these grandiose schemes. But I wish to emphasize the fact once more that whatever trepidation they may cause is due, not as Baron von Sternburg wishes Americans to believe, to "political calumniators" in Western Europe, but to the activities of the Germans themselves.

It is not difficult to account for the disquietude of the smaller northern Powers that lie round the feet of the German Colossus. They see, to begin with, that Germany to-day commands a position for which dictatorship is scarcely too strong a word. Not since Napoleon has any ruler been in control of the actual and potential power that the Kaiser at this moment holds in his grasp. He is the head of the greatest and most scientific army in Europe, and perhaps in the world. His navy, though out-

numbered by two other fleets, and though lacking the stimulus of maritime traditions, is an instrument of admirable potency, fashioned with the meticulous carefulness that thirty-seven years ago made Germany invincible on land. The state organization at his disposal is beyond comparison the most efficient and most intelligent in Europe. Nor is it only in administrative perfection and material resources that the Kaiser is strong. He is strong, too, in the character and qualities of the people over whom he rules, a virile, supremely capable nation, thrilled with the consciousness of being on the crest of the rising wave, and looking forward to the future with an almost defiant assurance of success. They are the Romans of the modern world. There is hardly a field in which, given a fair chance, they have not vanquished all competitors. Hardy, patient, exact and remorselessly persistent, their triumphs have been equally signal in science, in commerce, in diplomacy and in war. With all the qualities of success, they have succeeded; but not, they feel, to the full measure of their deserts. The accident of time has thwarted their development. They arrived late upon the scene of *Weltpolitik*. While they were forging the indispensable weapon of unity, their rivals were laying the foundations of vast empires overseas. When they had at last welded themselves into a self-conscious state, they discovered that the question of whether they could ever become a world-power in the old, easy way had already been decided against them. They have striven to found a transmarine empire, but the result of their endeavors is not satisfactory. They find themselves more and more driven back upon Europe and Asia Minor for outlets of expansion. They are at present an imprisoned empire, cut off from the full freedom of the Baltic and the North Sea, from the Mediterranean and from the Adriatic. The short and difficult coast line between Holland and Denmark forms virtually the sole effective channel for the commerce of this powerful and ambitious nation.

And the nations that in this way cramp Germany's development are in all cases weaker than herself. She is walled off by puny, insignificant states from everything she most vitally needs for the protection of her security and the full utilization of her strength. Ports, territory, opportunities, lie just beyond her boundaries—boundaries, remember, that are artificial, not permanent, drawn by diplomatists, not by nature—and their oc-

cupation would provide for generations an adequate outlet for her surplus population, her maritime ambitions and her industrial enterprise. Apart, therefore, from the real or fancied claims of race, the temptation is a severe one. Nor is it made any easier to resist by the gradual change of Germany from a mainly agricultural to a mainly industrial state, by the rapid growth of her population, and by the increasing social pressure. Germany, reflect the small nations, wants room already; in a few years she may need it. The German Empire is the creation of the three interdependent processes of diplomacy, war and spoliation. Is there any reason for thinking that those processes are exhausted and that the era of German expansion is definitely closed? The plain compulsion of the facts necessarily keeps all the smaller kingdoms in a state of nervous apprehension. They are, it is true, protected by many international agreements of old standing, but they have lost faith in paper guarantees without acquiring the power to safeguard their independence by their own exertions. They feel themselves living under the shadow of a whole series of impending or possible conflicts, their part in which may be the part of Manchuria in the struggle between Russia and Japan. Both Holland and Belgium are fearful, and justly so, that a war between France and Germany would lead at once to a violation of their neutrality, and might even convert them into the battle-grounds of the struggle. Denmark is equally obsessed by the dread of becoming the cockpit of the "inevitable" Anglo-German clash; and there is not one of the northern states whose independence would not be jeopardized or permanently destroyed by a collision between any two of its powerful neighbors. Their anxieties, therefore, are many. Some of them, perhaps, may be alleviated by the negotiations that for the past few months have been in progress between Russia, Germany and Sweden in regard to the *status quo* in the Baltic, and by the further negotiations that, it is hoped, will lead to a declaration affirming the *status quo* in the North Sea. But it is from Germany, and from Germany alone, that their most harassing apprehensions proceed. They perceive an untiring propaganda at work directed against their economic or political independence; and they place little reliance in the trumpery constitutional obstacles which Baron von Sternburg appears to regard as well-nigh insuperable.

ANGLO-AMERICAN.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN WATERWAYS.

BY FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS, UNITED STATES SENATOR.

THE Inland Waterways Commission was the outgrowth of a sentiment which has for some time been developing and a consequent agitation, particularly in the Mississippi Valley, demanding the improvement, connection and extension of our national waterways. Before yielding to the pressure brought upon him to make suggestions to the Congress on the subject, the President determined upon exhaustive investigation and appointed an executive commission for the purpose and recommend a plan. Into this commission he gathered men who, in either administrative or legislative work, had already acquired a large experience in the problems relating to the waterways of the country. That commission is now engaged in framing a preliminary report to the President and has not yet reached its final conclusions; so that I wish to state at the outset that whatever I may say on the subject is not to be accepted as the conclusion of the commission. but as expressing my individual view.

The duty imposed upon this commission was to study the use of our waters and investigate the entire subject, not only as pertaining directly to navigation, but for all other purposes as well, in order to recommend to the President a full and comprehensive plan for the development and utilization of all the natural resources of the country relating to water, with the primary purpose of facilitating water transportation.

Everywhere else in the world water transportation is an important factor in both foreign and domestic commerce. In Germany, where there is perhaps the best system of transportation in the world, the rivers have been artificialized from source to mouth and are supplemented by a system of canal, rail and ocean

transportation which in regulated combination gives the country a machinery unequalled anywhere in the development of foreign and domestic commerce. It is evident to any one with ordinary information that our waterways must be utilized again, and to be utilized they must be properly artificialized, their beds must be made stable, their courses sure for the transportation of bulky merchandize. Even the great railway managers now acknowledge it and are urging the development of our waterways. This is a decided change since a few years ago, when a noted railway man is said to have declared that water competition could not exist in this country and that if he were given the money with which to build a double-track road beside the proposed enlarged Erie Canal, he would turn the canal into a lily-pond. The views of these men are changing because it has been so graphically demonstrated that they must either expend vast sums of money in improvements—money which in the present unsettled conditions of railways they cannot obtain—or else call in the aid of water transportation.

The movement to improve the waterways represents a policy, not a project. It is improbable that any particular river will be selected for development. There must be assurance that all rivers requiring improvement shall come into one comprehensive plan, involving, ultimately, the creation and highest development of all possible waterways that will materially aid our foreign and domestic commerce. The attention of the whole country has been arrested. I never knew the people to be more universally interested and better united. There is practically no difference of opinion as to the necessity of improving our inland waterways. The vital point at this juncture is to give effective direction to the aroused public sentiment, by making plain to all the true scope of the subject and the great importance of scientific legislation which shall carry out broad and comprehensive plans, without which the undertaking can never succeed. Congress rarely creates public opinion. It records public opinion. The real argument of the legislator who wishes to do something in a businesslike way, should go to the country, not to Congress. Congress seldom takes the initiative. It follows rather than leads public opinion. It is fortunate, therefore, that the agitation for a deep waterway from the Lakes to the Gulf has reached such proportions as to create a general demand from all parts of the

country that a broad and comprehensive plan be inaugurated for the improvement of all navigable waters, and a call for legislation creating a fund for uninterrupted work and a fair apportionment between the different sections of the country under a businesslike administration.

It would have startled the country some time ago, perhaps, if it had been asserted that a hundred million dollars, annually, for the next five years, should be expended in this work. But it ought to be expended, in order to meet the requirements of transportation, and the public mind is becoming accustomed to it. We must also bear in mind that after it is expended the business of the railroads will not be injured. They will still have more than they can carry and their carriage will be better compensatory than the cheap and bulky products which now congest the systems. If then we add an ocean service to the railways and the canal and waterway systems, in harmonious co-operation under wise national legislation, we shall have a machinery which will accomplish marvellous results for the country. It can be done. It must be done. We shall have a system of navigable rivers, of coastal canals and sheltered waterways that will connect Maine with Texas and Texas with the Lakes; and all of these works, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, should be commenced and prosecuted contemporaneously, and pushed forward in a thoroughly businesslike manner and without unnecessary restrictions by a competent service, such as has given vitality and effectiveness to the work on the Panama Canal and in the Reclamation Service. With this end in view I am now urging upon Congress a bill for the establishment of such a commission and a working fund of fifty million dollars, to be renewed by the issue of bonds when it falls below twenty millions.

A comprehensive plan for the development of our waterways of necessity takes into consideration all of the related questions of forest preservation and restoration, of the irrigation of arid lands, of the reclamation of swamp lands, of bank protection, of clarification of streams and other kindred subjects, as well as of canal construction. It does not mean simply getting a dredging machine for the purpose of removing sandbars, and digging a channel. It involves the prevention of floods, when the rivers rush down in torrential streams, destroying property, and then, having wasted the water in the ocean, are attenuated till boats

cannot float upon them. It involves the preservation of forests, because forests are the great conservators of moisture and aid in its gradual distribution to the rivers. It involves the question of irrigation of arid lands at the head waters of our inland rivers—the creation of great reservoirs, where the flood waters can be impounded and led over the plains for purposes of irrigation, to be gradually returned to the rivers when most required by them. Where it cannot be advantageous to irrigation the water can be kept impounded—as is now done in the upper Mississippi and in some foreign countries—to be let out at a time of low water in such a manner as to maintain navigation throughout the summer.

Forestry and irrigation are both essential to the prevention of floods and soil waste and to the maintenance of a stable channel for navigation, besides creating vast money values and great happiness and comfort in the development of immense forests and broad plains irrigated to almost unlimited productiveness. The artificializing of a river means that it shall be kept at a standard depth, to accommodate vessels of standard draft, just as there is a standard gauge for railroads.

Another item which, wholly aside from transportation, will prove of inestimable value, is the clarification of the rivers. Few realize as they ought how our continent is wasting through the drift of soil down the great rivers. The Mississippi has built another great delta at its mouth, like the delta on which the city of New Orleans stands, where alluvial soil is 1,200 feet deep. In time, the Gulf of Mexico will be turned into a continent by this process. Every grain of sand in a river is a tool of destruction. Clear water cuts the banks but little, but in the great rivers that pass through alluvial bottoms the banks dissolve like sugar when the force of the water loaded with particles of soil is directed against them. Then, when the waters become less turbulent and deposit the burden, it forms banks and bars, obstructing navigation. As the rivers are also a source of domestic water-supply for the cities and towns along the banks, the benefit of clarification through bank protection and the prevention of soil waste extends still further.

It also involves the reclamation of swamp lands, which means the addition of large and immensely fertile areas to the productive resources of the country. The reclamation of swamp lands as such is not one of the powers of Government granted by the

Constitution, but the control of the river for purposes of navigation is, and for this purpose the redemption of vast swamps, along the lower reaches of the rivers, is as much a function of the Government as the irrigation of arid and semi-arid wastes at the source of the rivers. The channels fill up because where there are broad stretches of lowland, over which the river spreads, in high water, the river channel is lost in a network of bayous and swamps. When confined in comparatively narrow channels, by means of levees, the current is restrained and quickened and becomes an effective power in scouring instead of clogging the bottom, and in preserving the channel; so that we have inseparably connected with the question of navigation, the redemption of swamp lands and bank protection.

All of the advantages to be derived are so important that it is difficult to say which should be placed first. It is perfectly evident that for the proper development of our waterways we must embrace in one comprehensive plan the treatment of our forests, the irrigation of our arid lands, the reclamation of our swamp lands, bank protection and clarification of our rivers. In doing this other vast benefits will accrue; great water power will be developed and immense tracts of now unavailable soil will be made phenomenally productive. I will only suggest, here, the legitimate returns which the Government may justly receive, greatly reducing the original cost. It is estimated, for example, that with many of our large rivers the power which will be developed will be sufficient to pay the entire cost of improvement. We should not lose sight of these related advantages which will, eventually, very greatly reduce the original cost and make the enterprise efficient for other public good.

Of course there follows then the grave question: can our river commerce be revived; can we restore these waterways as a part of the efficient machinery of the country's transportation? Many doubt it, and I confess that when I went down the Mississippi, last summer, and travelled for miles without seeing a single boat, I was inclined to doubt it, too. The river towns were neglected. The wharves were rotting. The river fronts were largely occupied by the tracks of railroads whose trains, running at frequent intervals along the banks, showed how thoroughly they had absorbed the commerce. The terrific competition of the railroads, underbidding the water carriers during the season and raising the

rates when navigation ceased and the neglect of the Government in maintaining navigable streams, brought about the present condition; but I believe that the people, the railroads and the Government realize the mistake and that it can be remedied. It will be necessary, however, that the railroads be brought into intimate relations with the river carriers, so that one system shall supplement and aid, not injure and obstruct, the other. I believe that the waterway ought to be largely supplemental to the railway system and that it will become necessary to it. The regulation of interstate commerce is one of the important functions of the Government and as the need of legislation increases better attention will be given to the whole subject.

The chief difficulty of the enterprise really lies in the great difference of opinion which is sure to exist at the start. The country is practically united as to the necessity for the undertaking, but the machinery for setting it in motion has not yet been carefully considered and already there is divided counsel. In the legislation inaugurated for the Panama Canal Service and the Reclamation Service, the Executive was wisely given a free hand and by the process of evolution a great administrative organization has been built up in each service and the work is conducted on thoroughly businesslike principles. I have endeavored to follow this beneficent legislation as well as that relating to Irrigation in the bill which I have recently introduced in the Senate, putting the whole responsibility for the development of the waterways upon the President, whoever he may be, sure that his highest pride will be to carry out successfully and economically the great work intrusted to him. To put the Executive in a legislative strait-jacket would surely result in inefficiency and failure. I believe that Congress has attended too much to administrative matters and the very reason of much of our inefficiency in our work upon our rivers and harbors has been that Congress has sought to control the administrative work and has done it badly. It always will do it badly.

The ways and means of execution is a far more serious question than the final result. The demand for national action in water transportation, when the work is ready for it, will lead to national action in rail transportation and finally to the creation of national corporations for all the great interstate transportation. It is time we realized that three-fourths of the transportation of

the country is already interstate; that our railroads are being operated regardless of State lines; that the State legislations under which various sections are controlled are disjointed, illogical and illusive; that complexity, confusion and insecurity to investors and shippers is the result of the present system. We have not yet begun to think and act scientifically on this subject. We have allowed ourselves to drift, and the present system is but a makeshift and an accident. It is not a question, to-day, whether the railroads shall be nationalized, for they nationalized themselves long ago. It is only a question whether we shall allow lesser sovereigns to assume the function which the nation has neglected, of creating the nation's agents for the transportation of interstate and foreign commerce.

I know that the mere suggestion rouses the cry of Centralization! But would any one, to-day, advocate a process of decentralization? Would any one attempt to divide these systems up into the units of which they were once composed, each comprised within State lines? Certainly not. Then why not legalize them under proper restraints, and the waterways with them, under the direct control of the only sovereign capable of dealing with them? "Centralization"? I should say "Unionization." The exercise of the granted powers of the Constitution does not involve centralization of power. It involves simply the unionizing of the forces of the people of the entire country in matters clearly intrusted to the Government of the United States. The nation is not a separate entity, afar off. The States constitute the Union. They entered into it for certain beneficent purposes, one of the chief of which is the advancement of interstate and foreign commerce. It involves the absolute control of the great corporate carriers who ought to be the servants of the whole nation, and when this is accomplished there will be no difficulty in harmonizing the interests of railroads and waterways, reviving our river, canal and ocean transportation, perfecting an imperfect though the greatest railway system on earth, as well as promoting the highest development of our forestry, of irrigation, of swamp-land reclamation, of water power, of the clarification and proper banking of our rivers, and relieving the great and growing congestion of our present transportation facilities.

All this can and will be accomplished in the near future.

FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS.

THE JUSTICE OF A FRIEND.*

BY W. D. HOWELLS.

THE third part of Sir George Otto Trevelyan's history of "The American Revolution" continues the narrative of our war for independence, but it does not show any change in the author's point of view. That seems to have been so advisedly and definitely taken at the beginning that it could not well be changed without some such change as permits a man to desert his country or his party and go over to the enemy. If the author now turned against the Americans in his study of men and events, it would be something like Mr. Chamberlain's abandoning Gladstone and the Cause of Ireland, or Benedict Arnold's betrayal of Washington's trust and the patriotic hopes which had rested upon him: that is to say, for a man of the author's make it would be impossible.

One may not forget the force with which Mr. Goldwin Smith had urged a like conviction that the revolting American colonies were fighting the battles of English liberty. But in Sir George Trevelyan's work there is greater breadth if not closer texture; a whole condition of things is pictorially restored, and we realize that whatever was generous and courageous in every English class was then one with us in feeling. A large minority of Englishmen, the wisest and the best Englishmen of the time, were outspokenly our friends, from first to last, and there is nothing of faith in our cause and love of it, expressed in this history, which was not as fully and boldly uttered by the contemporaneous champions of the colonies. If now and then we have to blush for Sir George Trevelyan's praise, as something past the general merit, we may remember that it was the praise of

* "The American Revolution." Part III. By Sir George Otto Trevelyan. Longmans, Green & Co.

Chatham, of Burke, of Fox, of Walpole, and of other eminent statesmen and observers, who thought the colonies were right and the King was wrong. We may the more profitably take shame to ourselves in the presence of these friends whose words and deeds were in defiance of the base maxim, "Our country, right or wrong," and in behalf of the right whether it was of their country's side or not. We are yet far behind the English in their tolerance of the truth and their devotion to free speech. Even in the Spanish war when every man who hated it might have spoken his mind without the smallest hurt to the American arms, many who hated it when coming joined with the mob in crying down its opponents as traitors when it had come.

A lesson of impartial magnanimity is the best thing we can learn from the latest history of our Revolution, which we may read with increasing profit to the end. What is primarily characteristic of it is its thoroughly entertaining quality. Few historians know how to make battles interesting to the unembattled reader, and Sir George Trevelyan is one of the few: he can even make them intelligible; and he can enter into remote and alien conditions with a zest which the heir of those conditions cannot well refuse to share with him. The time covered by the present volume is that which stretches from the battle of Trenton to the battle of Germantown, and includes such events as the surrender of Burgoyne, the horrors of the winter at Valley Forge, the British occupation and evacuation of Philadelphia, the coming of Lafayette, De Kalb and Steuben, and the treaty of alliance with France. The hero of the tale is always Washington, but not a sentimentalized or even an idealized Washington. His limitations are distinctly recognized. The forms of this recognition, so finely yet firmly expressed, give us a portrait, self-evidently lifelike, of a great soldier who was a yet greater general, of a devoted patriot who had to deal with hostility almost as bitter among his compatriots as among his country's enemies, and who remains unique in history as having mainly fought a losing fight and won it. The subjective quality of Sir George Trevelyan's study of Washington is of such uncommon value that we might easily fail of justice to its objective truth. His Washington is a man who largely existed in his effect upon the friends and foes about him: upon Schuyler, upon Greene, upon Arnold, as well as upon Gates, and Lee, and the Congressional delegates

doubting and hampering him. His long sufferance of the miseries of his men in the winter at Valley Forge is something visible and palpable, but his patience with the suspicion and inefficiency and insubordination which surrounded him is something that must chiefly remain to such a sympathetic imagination as has here made him a more intelligible figure than ever before. His nature, as this historian interprets it, was what we all knew it, large and simple; but within this largeness and simplicity the latest student of his character has divined the sensitiveness, the capacity for tacit suffering, and the fine sense of fine things which were as essentially a part of the man. He was thwarted by circumstance, but never finally defeated; he was disappointed in his friends, but he was not mistaken in his enemies; he had no prophetic forecast of events, but he had the strength and courage to meet them, and to turn them to the public advantage.

The traits of Schuyler are aptly caught, but next to that of Washington the study of Arnold will interest and move the reader. It is Arnold before his treason, while he was yet a self-devoted patriot, a soldier of unsurpassed skill and courage, and a man able to bear things as well as to do them. He bore a great deal, a great deal more than we have remembered, from the meddling and muddling administration which put inferior men over him and displaced him from commands which he had pre-eminently shown his right and power to hold. The part of his story told here is that which relates to his substitution in the defence against Burgoyne, by Gates, who was perhaps as brave, but who lacked Arnold's brilliant generalship and soldierly ardor, and who threw away the fruits of his victory in the terms of capitulation granted the English. Arnold chafed long under such treatment, and he might have patiently borne it to the end; but a fatal temptation was too strong for his vexed and angry spirit, and he became his own ruin and infamy.

It is a pathetic story, and it is intimated with a full consciousness of its implications. One of these is not unjustly the characterization of Arnold's accomplice, the hapless André, as rather a light man, less apparently the stuff of tragedy than of the comedy such as he played in the invention of the famous "Meschianza," the histrionic spectacle of British and Tory society in Philadelphia during the winter of the English occupation. Yet André proved equal to his fate, so that now no one thinks of the tawdry

social event which he contrived, but only of the felon's death which Washington would have saved him from if he could.

It seems to me that above almost any other historian Sir George Trevelyan has the gift of contemporaneity. He enters not only into the nature of the people of whom he writes, but into the spirit of the time, as it varied from place to place and from person to person, keeping true to the eternal human throughout. He rehabilitates that forlorn yet heroic little remote American past, with no straining for the pseudo-picturesqueness which was once the desire of a happily obsolete school of historians. He writes of the Americans, ardently, yet impartially, as if they were so many Achaians, feeling all their great qualities, but not losing sight of their manifold meannesses, vanities, futilities and follies. Being alien in epoch and environment, he must realize us by imagining us, but he imagines us wonderfully well, if indeed an American of the present day may venture to be so confident of the true complexion of the America apparently extinct as to say so. He might have known those former Americans better by knowing, directly and at first hand, the actual Americans, but this is by no means certain. Such knowledge might have blurred rather than cleared his vision; and I cannot see what advantage any American historian could have of this Pro-American Englishman unless it were some American bred close to the facts of that anterior America which still so largely exists away from the "great centres" and the express trains connecting them.

It is too cheap and easy to say, as one is tempted to say, that the best part of his history are those brilliant final chapters relating to the powerful friends America made in Europe mainly in spite of American diplomacy. There were Franklin and Adams who availed, but the rest of our envoys were fifth wheels, if not worse, in our progress at European courts. The well-meaning inefficients are all amusingly sketched, but Franklin is done with the insight which can alone give value to portraiture. The portrait is possibly less vivid than that of Frederick of Prussia, but so was the man, and it must remain with the reader as of peculiar value in the centre of the grouped figures of Lafayette, of Choiseul, of Vergennes, of Beaumarchais, of Turgot, of that poor Louis XVI who always meant so much better than he ever did.

That King's honorable scruple was against us rather than for us; he really thought it wrong to abet the rebellion of a brother prince's subjects; but he drifted helplessly and almost hopelessly into the American alliance; and the study of this drifting, with all the contemporary circumstance, is one of the most admirable pieces of the work which is valuable always for being so often highly artistic. Yet I return from these European passages to those which relate to our affairs on our own ground with an insistent sense of their greater merit. I think the reader, let him have read never so widely, will find them of a fresh and very enlightening charm. The word poorly indicates their full effect, but it has been tempting me from the beginning by its prime fitness for this most friendly, but never too friendly, historian's work. It is felt not only in his treatment of men, this man or that, but in his treatment of events, and of local and general character. I get from this history as I have got from no other the consciousness that the fighting blood in the Revolution came in a vastly prevalent current from New England: that New England which was so little understood then or afterwards that the showier and savager sections were supposed to be its superiors in soldiership. The Republicanism also mostly came from New England, the faith and the works of human equality, though the orators and statesmen of the South phrased those qualities better. From time to time our author turns a point of this fact to the light and casts a luminous gleam over the whole situation. It was the stuff of the Massachusetts commonalty and the Virginia patriciate out of which the Revolution fashioned itself and kept itself alive; but Virginia came to believe in slavery and Massachusetts always believed in liberty, and so the high thinking and the noble doing begins to this day in Massachusetts and not in Virginia.

I have no means of knowing how far Sir George Trevelyan has gone to original sources in his history, but I have a feeling that little of value would have been added to his work by the most anxious documentation. It is above all a critical history, and none the less critical because it flows from strong previous convictions to strong ultimate conclusions; for the fear of his own partiality puts an honest man on his guard. Where he finds us wrong our friendly annalist does not spare to say so; one could fancy his being a little eager to say so, as in the case

of the administrational repudiation of Gates's conditions for Burgoyne's surrender, where Gates granted the Englishmen terms almost disastrous to the American cause, and Congress would not confirm them. But in our own war for the Union the Government at Washington refused to confirm the terms on which Sherman accepted the surrender of Johnston; and the like has happened before. It is not always the bad faith of Republics which eventuates so; after the War of 1812 the British Government kept for two years certain forts and posts in the West which it was stipulated should be at once surrendered to the Americans. Yet the historian is right in condemning the action of Congress: it was wrong, and a weak power especially ought not to do wrong for the right; somehow a strong power may less demoralizingly do wrong for the wrong.

I leave myself little room to say something I would like fully to say in praise of the admirable conspectus of situations which Sir George Trevelyan presents again and again, such as the winter at Valley Forge, the social gayeties at Philadelphia of the "Meschianza" time, the skirmishes, the marches and the councils of armies. The story of the Burgoyne invasion and the Burgoyne surrender embraces excellent pieces of art in this sort. As for the accounts of battles — their desultory and individual effects, their fluctuations and indefinite catastrophes—I could not go farther than to say that he might have imagined the art of doing them from Tolstoy and Stendhal; but this is going to the extreme.

W. D. Howells.

A GOVERNMENTAL RAILROAD HOLDING COMPANY.

BY WILLIAM W. COOK, LL.D.

THE most striking feature of corporation law, during the past five years, has been the evidence of determination on the part of the American people to correct corporate abuses and control wealth accumulated through corporations. This determination, which has long been apparent to all trained observers, became unmistakable during the insurance investigation and scandals, and has reached the point of heavy fines and the conviction of corporate officials for criminal offences involving secret rebates to favored shippers. It is significant that nothing but the fear of imprisonment finally stopped these iniquitous violations of corporation law. It was corporation law applied with terrifying force to the illegal, disgraceful and criminal practices of great corporations.

All this has led not only to resentment against the offenders, but also to a popular fear that the growing wealth and power of corporations may jeopardize our republican form of government and the rights and liberties of the people. Thus far the crusade has accomplished some beneficent results. The "Railroad Rate Bill" of 1906, enacted by Congress, while drastic in its restrictions, has proved beneficial to the railroads, as well as to the public, and has not unduly increased the power of the national Government over the corporations; the prosecution of railroads and of individuals for giving and receiving secret and illegal rebates has effectually stopped that prolific source of unfair competition; the campaign against the so-called "Trusts" has resulted in a number of convictions which has discouraged illegal combination, restriction of output, increase of selling price, and persecution of competitors; the Supreme Court of the United

States has decided that a corporation cannot refuse to submit its books and papers for examination at the suit of the State, even though they furnish proof of criminality on the part of the corporation, inasmuch as a corporation is a creature of the State, and the Legislature has an absolute right to investigate its contracts and learn whether it has exceeded its powers.* This goes far toward realizing that absolute control over corporations, upon which the American people are insisting. Such are some of the instances where the upheaval of public opinion against corporations has produced beneficial results.

There are three great forces in the United States which make up the industrial, political and social life of the nation. These are capital, labor and agriculture—a mixture of the first two. Labor is thoroughly organized in the cities, on the railroads, in factories and mines. The agricultural classes, highly intelligent, unorganized, widely scattered, are suspicious of both the corporations and the labor organizations. They and their close allies, the inhabitants of the small cities and towns, control the moral, intellectual, material and political life of the nation. It is a constituency still true to the New England ideal of preserving this country as the land of opportunity, of self-made men, of freedom from class distinctions and the power of wealth—the land where men of ability and honesty rise, irrespective of birth, wealth or family influence. Capital—in other words, the corporations (for they have virtually absorbed the capital of the country) will, for their own protection, have to unite with the agriculturists and give the latter the telephone, the trolley, good roads, rural delivery, the reclamation of waste land, the revision of the tariff, and educational opportunities, literary, technical and professional, even though all these involve great monetary sacrifices. Corporations will have to make farm life attractive and comfortable, if they desire conservative government to protect their property. England to-day is threatened with socialism because the agricultural classes do not control, being less than ten per cent. as against over thirty-five per cent. in the United States, so distributed that they do control. Farmers are not socialists.

At present the corporations and the agricultural classes in America are far apart. In the year 1907 the whole country seemed to have joined in a hue and cry against corporations.

* 201 U. S., 43.

Railroad rates were reduced, although all other prices had advanced. Taxes were loaded upon corporations, although the general public had prospered until it had become wasteful and reckless. Commissions began to harry corporations, although extravagance, luxury and improvidence were rampant in every grade of society. New and strange theories floated out. The separate States were to be dismantled as to their most important powers, and the national Government was to dominate corporations. The Government was to acquire all the railroads of the country. Upon the death of a person all his wealth, in excess of a specified arbitrary amount, was to go to the state.

But not yet. The American people are not prepared to abandon their ancient moorings and embark on an unknown sea, without chart, compass, landmark or pilot. The fundamental principle of Anglo-Saxon life, that whatever a man honestly acquires is his own, is not to be swept aside to make way for the communistic idea that the state should seize all surplus wealth. What would the state do with it, and who would control the state? What a source of temptation, corruption, riot and revolution the prize of the control of such a state would be! The Roman Republic was practically a single city, small in wealth and population as compared with the modern world, and yet the turbulence of its last days has echoed down the centuries for well-nigh two thousand years. If history were to repeat itself in the American Republic with its coming two hundred millions of people, two hundred billions of wealth, a thousand cities, and a continent for its workings, the result would be chaos. There would then arise colossal demagogues like Cæsar and Napoleon, who established monarchies—for themselves—"to save society."

The historic mistake of the American people in giving to the ignorant a voting power over public *property* and public *expenditures,* especially in the South, cannot be repeated with safety in dealing with railroads. But the clash which has been going on for over fifty years between the railroads and the legislative and executive departments of the Government cannot continue indefinitely. Some solution is necessary.

During the past five years the national Government has travelled rapidly and far in the direction of control of railroads. On the plea that the States are derelict, it calls for Federal supervision, and would have every corporation engaged in interstate

commerce obtain a license from a United States Commission, which should also pass upon all issues of stocks, bonds and notes. This is the sequel to an investigation of a great railroad company which disclosed the fact that a group of prominent officials had caused it to issue for their benefit a large amount of stock and bonds at low figures. At the same time the policy of another railroad system, in making enormous purchases of the stock of other railroads, brought clearly before the public the fact that a great railroad investment and speculative trust had come into existence and might destroy the existing competition between wide-spread railroad systems. All this added force to the argument that the authority of the Interstate Commerce Commission should include supervision of new issues of stock and bonds by interstate railroad companies, somewhat as provided for by the existing Massachusetts law on that subject. Here is a wide departure from old ideas of State rights and limitation of Federal power. However, the claim is that it has been demonstrated, both as a matter of fact and as a question of law, that single States cannot regulate, control or successfully grapple with interstate railroads, and that, therefore, the national Government must assert its authority even if this leads in the end to Government ownership. But the safety of the public lies in separating the legislative and executive departments of the Government from the corporations, and not in merging them. Our forefathers learned this lesson. Nearly a hundred years ago they experienced the evil results of corporations being thrown in contact with the Legislature. Franchises were granted or blackmailed and corporations bought and protected franchises until the situation grew so intolerable that the powers of the Legislature were restricted, first, by constitutional prohibitions against Legislatures granting special charters or franchises; and, second, by delegating to commissions the regulation of corporations. A great source of political corruption was removed by the enactment of those reforms, and we ought not to take any backward steps. It cannot be denied, however, that the present policy of Government regulation and supervision of railroads is tending toward governmental control and ownership. This prospect, of course, delights the socialists—those naïve optimists who disregard the lesson of Europe's governmental railroads—but it is less attractive to practical men. Such, however, is the existing situation.

The next move will certainly involve a grave responsibility and possibly commit us to a policy involving the future of the Republic, for it is to be borne in mind that a republican form of government is not imperishable. Sir Henry Maine, a powerful and profound thinker and writer, in his work on "Popular Government,"* has well said, "It is characterized by great fragility" and "of all the forms of government, Democracy is by far the most difficult"; and that the democratic form of popular government "will tax to the utmost all the political sagacity and statesmanship of the world to keep it from misfortune." The question, "Shall the nation own the railroads or the railroads own the country?" is already being asked by serious-minded men, and the issue is likely to be fought out on some such line in default of a sane practical solution of the difficulty.

Even now the railroads are being drawn into politics; political parties are vying with each other in attacks on railroads; conditions are unsettled and menacing, and it is high time that some rational plan be devised to meet the popular demand without destroying values or subjecting our democratic Government to a greater strain than it could, perhaps, withstand.

A radical solution of the whole problem would be a holding company, organized gradually to acquire the stock of all the railroads in the country. Such a holding company, chartered by Congress (a District of Columbia corporation), could be moulded to solve many of the political and economic problems involved. The stock could be issued gradually in exchange for or purchase of railroad stocks, at valuations to be approved by the Interstate Commerce Commission in each instance and from time to time, just as is now done in Massachusetts by a Corporation Commission. The board of directors could include the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the remainder, constituting a majority, having been carefully selected in the beginning, would thereafter become practically self-perpetuating by the board recommending to the stockholders for election new men to fill vacancies in the board. The charter could likewise give the Interstate Commerce Commission the right to vote the railroad stocks purchased by the holding company.

Now, let us see how this would work in practice. The statistician of the Interstate Commerce Commission estimates that

* Pp. 20, 87, and Preface, p. x.

the railroad stocks in the hands of the public amount to about $4,800,000,000.* If a holding company owned all of this stock, it would have a capitalization of about four billion, eight hundred millions of dollars, which would mean forty-eight million shares of the par value of one hundred dollars each. If these were owned by one million American people, owning forty-eight shares each, the railroads would practically be owned not by the Government, but by a power higher than the Government, namely, the American people.

An illustration will show the workings of such a governmental holding company. Suppose 1,260,000 shares are sold to the public for cash at par. That would produce $126,000,000—not an extravagant sum in comparison with the sums raised by single railroad systems. With that amount could be purchased:

100,000	shares	New York Central R. R.	costing	$10,200,000
100,000	"	Penn. R. R. (full shares) ..	"	11,900,000
100,000	"	N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R.....	"	13,700,000
100,000	"	Illinois Central R. R.....	"	13,600,000
100,000	"	C. & N. W. R. R.....	"	15,200,000
100,000	"	C. M. & St. Paul R. R.....	"	13,100,000
100,000	"	Great Northern R. R.....	"	12,800,000
100,000	"	Northern Pacific R. R.....	"	13,300,000
100,000	"	Union Pacific R. R.....	"	13,800,000
100,000	"	Atchison, T. & S. Fe R. R..	"	8,400,000
				$126,000,000

The income from these stocks, at the present dividend rates, would be $6,900,000 per annum. The expenses of the holding company, judging from the expenses of The Mackay Companies, a similar holding company for telegraph and cable stocks, should not exceed $25,000 per annum, being the expense of transfer offices, registrars and the engraving of the certificates of stock. That would leave five and a half per cent. on the holding companies' stock,—an attractive rate in view of the safeguards thrown around the management and investments.

The Interstate Commerce Commission would vote the railroad stocks. They would have a large vote in each company. They would also have the right to receive and vote proxies for other stockholders. When it is remembered that nearly every great railroad system in the country is controlled, not by a few men,

* Intercorporate Relationships of Railways in the United States as of June 30th, 1906, page 9.

but by a multitudinous body of small stockholders,* it is apparent that it might be easy for the Interstate Commerce Commission to control any railroad by means of proxies. If that commission had had the vote of a large block of stock in the Illinois Central Railroad Company last year, and had been willing to receive proxies from other stockholders, who would be in control of that railroad system to-day? Even though great financial interests should obtain control of the holding company, no harm could come, because they could not vote or sell or encumber the railroad stocks, the charter having provided against that.

Surely it were better that a million intelligent and conservative American investors should own and control all the railroads, through such a holding company, than that the Government, with its vacillating and at times incompetent and dishonest administration, should own and mismanage this vital element of national prosperity. When one considers the waste of the present system and realizes that all saving from consolidations would mean lower rates and better service, under the rigorous, drastic and relentless regulation by Railroad Commissions—and no one will deny that the present commissions are rigorous, drastic and relentless,—it would seem better that the stockholders in American railroads should have stock in one holding company controlling all the railroads, than that they should have stock in several hundred different companies as at present, with wasteful competition, duplication of trains, offices, agents, stations, staff and an army of competing employees. The investor would have a more stable investment; the railroads would be able to get money for necessary extensions and improvements and retain the services of the strong, experienced, competent officials who now operate them, instead of intrusting the practical management to politicians, as would be the case if the Government assumed the business; the Interstate Commerce Commission would vote the railroad stocks; the ruinous competition of competing railroads would disappear; the clashing of private interests, together with the din of public clamor, would cease, and the American people could pass on to some other subject less dangerous to the public weal. That would be the effect of such a holding company as is mentioned above.

* One of the leading American railroad systems has now 78,000 stockholders, and it is estimated that there are over half a million stockholders represented in American railroads.

Later on, if the Government should guarantee three-per-cent. dividends (any amounts so paid to be repaid to the Government with interest out of subsequent surplus profits), leaving the company free to declare such higher dividends as it could earn, the value of the stock would rise, and the higher its value the greater quantity of railroad companies' stocks could be obtained in exchange or for cash realized from the issue of the holding company stock, thus reducing the cost of acquisition, just as New York City, by using its credit in the construction of the underground railways in that city, reduced by probably one-half the outstanding obligations to pay for construction. Such a guaranteed stock would be equal to English consols or French *rentes*, and might be owned by banks and trust companies, and used as a basis for the currency on a par with United States bonds, and would be a stable investment for the savings of the poor, the accumulations of the investor and the wealth of the rich. If the American people ever concluded that the Government should own the railroads, the Government could acquire a majority of the stock, the same as the English Government acquired the stock of the Suez Canal. In fact, the charter might reserve that right to the Government, just as the Act of Congress of July 24th, 1866, reserves to the Government the right to take over the telegraph lines at an appraisal.

The three objections to a railroad stock-holding company are eliminated by this plan, namely, the danger that the railroad stocks would be purchased by the holding company at unfair prices or for personal purposes; the danger that the railroad stocks so held would be voted for selfish ends; and the danger that competition between railroads would be destroyed, to the detriment of the public. This fetish of insisting upon competition between railroads is perhaps the most serious obstacle to a realization of the suggested plan. The American people are opposed to the consolidation of competing railroads. But if the Government were to own all the railroads, competition necessarily would disappear. So also, if the Government had the voting of the stocks of the competing railroads, there no longer would be occasion for competition. If the Interstate Commerce Commission had had the voting of the railroad stocks owned by the Northern Securities Company, there would have been no attack on that company, because the Interstate Commerce Commission would have voted

those stocks in the public interest, the same as they would administer the railroads themselves, if the Government owned the railroads. State prohibitions against the consolidation of competing railroads would quickly disappear before such a dispensation.

There is also a still broader view of this question of future competition between railroads. In England, for more than thirty years, Parliament legislated against the consolidation of railroads. This legislation proved to be utterly futile, and in 1872 a Parliamentary Committee made an elaborate and exhaustive report on the subject, and said, among other things, that consolidation "had not brought with it the evils that were anticipated, but that, in any event, long and varied experience had fully demonstrated the fact that, while Parliament might hinder and thwart it, it could not prevent it." The committee showed that at that time the North Eastern Railway Company was a consolidation of thirty-seven independent companies, some of which had formerly competed, and that before the consolidation they had as a rule charged higher rates and paid smaller dividends, but that in 1872 it was the most complete monopoly in England, and while charging the lowest rates had paid the highest dividends of all the great English combinations. Again, as recently as December, 1907, the Great Northern Railway Company and the Great Central Railway Company, which for many years had been keen competitors for the railway traffic, in a large part of the north of England, entered into a combination by which competition was eliminated. That combination is to be ratified by the stockholders and approved by Parliament, and is a recognition of the fact that the public is better served and more cheaply served by a closely scrutinized combination than by ruinous competition.

Even now the opposition of the American people to the consolidation of competing railroads is largely futile. We may delay it, but we cannot prevent it, and we will find that ultimately the laws of trade are stronger than the laws of men. We will find also that a vast consolidated railroad system is more easily controlled than a hundred small ones, and that with railroad power there will come railroad responsibility, responsive to the public will. The special report of the Interstate Commerce Commission of July, 1907,* demonstrates that such amalgamations are even

* In the Matter of Consolidations and Combinations of Carriers, Relations Between Such Carriers, and Community of Interests Therein, Their Rates, Facilities and Practices. XII Interstate Commerce Reports, 277.

now going on with great rapidity in the United States. Some seventy-five years ago George Stevenson, the originator of the railroad locomotive, truly said that "where combination is possible, competition is impossible."

Even though the Interstate Commerce Commission voted a majority of the stock of a railroad company and thereby elected its board of directors this would be vastly different from Government ownership. The officers, general manager, superintendent and employees would be paid by the railroad company and not by the Government. The power to employ and discharge would be in the railroad company and not in the Government. The evils of bureaucracy would not be present. If the Government owned the railroads, Congress and the Executive would be very active in the patronage and power of railroads, but under the above plan Congress and the Executive would have nothing whatsoever to do with it. The board of directors of the railroad company would be made up of men representative of the locality of the railroad itself, as well as of the financial and operating departments of the railroad. The only connection between the Government and the railroads would be through that *quasi* judicial body, the Interstate Commerce Commission, and even that connection would be indirect, remote and free from the objections incident to government ownership.

Railroad men estimate that one billion dollars should be expended by the railroads each year for the next five years to provide additional facilities necessitated by the growth of the country in population and production. The railroads have found it impossible to sell their securities to obtain such a vast amount of money. If, however, the control of the railroads were vested in the Interstate Commerce Commission, as outlined above, there should be no difficulty in the railroads obtaining from the sale of their securities all the money they need.

The practicability of a holding company to control all the railroads of the country is strikingly illustrated by the facts set forth in a very recent publication. In April, 1908, Henry C. Adams, statistician of the Interstate Commerce Commission, in a carefully prepared report, explained railroad holding companies as they now exist. It is an extraordinary showing. The interweaving of railroad interests has led to a vast labyrinth of railroad holding companies, some of them being railroad corporations,

and other holding corporations, pure and simple, the object always being the power of control. Mr. Adams in his report says:*

"These holdings are all minority holdings, and in a strict legal sense do not give control. Yet, because of the wide distribution of majority ownership, the stock being in many cases held for investment in small lots by individuals, and because the proxies of such holders are frequently signed as a matter of form and without any investigation, these minority holdings in concentrated form virtually dominate the situation and dictate the policy of the corporations whose securities are thus held."

If the railroads have found the holding company efficient and proper to use to control other railroads, why is not a holding company equally efficient and proper for the people to use to control all the railroads? The corporation has been developed and utilized to own, control and operate all the railroads in the country. The time has come when it may be further utilized to nationalize the railroads, without destroying private ownership or the advantages of private ownership.

A holding company, such as is outlined above, could gradually acquire control of all the railroads in the country. States could not raid it, and courts could not destroy it, under anti-trust statutes. It would nationalize railroads without political agitation, without condemnation and without costing the national Government a dollar. If such a nationalization of railroads should take place, State Legislatures and State railroad commissions would lose a large part of their present occupation. It would be giving large power to the Interstate Commerce Commission, and might at times cause that commission to use that power for political or personal ends. But even so, the public would always be watchful on account of its daily contact with railroad service, and there would be fewer abuses than under the present system. Power, moreover, leads to responsibility, and responsibility leads to conservatism, and if the Interstate Commerce Commission had the power of voting railroad stocks throughout the United States, public sentiment would insist that the personnel of the commission should represent the finest judgment and honor of the country.

Probably every railroad man in the United States would be in favor of such a holding company as this, *provided the Inter-*

* Intercorporate Relationships of Railways in the United States as of June 30th, 1906, page 37.

state Commerce Commission were not given the power to vote the railroad stocks.

The starting of this plan does not involve any risk, or irrevocable step, or large amount of money. Such a company, if found undesirable in any way, could be dissolved and the securities distributed without loss. A very similar plan, covering cable, telegraph and telephone stocks, has worked smoothly, economically and successfully, and there seems to be no reason why it should not work equally well with railroad stocks. This possible solution of the railroad problem would seem to justify the experiment on a small scale at least. If the American people would be content with the present private ownership of railroads, the same as in England, that would be the better way, but if Government ownership becomes imminent, or if the present conflict is to continue, then some other solution should be sought.

The above plan is not socialism; it is not governmental ownership; it is not even governmental control by the executive or legislative branches of the Government. It is private ownership, regulated by the Interstate Commerce Commission, protected by the judiciary, and is absolutely practical.

WILLIAM W. COOK.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE MOVEMENT AGAINST THE LORDS.

BY EDWARD PORRITT

THE movement against the House of Lords arising out of its mutilation of the Education bill of 1906 has collapsed. Mr. A. P. DuCross, the successful Conservative candidate at the by-election at Hastings on the 3rd of March last, in surveying at the close of the contest the political issues on which it had been fought, asserted that there had scarcely been a mention of the agitation against the House of Lords; and a week later the Lords again threw out the Scotch Small Holdings bill, a Government measure, which has now been twice passed by the House of Commons. The agitation against the Lords begun in 1906 was exceedingly short-lived, and was never even as formidable as the abortive and short-lived movement against the Lords in 1893, due to their rejection of Gladstone's second Home Rule bill. The agitation of fifteen years ago did at least produce some memorable fighting speeches against the Lords from Gladstone and Harcourt.

It is not necessary to be in England to understand why this latest assault on the House of Lords has so completely collapsed. One of the manifest reasons for its failure is the bill over which the House of Commons and the House of Lords came into collision; and a still more obvious reason is the new attitude of the working classes who take an active interest in politics towards official Liberalism and its relations with the House of Lords, particularly as concerns the part of official Liberalism in the creation of peers.

The Marquis of Lansdowne is the floor-manager of the Opposition in the House of Lords. The position of floor-manager must be held by a peer. Only a peer can have access to the floor;

and access to the floor is necessary for giving orders and for the marshalling of the Opposition forces. But the real leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords as well as in the House of Commons is Mr. Balfour, who is a much more practical politician than the titular leader of the Conservative Opposition in the House of Lords. It is now accepted that it was on Mr. Balfour's instructions that the majority in the House of Lords permitted the Trades Disputes bill of 1906—a bill that Lord Halsbury, the ex-Lord Chancellor, denounced as gross, outrageous and tyrannical—to go forward for the royal assent, and in the same session so pulverized the Education bill that the Campbell-Bannerman Government had no option but to abandon it.

Mr. Balfour, as a practical politician, knew that the rejection of the Trades Disputes bill would immediately have provoked greater popular hostility to the House of Lords than any action which the Lords have taken since they threatened the Reform Act of 1884. But even the Lords themselves—or at any rate the small minority of them who pretend to any continuous and intelligent interest in public affairs—must have known that there would be no Hyde Park or Trafalgar Square demonstrations if the Education bill were destroyed. There could be no real enthusiasm for it, because as it went from the Commons to the Lords the measure embodied too many concessions to the Established Church and to the Church of Rome in England.

There were tens of thousands of Free Churchmen, all supporters of the Liberal Government, who were displeased at these concessions, and who pretended no disappointment or regret when the Government abandoned Mr. Birrell's measure. It was not the bill they had expected from a Liberal Government new from a General Election which had given the Liberals the greatest majority in Parliamentary history; and they saw in it no complete removal of religious disabilities and civic inequalities which date back to the thirties of the nineteenth century, when the House of Commons began to vote money for elementary education.

Neither Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman nor Mr. Birrell, who was then Minister of Education, can have expected that Free Churchmen would work themselves into a fury against the House of Lords for its action on the Education bill of 1906. Free Churchmen were not sufficiently enamored of the bill to disturb

themselves over its fate; and if middle-class Free Churchmen were not aroused there was even less reason to expect that working-class England would be provoked to demonstrate against the House of Lords as it did in 1832 and 1884.

The laboring population of England, urban and rural, which must be really aroused if there is to be an effective demonstration against the House of Lords, cares little for education in the abstract. At least three generations of the artisan and laboring classes have gone through the public elementary schools over which all the political and sectarian turmoil of the last thirty-eight years has arisen. But few of these people concern themselves about education after they leave school at the age of twelve or thirteen years.

Elementary education in England has always been administered from above. In rural England it has been dominated by the Church of England clergy. In urban England, even in those cities where there were school boards, the members of the boards were of the middle class—men and women who did not send their own children to the schools under the boards. For over seventy years education questions—especially the questions arising in connection with the elementary schools and the part of the churches in their control and management—have been almost exclusively of what may be described as middle-class politics.

Education to-day—especially in the phases which come before Parliament—is as essentially middle-class politics as was the reform of the civil service half a century ago. The working-classes in the years when Graham, Gladstone and Stafford Northcote were reforming the civil service, and throwing it open to general competition, had little interest in the question, because few of them had any expectation of entering the civil service. It is much the same to-day with the working-classes as regards the long and vexed controversy over the primary schools between the Established Church and the Roman Catholic Church on the one hand, and the Free Churches on the other. Even the working men and women who attend the churches take no keen interest in the controversy.

Conflicts between the House of Commons and the House of Lords date only from 1831. The first in which there was any wide-spread popular interest came at that time. There could be none before then, because for a century and a half before

1831 the peers had always had it in their power to elect three-fifths of the members of the House of Commons. It was over the partial loss of this power that the first uprising against the House of Lords occurred; and the only popular uprisings against Bourbon Toryism and the House of Lords since then were in 1866 and 1884-85 when the power of the Lords and of the territorial aristocracy generally over the election of the House of Commons was further curtailed by the second and third Reform Acts. Not much of the power of the peers over the election of the House of Commons was transferred to the working-classes by the first Reform bill. What transference of electoral power there was in 1832 was to the middle-classes; but the conditions of the working-classes for twenty or thirty years before 1832—economic and social—had been desperate. These conditions were worse than at any previous time in English history; and in 1831-32 it took comparatively little agitation to arouse the working-classes to a wild fury against the Bourbon tactics of the House of Lords, and to bring the country within measurable distance of revolution.

The working-classes were aroused again in 1866 and in 1884-85, because if the Reform Acts of these years had been sidetracked by the Lords privileges which were valued would have been withheld—in the first case from the working-classes in the large towns, and in the second instance from the laboring population of rural England. Every laboring-man in England, even if he does not use his Parliamentary vote, knows that the possession of a vote adds at least to his social consequence.

The non-political among the working-men—those who rarely give a thought to politics except for a few days before a contested Parliamentary election—have not been in the least aroused by the action of the House of Lords over Mr. Birrell's Education bill. These men have not even cared to trouble themselves to understand the beneficent changes it would have made. They were not concerned about the fact that it would have brought all elementary schools under the control of popularly elected local authorities, and swept away the religious disabilities which for seventy years have hedged about the school-teaching profession. There have consequently been no protests or demonstrations from them, such as there were from people of their class on the two great occasions in the nineteenth century when the Commons

were at issue with the Lords over questions which really touched all ranks of the people.

A distinction has been drawn between political and non-political working-men. Such a distinction is necessary if the present democratic movement in England is to be understood, and if one important reason for the failure of the official Liberal movement against the House of Lords is to be appreciated. There never was a time when the political working-classes in England were more active or more in earnest than they are to-day. But this activity differs in some essential particulars from the activity of the working-classes in politics at any time since the Chartist agitation in the middle years of last century. All the democratic movement in England to-day—all the movement that since January, 1906, has resulted in the election of thirty-one independent labor members to the House of Commons—has working-class leaders and working-class political aims.

At no time in English history have the working-classes been more active in Parliamentary politics than during the last three or four years. They have gained three additional seats since the General Election of 1906; and no working-class movement, since the Chartist agitation collapsed, has caused more uneasiness to the two old-line political parties—the Liberals and Conservatives—than the movement in and out of Parliament now led by Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., who in February last succeeded Mr. Kier Hardie, M.P., as chairman of the new Labor group in Parliament. In the House of Commons and in the constituencies these labor politicians hold themselves quite apart from the official Liberals; and one of the most obvious reasons for the collapse of the Liberal movement against the House of Lords was the aloofness from the movement of these labor members and the electors in the constituencies who support them.

These labor politicians, both in and out of Parliament, are hostile to the House of Lords; but ever since the Campbell-Bannerman Government came into power they have distrusted the sincerity of the official Liberal movement against the Lords; and this distrust is manifestly shared by thousands of the rank and file of the Liberal party in the constituencies who hold aloof from the new labor movement in politics.

Every new Liberal Government in England suffers to some extent from the distribution of honors, offices and patronage.

Of patronage, in the ordinary sense of the term, a Government in England has comparatively little to distribute; for there are few civil-service appointments that are available as rewards for partisan service. But it is within the power of the Government to recommend men to the Sovereign for knighthoods, baronetcies, and peerages; to appoint prominent local men as unpaid magistrates; and there are hundreds of livings in the Church, as well as appointments to bishopries and deaneries and canonries, which are in the bestowal of the Crown—in other words, in the gift of the Government.

The bestowal of this ecclesiastical patronage has brought its usual share of dissatisfaction with the Government. There has been more than usual discontent over the appointments of magistrates; but the greatest loss of prestige to the Government has been caused by the bestowal of honors—baronetcies and peerages—especially peerages. The shower of peerages, quite as much as the character of the bill over which the Lords and Commons came into collision, accounts for the weakness of the official Liberal movement against the Lords. It partly explains why there was no popular enthusiasm behind the movement—not a single Hyde Park demonstration, nor a great mass-meeting anywhere in provincial England, which is usually quicker to move in agitations of the kind than London; and why the labor politicians in and out of Parliament, and old-line Radicals who at the General Election voted for official Liberal candidates, permitted the Liberal onslaught on the House of Lords over the Education bill to fizzle.

From the time it was seen that the Campbell-Bannerman Government had such an enormous majority in the House of Commons, it was realized that there must be conflicts with the House of Lords if the Government were to implement its election pledges, and attempt to catch up with the arrears of Liberal legislation that had accumulated since the Home Rule split in the Liberal party in 1886. It was known that the House of Lords had assumed new importance since its rejection of Gladstone's Home Rule bill of 1893, and that with a Liberal Government in power, the Conservative majority there would assert itself with more daring than at any time since the Lords and Commons began to come into conflict in 1831.

At no time have the rank and file of the Radicals any sympathy

with the creation of peers. The Parliamentary handbooks show that in the long run almost every creation of peers, whether by Liberal or Conservative Governments, adds to the permanent strength of the Conservative party in the House of Lords. Between 1831 and the end of the nineteenth century, two hundred and fifteen peerages were created by Whig and Liberal Governments; yet, in spite of these additions to the House of Lords of men who were of the Whig or Liberal party at the time of their elevation, there were only forty-one Liberal peers when the Campbell-Bannerman Government came into office in November, 1905.

Liberals and Radicals who are not of the official Liberal group in the House of Commons, or closely associated with it in the constituencies, object, moreover, to creations of peers by a Liberal Government, because each creation means an addition to a privileged order; and because, even granting that this order should be maintained, they hold that a man should have rendered great and signal service to the State before he is made a peer and the right to a seat in the House of Lords becomes hereditary in his family. They object to creations of peers also because of the effect that frequent additions to the peerage have on the land system.

Every man of wealth on whom a baronetcy or peerage is bestowed—and only rich men can reach out for these honors—is anxious to secure a territorial background. Men of newly acquired wealth who are travelling the well-trodden routes to a baronetcy or a peerage are usually some years in reaching their goal. A baronetcy is often a half-way house to a peerage. It has almost invariably been so with men who have made enormous fortunes in trade —bankers, financiers, brewers, coal-owners, chemical manufacturers, ship-owners, and ironmasters—who have bought their way into the ranks of the aristocracy.

The most common method of securing a peerage adopted by these men is to obtain a seat in the House of Commons; vote steadily with their party; and to finance a party newspaper or contribute largely to the central campaign funds of their party. These methods patiently followed seldom fail to bring their reward. A wealthy man who starts on one of these routes to the peerage is pretty sure of his prize if he can keep up the pace; and from the time he starts out on his journey he is on the lookout for landed property that shall serve as the territorial back-

ground of the titled family that he is anxious to establish. Estated possessions are necessary if there is to be any permanency for his family. When he goes into the estate-market he is not concerned about the economic value of the land he acquires. It is its social value that appeals to him. He needs it for a background; and the more of it he can acquire and entail, the better will be the position of his family, after the coveted peerage has been obtained, and his family is of the aristocracy hall-marked by the Sovereign.

Every estate acquired with this end in view adds to the already enormous area of England held in few hands, and increases the difficulties which bar ordinary Englishmen from access to the land—from holding land except as tenants whose rents are often based on an inflated purchase price. A man may represent a Liberal constituency in the House of Commons while he is working his way to the peerage. But his Liberalism is seldom robust; and while a peer who owes his elevation to a Liberal Government may act with the Liberals, the chances are nine to one that, when he is succeeded in the peerage by his son, the Conservatives in the House of Lords will gain a recruit, as will also Conservatism in the county in which the territorial background of the new aristocratic family is situated. New strength is in this way constantly accruing to the political party that looks at all land legislation—English, Scotch or Irish—exclusively from the point of view of the great landowners, and regards an inroad on the existing feudal system, no matter how necessary it may be to the welfare of the nation, as an assault on its order.

This is the point of view from which unofficial Liberalism regards the creation of peerages—whether by Conservative or Liberal Governments. They are disliked because they strengthen a privileged order and continue an archaic feudalism; because they ultimately mean an increase in the strength of the Conservatives; and because of their effect on the land economy of England.

Finally, there is the objection that peerages for men who have merely travelled the campaign-fund and newspaper routes are nothing but bribes—mere survivals from the days when the right to elect men to the House of Commons was sold as openly as landed or any other property; survivals that should never have been permitted to outlast the drastic Corrupt Practices Act of

1883 by which bribery of voters at Parliamentary elections was at last wiped out.

At ordinary times, this is the way in which the rank and file of the Liberal party regards these new peerages. The return of the Campbell-Bannerman Government in 1906 was, however, not an ordinary occasion. It was the greatest democratic uprising in the history of the House of Commons; and the rank and file of the Liberal party would have liked the new Government to assume an attitude towards the House of Lords in keeping with the popular movement which had given it such a tremendous majority in the House of Commons. Aware of the inevitable conflicts between the House of Commons and the House of Lords, they would have welcomed an announcement from the Government that it would recommend the creation of no new peerages.

No such announcement was forthcoming. The Government began paying its campaign debts in the old way before it had been a month in office—even before the General Election. It has continued the payments ever since. From December, 1905, when the Liberal Government came into office, until the end of November, 1907, there were created twenty peers, nineteen privy councillors, thirty-three baronets and ninety-five knights; and of the men so honored, thirty-seven were supporters of the Government in the House of Commons. In the period between November, 1903, and November, 1905, during which Mr. Balfour was in power, thirteen peers were created. The peers created by the Liberal Government outnumbered those created by the Conservatives by seven, and were equal to one-third of the number created by Charles II between the Restoration and his death in 1685. Most of the new Liberal peers had no claim to distinction beyond the fact that they had travelled either the campaign-fund or the newspaper route; while several of them were so unknown that people not within the circle of official Liberalism searched in vain for a reason to justify their being made hereditary legislators.

EDWARD PORRITT.

THE NATURE OF AN ASTRONOMER'S WORK.

BY W. W. CAMPBELL, DIRECTOR OF THE LICK OBSERVATORY, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

For nine years it was my duty and pleasure to show the Saturday-night visitors to the Lick Observatory through the great telescope. Their number varied from none on a few of winter's impossible nights up to a maximum of four hundred and thirty. They came from every civilized country, and all trades and professions were represented. They were mainly of those who go about with eyes and minds open. Views through the telescope, descriptions of the instruments and explanations of celestial photographs received their eager attention.

I was greatly interested in observing human nature under these favorable conditions. My experience with the thirty or forty thousand visitors led me to the conclusions, confirmed again and again, first, that, while interest in astronomical subjects is latent and could easily be aroused in a large proportion of the people, yet the simplest facts of the science, open to frequent observation by everybody, are known to comparatively few; and, secondly, that the nature of an astronomer's work is seldom understood.

At a conservative estimate, the majority of the people are unaware that the stars rise in the east, seem to move across the sky, and set in the west, just as the sun and moon do; or that the summer and winter constellations are different. Very few can explain why the form of the moon changes from crescent to full, and from full back to crescent, or can say wherein the planets differ from the stars. There are regiments of young men, fresh from school and college, who, knowing amperes, ohms and volts, can tell you all about the lights in your house, but not one word about the lights in the sky.

The opinion prevails quite generally that an astronomer's duty

consists in sitting all night with his eye at the end of the telescope, "sweeping the heavens," in order to discover new bodies—comets, planets, moons and new stars; and that this is the end and aim of the science. This view is far from the truth. While we in no way discourage the search for new and unknown objects, and, in fact, hail their discovery with delight, we may say that relatively few professional astronomers are thus occupied. The great observatories, with their expensive equipments, cannot afford to engage extensively in such uncertain labor. They leave this work to the small observatories and to the private astronomers, or else they make it a very subsidiary matter. Thus the Lick Observatory, in discovering twenty-seven comets, has devoted certainly less than the one-hundredth part of its resources to that pursuit. The majority of the unexpected comets are, in fact, found by private astronomers, whose four-inch or five-inch telescopes are abundantly powerful for the purpose. The expected returns of periodic comets, on the contrary, are generally detected by professional astronomers. Their mathematical computations tell them when and where to look.

New stars (stars which suddenly appear at points in the sky where none were visible before) and variable stars (those whose brightness varies) are, in the majority of cases, discovered at Harvard College Observatory, for the most part not by direct search, but as the indirect results, or by-products, of an extensive study of the spectra of the stars for another purpose. A few are detected at private and small observatories. Only occasional ones are found at other large observatories, and these are usually detected by chance or by very indirect methods.

It matters little if new stars—comets, satellites, nebulæ or variable stars—are simply "discovered." That is only the beginning of our interest. There are a hundred million bright stars to be seen in the thirty-six-inch telescope whenever we care to look for them. Of what value is it merely to know that one more star has appeared?

Up to the year 1898 some ten thousand nebulæ had been discovered at the various observatories, and their positions and descriptions are published in a catalogue of nebulæ.* The photographs

* The nebulæ are faint, cloudlike forms, some of which are masses of glowing gases, from which stars, planets and their moons will eventually be evolved.

of widely distributed regions of the sky, taken in part by the late Director Keeler, with the Crossley Reflector of the Lick Observatory, and continued by Professor Perrine, indicate that the number not yet discovered, but easily discoverable with this instrument, is in excess of 400,000. These can be found whenever we care to undertake the work. The new ones already discovered, by means of plates taken in the past eight years for other purposes, number nearly a thousand.

The value of the discovery of such objects is not in the discoveries themselves; it is in the opportunity thereby presented for the *thorough study* of those objects. If they are simply discovered and not investigated, the science of astronomy is advanced comparatively little. It is as if Euclid had learned that there is a science of the circle and the sphere, but had not investigated its laws. It is as if the chemist had discovered that there is an element called oxygen, but had not proceeded to determine its properties; or as if Copernicus had been content, like his neighbors, with noting the existence of the principal heavenly bodies, and had not investigated their motions. There certainly have been no more marked cases of successful comet-seeking than those of Barnard and Perrine during the few years when they gave a small fraction of their time, on Mount Hamilton, to this pursuit; but the highest astronomical prizes of the Paris Academy of Sciences were bestowed upon them not so much for their discoveries, as for the opportunities thereby afforded for the further efficient study of cometary bodies, in which the discoverers themselves played leading parts.

I fear that the foregoing references to newly discovered bodies have conveyed the impression that our attention is largely devoted to them. This view is erroneous, and I hasten to correct it. We do not overlook the old and well-known bodies, about which we still have much to learn. These familiar objects, illustrating the general principles of the science, and representing world-life in essentially all its stages of development, deserve and receive the major part of our efforts. Generally less than ten per cent. of astronomical effort is devoted to the search for and study of new objects. It is not practicable to explain in full the nature of the astronomer's investigations, but a few illustrations will be given in general outline.

For three centuries following Copernicus astronomical study was devoted almost exclusively to the solar system,—to the sun, planets and satellites composing this system: their forms and dimensions; their orbital motions and motions of rotation; and the relations of the different members of the system to one another. This work has been brought to a high degree of perfection, in part by astronomers yet living. It would be misleading to say that these problems are completely solved. For example, minute discrepancies in the motions of our moon, of Mercury and of other members of the system remain unexplained, and from time to time added refinements may be expected for all parts of the system. However, it is now possible to predict, with remarkable accuracy, the positions to be occupied by our rapidly moving planets and their satellites for centuries in the future.

In 1898, Witt, of Berlin, discovered an asteroid,—one of the group of small planets in our solar system whose orbits lie between those of Mars and Jupiter. He named it "Eros." It was the 433rd asteroid to be discovered, and the announcement created no comment. However, it was soon found that its orbit was smaller than those of the other asteroids, and that Eros would come much closer to the earth than any other planet. At the times when the earth and Eros are most favorably situated, the distance between them is only 13,500,000 miles. This is about one-third the minimum distance of any other known asteroid. This unexpected fact, of little importance in itself, was epoch-making as a means to an end. It happens that the degree of accuracy with which we can at present measure the distance of the earth from the sun, some 93,000,000 miles (the principal astronomical unit of distance), depends upon the closeness of an asteroid's approach to us. By observations of Eros, we should, therefore, obtain a threefold more accurate knowledge of the distance of the earth from the sun than we now possess. When the asteriod was comparatively close to the earth, in 1900-1, some thirty observatories throughout the world co-operated in securing a very accurate and extensive series of observations for this purpose. The measurement of the hundreds of photographic plates of Eros and the stars in that part of the sky, the computations connected therewith, and the determination of the resulting value of the sun's distance from us, will require the labor of at least thirty skilled men during five years or more. This case illus-

trates unusually well the fact that the discovery of an unknown body is valuable substantially in proportion to the opportunity thereby afforded for making useful extensions to our knowledge. Simply to know that there is a planet Eros, travelling in a certain orbit, has little more value than as a satisfaction to human curiosity. But to take scientific advantage of the discovery of Eros is to improve our knowledge of all celestial distances; or, in other words, to determine with greater accuracy the scale on which the universe is constructed.

Within the past half-century improvements in instruments and methods have enabled us to pass from the problems of our own little system to those of the incomparably more remote and extensive stellar system, and the present tendency of astronomy is strongly in the latter direction.

I wish it were possible to give here an idea of the valuable and extensive investigations which have been made with meridian instruments — instruments which measure the positions of the stars on the celestial sphere as they cross the meridian. At least one-half the energies of astronomers in the past one hundred and fifty years have been devoted to making and reducing meridian observations. These have given us our star catalogues, containing the extremely accurate positions of one hundred thousand stars, and the approximate positions of a million more. The data contained in these catalogues are the foundation upon which the entire superstructure of mathematical astronomy is built. These collections of star-positions, acquired at the cost of great skill, patience and toil, are perhaps the richest of astronomy's possessions. And their values increase constantly with time; for, as the stars are slowly changing their apparent positions on the celestial sphere, and as their rates and directions of motion are determined by comparing their present-day positions with their former ones, it follows that the earlier accurate observations have values directly proportional to their age.

Unfortunately these catalogue positions tell us only the direction in which a star lies and nothing at all as to its distance. The component of motion at right angles to the line of sight is expressed in angular measure, and cannot be converted into linear motion,—miles per second, for example,—until the star's distance becomes known. We have approximate knowledge of the distances of only a few dozen stars. Our present means are ap-

parently inadequate to measure the distances, even roughly, of more than a few hundred stars; but half a dozen astronomers are struggling with the problem, and it is hoped that appreciable improvement in methods will result. At no other point in the science is accurate knowledge more keenly needed.

The two foregoing paragraphs refer only to that component of a star's motion which is at right angles to the line joining the star and observer. Now, every star has at the same time a component of motion toward or away from the observer, of which the meridian instrument has taken and can take no account. Fortunately the spectroscope is able to measure this component, and eight leading observatories have each a department engaged in observing the brighter stars with a great telescope and spectrograph (an instrument for photographing spectra), in order to determine their motions of approach and recession.

Given the component of motion at right angles to the line of sight as determined by meridian and parallax observers, and the component parallel to the line of sight supplied by the spectrograph, we could readily ascertain the actual motion of the star *with reference to the observer*. However, this would be in itself of little value in a study of the stellar system as a whole, unless we have means of eliminating the effects of the observer's motion, since the observed motion is not the star's motion with reference to the stellar system, but it is a compound of its motion and that of the observer.

Astronomers have known for a century that our solar system as a whole is travelling toward the constellation Lyra or Hercules and away from the opposite part of the sky, but an uncertainty of at least ten degrees exists as to the exact direction. Until recently little has been known as to the speed of our motion, the estimates of different astronomers varying from five to thirty miles per second. In order to obtain a satisfactory solution of this problem, if possible, the great Lick Telescope, with the Mills Spectrograph attached to it, has been used three nights per week for the past ten years to secure the photographic observations needed, and the work will be continued several years more. The labor required to measure and reduce the photographs is three or four fold that involved in securing the plates. Observations of the stars visible only in the Southern Hemisphere are also required before the solution can be made satisfactory, and

a branch observatory, located on a mountain-top in the north-eastern suburbs of Santiago, Chile, is getting these observations, thanks to the generosity of Mr. D. O. Mills.

If we would learn the nature of the stars, whether they are solid, liquid or gaseous, whether they are new or comparatively old, whether their temperatures are high or relatively low, we should begin by making a study of our own star—our sun. It is the only star near enough to present a disk, and therefore to let us study it in some detail. All other stars remain as points of light even when the powerful telescopes magnify them three-thousandfold. There are observatories established for the sole purpose of investigating the sun, and many astronomers are constantly employed in studying the structure of all its visible portions, the laws followed by the heat and light radiated from all parts of its surface, and the conditions indicated by the spectrum of each part. It is not too much to say that our physical knowledge of the stars would to-day be almost a blank if we had been unable to approach them through the study of our sun. Several of the most interesting portions of our sun are invisible, except at times of solar eclipse. Our knowledge of the sun will be incomplete until these portions are thoroughly understood; and this is the reason why eclipse expeditions are despatched, at great expense of time and money, to occupy stations within the narrow shadow belts in whatever corners of the earth these events occur.

A score of other departments of our science call for systematic work, according to programmes equally extensive. For example, there are the nebulæ, — their forms, their temperatures, their spectra, their motions, their relations to the stars already existing, and the principles in accordance with which they themselves will in long ages condense and form other stars.

Double stars constitute a large department. The recent work of Professors Aitken and Hussey, of the Lick Observatory, has shown that, on the average, one star in eighteen is attended by a bright companion sun, visible through powerful telescopes, but not at all to the unassisted eye. Observations with the Mills Spectrograph of the Lick Observatory, the Bruce Spectrograph of the Yerkes Observatory, and other similar instruments, have established that at least one star in six is attended by massive close companions, invisible in the most powerful telescopes. All these systems, both visible and invisible, call for investigation.

There are the variable stars, those thus far discovered numbering more than two thousand. Why are they brighter at one time than at another? The causes in nineteen cases out of twenty are unknown, and the determination of these causes constitutes a great problem. Half a dozen small observatories, extending around the world near the parallel of thirty-nine degrees north latitude, are engaged exclusively in studying the variation of terrestrial latitudes; for it has been shown that the position of the earth's equator and, therefore, our distance from the equator (our latitude) changes back and forth through a range of sixty feet. A few large observatories are devoting decades to the accurate measurement of the brightness of the stars.

The resources of a dozen observatories are devoted to the photographic charting of the heavens, each photograph requiring accurate measurement and computation—an enormous piece of work, demanding twenty years or more for its completion. A better realization of the magnitude of the labor involved will be gained, perhaps, by calculating that a dozen observatories for twenty years, *on one problem,* is equivalent to one observatory's time and effort for two hundred and forty years!

There are the comets, which excite great public and scientific interest, not only because they are extremely interesting objects, but because they come close to us, and since they come and go, they must be studied while here. How and where did they originate? What is their composition? What conditions prevail in them? In other words, what is a comet, and what is its relation to other celestial objects?

Not to illustrate further, it should be said that these lines of work, as well as the far greater number of unmentioned ones, all bear upon the solution of the two great problems which at present compose the science of astronomy. These problems, perhaps the most profound in the realm of matter, may be stated thus:

First, a determination of the structure of the sidereal universe; of the form of that portion of limitless space occupied by our stellar system; of the general arrangement of the sidereal units in space, and their geometrical relations to one another; and of their motions in accordance with the laws of gravitation;

Second, a determination of what the nebulæ, stars, planets, satellites, comets and other members of the universe really are:

what are their chemical constitutions; their physical conditions and relations to one another; what has been the history of their development, in accordance with the principles of sidereal evolution; and what has the future in store for them, and for the system as a whole.

Observatories supply accurate time signals wherever telegraph and cable extend. These signals are regulated by observations of stars whose positions have been previously determined by meridian instruments. Many modern boundary lines between nations are located by means of observations of stars whose exact positions in the sky are defined in the star catalogues. The ship's captain ascertains his latitude and longitude, and therefore the course of his vessel, by observations of the sun, moon and stars, whose positions are prepared for him in advance by astronomers, as a result of their extensive observations and extremely laborious calculations.

That the main results of the astronomer's work are not so immediately practical does not detract from their value. They are, I venture to think, the more to be prized on that account. Astronomy has profoundly influenced the thought of the race. In fact, it has been the keystone in the arch of the sciences under which we have marched out from the darkness of the fifteenth and preceding centuries to the comparative light of to-day.

Who can estimate the value to civilization of the Copernican system of the sun and planets? A round earth, an earth not the centre of the universe, an earth obeying law, an earth developed by processes of evolution covering tens of millions of years, is incomparably grander than the earth which ante-Copernican imagination pictured.

It is of priceless value to the human race to know that the sun will supply the needs of the earth, as to light and heat, for millions of years; that the stars are not lanterns hung out at night, but are suns like our own; and that numbers of them probably have planets revolving around them, perhaps in many cases with inhabitants adapted to the conditions existing there. In a sentence, the main purpose of the science is to learn the truth about the stellar universe; to increase human knowledge concerning our surroundings, and to widen the limits of intellectual life.

W. W. CAMPBELL.

THE NEW IRELAND.—IV.

BY SYDNEY BROOKS.

UNQUESTIONABLY, within the last fifteen years the Irish mind has shown a most hopeful inclination towards the concrete and the constructive. There is a far wider realization to-day than there ever was, or could be, before, that the upbuilding of the Irish nation depends less on the passing or the repeal of laws at Westminster, or on external assistance of any kind, than on the efforts of Irishmen in Ireland; and that those efforts, to produce their best results, must be non-political and non-sectarian. Thus we have seen the agricultural co-operative movement, initiated by Sir Horace Plunkett, spread until it now embraces 90,000 farmers and has organized over 900 co-operative creameries, poultry societies, village banks, and so on. We have seen the Recess Committee, composed of men of all ranks and religions and politics, formulating a programme of material amelioration. We have seen the fruit of that programme in the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, a Department popularly governed, working with and through committees appointed by the County Councils, and for the first time bringing expert assistance and advice within reach of the peasant proprietors. We have seen the establishment of the Congested Districts Board for the resettlement of the Western peasantry on an economic basis, and for the revival and encouragement of the Western fishing and cottage industries. We have seen the building of light railways. We have seen the famous round-table conference of landlords and tenants that brought the century-old struggle for the land within sight of a decisive and more or less harmonious finish. We have seen the strong beginnings of a movement of industrial recreation. Indeed, it is safe to say that the last decade and a half has witnessed the

growth of more interest among Irishmen in the practical problems of life, and more co-operation among them in the solution of those problems, than any previous period of Irish history. New spheres of non-contentious endeavor have been opened up in which all Irishmen may participate.

It is a natural assumption that this new and pervasive absorption in practicalities must have done something to blunt the edge of politics, and to give to business considerations a higher place in Irish regard than they have hitherto occupied. The assumption seems all the more natural when one remembers that Ireland is slowly but definitely emerging from the more acute stage of agrarian unrest, that the Land Question is on its way to settlement, is losing its old class bitterness and, above all, is ceasing to provide the motive power for political agitation. Irish Nationalism has always appeared before the world as a struggle for self-government. I am not at all sure that it would not be better described as a movement to beat rents down. Irish Unionism, again, has always put forward Protestantism, the Crown and the Constitution as the basis of its appeal. But I am not at all sure that in reality it has not been, as much as anything else, an agitation to keep rents up. What is certain, at any rate, is that the main strength of Irish Unionism has been the landlords and of Irish Nationalism the tenants. No one that I know of has attempted to assess, or, indeed, could assess with any certainty, the impetus which the Home-Rule movement has derived from the land-hunger of the peasantry. But, admittedly, it has been very great. A wholly new phase of the demand for political autonomy was opened when it was linked on to the agrarian agitation. A wholly new phase may open again, now that the crisis of the agrarian agitation is over. Will the Irish peasant, now that he has been put in absolute possession of his holding, be the same man, susceptible to the same influences, as in the days when proprietorship seemed an incredible dream? It is possible to believe that he will not, and that the satisfaction of his historic passion for ownership will work a gradual change in his attitude towards politics. After all, the Irish peasant, like most other peasants, is a Tory and a materialist, and not an agitator, by instinct. When he finds that political agitation has served its turn, and that he has received from it all it is capable of yielding, his mind may quite conceivably turn from it and

begin to ponder some of the actual problems of an agricultural existence. It is not fanciful to picture the Irish peasant, in the not distant future, as a steadying force in the national equilibrium, mounting sentinel for law and order, ruling the laborers with a rod of iron, an authority on manures, selling his produce through co-operative societies, borrowing from land-banks of his own establishment, gradually effecting his escape from the toils of the gombeen man, a Nationalist, but a placid one, with his pockets rigidly buttoned up against the treasurer of whatever may be the fashionable League of the moment. I dare not positively assert that this picture will be realized, but I think it unquestionable that the pacification of the peasantry is an immense step towards the pacification of all Ireland, and that it promises to drain political agitation of what for thirty years and more has been its life-blood. The Irish, or five-sixths of them, will always be Nationalists and always hoping for autonomy; but a political faith may be held passively as well as actively, and it is quite a possibility that before long the average Irish peasant or farmer may come to regard Home Rule much as it was regarded in Isaac Butt's day, as a decorative and non-vital sentiment, not worth the trouble of any real sacrifice. Indeed, it is already apparent that his political enthusiasm is falling off. Throughout Ireland there is a very general disenchantment with the personnel and policy of the Nationalist party. Mr. Birrell's ill-fated Council Bill brought home to every Irishman the fact that, in the last twenty years, Home Rule has not gained ground, but lost it; and the consciousness of its retrogression has produced a visible lassitude in the national spirit and an impatience, even more pronounced, with the Parliamentary exponents of the cause. The best Irish thought is turning inwards. It is moving away from Westminster and concentrating upon Ireland herself. In the days when obstruction was possible, and when the Irish Party held the balance of power, the small manœuvres of the House of Commons may have interested Ireland. But those days are past. It is realized now that it is not in Westminster, but in Ireland, that the true current of national life flows; and the shifting of the centre of energy and interest has tended to drive the Nationalist Party to the outer circumference. Some, at least, of the waning of the old fervor is to be ascribed to the absence of any strong and commanding leader in the party it-

self. There is not even a shadow of a Parnell; and, as an inevitable consequence, there is hardly more than the shadow of the movement which Parnell evoked and led. The more stalwart Nationalists complain bitterly of the irruption into the Party ranks of men who represent the local publican and moneylender and the parish priest far more faithfully than they represent the National cause. The young men, especially, seem to be almost wholly opposed or indifferent to the Parliamentarians. The Party organization has lost much of the centralized cohesion and authority it possessed in Parnell's day; there is a good deal of jostling among the leaders for the first place; and the increasing unwillingness of the people to subscribe for the support of their representatives is another and significant sign of apathy and discontent. Except in the western counties, where it is still the popular instrument of agitation against the graziers, the United Irish League might almost seem to be on the verge of collapse.

If now we turn for a moment to the Unionists, we find that among them, too, disintegration spreads apace. Ireland used to be three-quarters black and one quarter white, three-quarters Nationalist and one quarter Unionist. But the old lines of demarcation are losing their rigidity, are beginning to waver, at certain points are even meeting and crossing. A sort of centre party—the Devolutionists—has made its appearance in colors of a neutral shade. Its significance is far greater than its numerical strength. It is recruited in the main from among the more liberal and open-minded members of the Unionist Party—men who, while supporting the legislative union between the two countries, have worked round to the conclusion that the present form of British Government in Ireland is not all-perfect and immutable, and who freely advocate a larger grant of autonomy, a frank recognition of the distinctiveness of the Irish people, and a thoroughgoing reform of the Dublin Castle system. The emergence of such a party with such a programme is an emphatic token that the Unionism of the old school, the Unionism of mere obstinate negation, is becoming played out. And in many other ways the Ascendancy men, if they calmly survey their position, must be conscious that the battle is turning against them. It has become very clear within the last few years that the English Unionists are no longer prepared to follow their lead blindfold.

They appointed Sir Anthony MacDonnell, a Catholic and an Irishman, to the Irish Under-Secretaryship. They are widely believed to have meditated, under Mr. Wyndham's guidance, a yet longer step along the road of conciliation. They granted the Irish people the Local Government Act of 1898; and large numbers of the English Unionists betray a growing restlessness under the pressure of their Irish allies, watch their gathering perplexities with very little genuine sympathy, and are more and more refusing to regulate their Irish policy in obedience to the demands of a clique. The Irish Peers in the House of Lords and the twenty-odd Irish Unionists in the House of Commons spend most of their time blackening the character of their Nationalist fellow countrymen, screaming for coercion, and endeavoring to persuade the British electorate that the state of Ireland is rather worse than that of Macedonia. It is not an edifying spectacle; among most Englishmen, quite apart from their views on Irish politics, it arouses a feeling little removed from contempt; and it is undoubtedly one of the reasons that account for the progressive alienation of the Unionists in England from their too virulent, too bigoted colleagues in Ireland.

Then, again, the Irish Unionists, or, rather, the dominating landlord element among them, find themselves severely challenged on their own ground at home. Their political citadel is Belfast; and Belfast, while a hot-bed of rabid Protestantism, is also a great industrial city with strong democratic affiliations, and has recently produced an active and powerful Labor Party that has already captured one constituency and will undoubtedly in time capture many more. Even the Orange Society, the organization that symbolizes all the extremes of political and religious rancor, is yielding to the softening influence of the times. An Independent Orange League has been formed that addresses itself to all Irishmen, irrespective of creed or party, that is valiantly democratic and not less valiantly Irish in its sympathies, and that stretches out a hand from the Protestant and industrial North to its Catholic and Nationalist fellow countrymen of the South and West. Young Ulster is no longer satisfied to be the witless plaything of landlords and lawyers, to nourish a barren sectarianism or to look across the Channel for the centre of national interests. It is breaking loose from "boss" rule; it is dropping the "garrison" theory of its existence; it is getting into touch

once more with the main stream of Irish nationality. Moreover, the better type of Unionists have thrown themselves into the many movements of agricultural and industrial development at which I have glanced. That is to say, some of them refuse to remain forever the members of an aloof, isolated and *fainéant* coterie. They are beginning to see that co-operation with their Nationalist countrymen is not only possible, but eminently desirable, and the influence of that discovery is gradually, but only gradually, permeating the spirit of Unionism. And, finally, the landlords, who, as I have said, have always been the backbone of the Unionist Party, are now selling their estates to their former tenants. They are ceasing to be landlords. They are relinquishing their last position of authority. They are abandoning a sphere in which have been gathered all the worst animosities of Irish history. What is to become of them? Will they pocket their purchase-money, turn their back on Ireland and begin a new life in England? Many, no doubt, will take this course. But many others will continue to reside in their ancestral mansion, and those who do so will find themselves face to face, for the first time, with the beneficent opportunities and duties of a native aristocracy. They will have ceased to be landlords; they will have become, instead, resident country gentlemen, no longer warring with tenants, but able to live at peace with neighbors, and designated by their superior means and education to take the lead in all schemes of local betterment. Insensibly, a change of spirit will pass over them. They will slowly abandon the habit of looking upon themselves as units in the British garrison. They will identify themselves, to a degree hitherto impossible, with the lives and aspirations of the people around them. They will, in short, become Nationalists themselves.

What, then, is the situation? We have seen that a number of varied influences are at work sapping the strength of the two great political parties, that neither the Nationalists nor the Unionists are able to look forward to the future with equanimity, and that Irish politics is in a state of uncertainty and flux. We have seen, too, that a new sense of interdependence is being propagated among Irishmen who hitherto have barely conceived the possibility of having anything in common. We have seen, moreover, that industrial and material problems have acquired a new interest for the Irish people and are beginning to supplant

their old indulgence in barren agitation. The natural inference from all this would be that Ireland, wearying of the tumult of politics and intent above everything else upon the ways and means of prosperity, was about to become almost as contented a part of the United Kingdom as Wales or Scotland; that the demand for Home Rule, while not abandoned, was about to pass into a milder and more constitutional phase; and that "the Irish Question" was on the way to solving itself. But such an inference I believe to be mistaken, and the very movements that in one light seem to warrant it are in another its chief refutation. This is not a more cryptic saying than any statement about Ireland necessarily must be; it really has a meaning. For if we analyze merely the factors I have already named—and they by no means exhaust the forces that are shaping what is scarcely less than a new Ireland—we shall find that there is a very considerable sense in which they may all be said to proceed upon a common formula and to work towards a single objective. The formula is, roughly, that the salvation of Ireland depends primarily upon the efforts of the Irish people themselves working on Irish soil. The objective is the building up of the moral stamina of the people and their education in the broadest spirit of nationality.

The importance of this formula and of this objective can only be measured by remembering that Irish history has fatally discouraged the spirit of self-reliance, has split the people into separate and contending factions, and has implanted in them the disastrous belief that the cure for all their ills is to be sought in legislation, in assistance from without, in some external agency, and not in themselves. If, therefore, it is true that the Irish, thanks to the operation of these new influences, are gradually breaking down sectarian and party barriers, are coming to recognize that they are all members of one nation, are learning to lean upon themselves, are ceasing to look exclusively to Westminster, are emancipating themselves from the tyranny of Leagues and committees, are cultivating a virile and salutary individualism, are beginning, in short, to think, speak and act for themselves—if all this be true, or even approximately true, then the fact is one that carries with it some considerable implications. And in a country where politics holds a dominion not exceeded in Greece or America some of those implications are bound to be political. I shall attempt to assess their significance later on.

Meanwhile, let me note that the movements I have named do not stand alone. They are reinforced, and their influence in inculcating self-dependence and a new sense of conscious and constructive nationality is made vastly more intensive and extensive, by the Gaelic League and the fervor of the Celtic renascence. The Gaelic League is an organized and enthusiastic movement for the revival of the old Irish tongue, the old Irish dances, folklore, songs and sports. Students of history, especially of such histories as those of Poland, Hungary and Bohemia, when they find a people deliberately setting out to recover for themselves their ancient speech, and when they find a group of able and earnest writers devoting all their powers of expression in poetry, the drama and the press to the illustration of national themes and the delineation of national traits, will infer that the country in which this mental and moral uprising takes place is on the eve of a profound and penetrating revivification.

The inference, in my judgment, is a sound one even in the case of Ireland, where most analogies hopelessly break down. That is to say, I believe that Ireland is in the throes of some such renascence of her national spirit and character as Hungary underwent sixty-odd years ago. She is being reborn. The people are recovering their collective soul; they are reviving their racial consciousness; they are being swept and invigorated by the returning spirit of essential nationhood. Ireland, as I see her, is developing a new backbone and a new sense of unity, and with it a new conviction that she is not only a distinct, but a distinctive, entity. Almost for the first time in her history, she is working round to some realization of what nationality is. She is beginning to see that it is something beyond politics and immeasurably above the factitious partitions of social and sectarian strife. Ireland, in a word, is thrilling with the determination to become and to remain Irish. It is for that purpose she is seeking to revive Gaelic, to popularize anew her ancient songs and pastimes, to restore the links in her historical continuity that were severed when the decay of her ancient tongue passed a sponge over all her national characteristics and reduced her, socially, intellectually and spiritually, to a mere English province. It is for that purpose and in the faith of that ideal that she is working to make herself materially self-sufficient, to enforce the purchase of Irish goods and products as a patriotic duty, and to develop

all her resources from within. All these movements, consciously or otherwise, work towards one all-embracing end—an Irish Ireland. Whether their immediate aim is that of strengthening the national will or awakening the national soul or of stiffening the national backbone, all proceed upon the formula that the salvation of Ireland must be sought and achieved by Irishmen on Irish soil. All in their different ways set forth an ideal of nationality that overrides parties, creeds and sections. All inculcate self-reliance as the primal need. All discourage that fatal Irish habit, of all the fruits of misgovernment the most poisonous and paralyzing, of throwing upon anybody but themselves the responsibility for their moral or material shortcomings. To encourage and find or force an outlet for the native instincts and genius of the people, to save them from Anglicization, and to lead them back to the well-head of the old Irish language, arts and recreations, are the objects of the Gaelic League. To promote Irish industries and equip the peasant for the realities of a competitive agricultural existence are the more prosaic aims of the industrial revival and of the co-operative movement. At first sight, they might not seem to have much in common; in reality, they have everything. They all make for initiative and self-dependence and intensify the sense of an upbuilding nationality.

Ireland, I need hardly say, would not be Ireland if so deep a stir in the spirit of the country were to leave politics alone. It has, in fact, thrown up in Sinn Féin one of the most singular of the many strange agitations in Irish history. In the Sinn Féin movement all the new forces and impulses that are stirring Irish hearts and minds find their fullest and most compact expression. There is not a principle or an objective in the industrial revival, in the Gaelic League, in the agricultural co-operative movement or in any of the new agencies that promise to leave Ireland more Irish, more prosperous and more virile that the Sinn Féiners do not make their own and translate into terms of living politics. Not until we have mastered its policy, its philosophy and its tendencies shall we be able to judge the direction in which Ireland is likely to move or to weigh the alternatives with which she is faced. It is, therefore, to an exposition of Sinn Féin that I propose to devote the next article.

SYDNEY BROOKS.

(To be Continued.)

THE SOWERS.

Written for the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Founding of St. Lawrence University.

BY IRVING BACHELLER.

I KNOW the hills that lift the distant plain,
The college hall—the spirit of its throngs—
The meadows and the waving fields of grain,
Full well I know their colors and their songs.

I know the storied gates where love was told,
The grove where walked the muses and the seers;
The river, dark or touched with light of gold,
Or slow, or swift so like the flowing years.

I know not these who sadly sit them down
And while the night in half-forgotten days;
I know not these who wear the hoary crown
And find a pathos in the merry lays.

And Memory, with old wisdom on her lips,
Her finger points at each familiar name—
Some writ on stone or prows of stranded ships,
Some in the music of the trump of fame.

Then oft, I think, beloved voices call
And find a weathered door 'neath ancient trees.
I hear sad echoes in the empty hall,
The wide world's lyric in the harping breeze.

It sings of them I loved and left of old,
Of my fond hope to bring a worthy prize—
Some well-earned token, better far than gold,
And lay it humbly down before their eyes.

And tell them it were rightly theirs—not mine;
An harvest come of their own word and deed.
I strove with tares that threatened my design
To make the crop as noble as the seed.

So they might see it paid—that life they knew—
A toilsome web and knit of many a skein,
With love's sweet sacrifice all woven through,
And broken threads of hope and joy and pain.

On root-bound acres, pent with rocks and stones,
Their hope of wealth and leisure slowly died.
They gave their strength in toil that racked their bones;
They gave their youth, their beauty and their pride,

Ere Nature's last defence had been withdrawn
That those they loved might have what they could not—
The power of learning wedded to their brawn
And to the simple virtue there begot.

My college! Once—it was a day of old—
I saw thy panes aglow with sunset fire
And heard the story of thy purpose told
And felt the tide of infinite desire.

In thee I saw the gate of mystery
That led to dream-lit, vast, inviting lands—
Far backward to the bourne of history
And forward to the House not made with hands.

You gave the husbandman a richer yield
Than any that his granary may hold;
You called his children from the shop and field,
Taught them to sow and reap an hundredfold.

To sow the seed of truth and hope and peace,
And take the root of error from the sod;
To be of those who make the sure increase,
Forever growing, in the lands of God.

IRVING BACHELLER.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED.

BY THOMAS WALSH, CHARLES JOHNSTON AND CARL SNYDER.

"THE GREATER ENGLISH POETS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY."*

THE wealth of poetical illustration to his new volume, "The Greater Poets of the Nineteenth Century," as well as Dr. William Morton Payne's scholarship and enthusiasm for the muse, have given rise in some critic quarters to a misapprehension of the purport of his work. From the start, however, he disclaims any intention to discuss the strictly literary achievement of the twelve English poets, from Keats to Swinburne, to whom he ascribes pre-eminence; but proposes to devote himself to tracing their relation to the worlds of thought and action and their outlook upon the life of their century.

This disclaimer will hardly soothe the critical feathers that have been ruffled; for Dr. Payne's treatment of the poets is after a fashion that is "popular rather than scholarly," a sociological procedure in which the poets figure merely as the human documents and exhibits, and their poetry as a matter of secondary importance.

While one remembers that poetry has many aspects, and whatever may add to its value with the masses should meet with encouragement at the hands of all true believers, it remains to be questioned whether any serious end—poetical or scientific—is served by this kind of "criticism of life" which,—while noting the inadequacy of the phrase as a definition of poetry,—Dr. Payne adopts as the directing principle of his volume.

How little benefit to poetry can be derived from scientific criticism, which as a prerequisite confines itself to cool and calculated processes and eschews emotion of any kind, must be

* "The Greater English Poets of the Nineteenth Century." By William Morton Payne, LL.D. New York: Henry Holt & Company. 1907.

clear at a glance. That science, on the other hand, can hope for valuable results from the application of sociological methods to subject-matter, such as modern poetry, seems an opinion that leaves out of account the uncertainty of the æsthetic equation in every artist and work of art. What literary confusion and evil will not result from a criticism that will grade the poets in importance according as they supply materials for history or philosophic theories? It is usually the lesser poet who most clearly expresses his environment, and when we consider the continual reiterations of opinion, the constantly growing intricacy of modern society, we have no little reason to question as inconclusive the data which the scientists persist in demanding from poetry.

"The Greater English Poets of the Nineteenth Century" is in a way supplementary to the voluminous work on "Main Currents in Nineteenth Century Literature" by the Danish critic Dr. Georg Brandes, the weakest part of whose series is perhaps that devoted to the English naturalist movement. In both method and philosophy the works of Dr. Payne and Dr. Brandes present interesting similarities, and, while it may be said that the American critic brings to his subject a fuller comprehension, nevertheless he may not lay claim to the wealth of data and analogy with which Dr. Brandes wins the popular ear.

Moreover, Dr. Payne has not been always wary of the radical tendencies in the Danish *littérateur* against which he himself feels called upon to warn his readers. He does not, of course, declare open warfare on conservative positions, such as characterize the later volumes of "Main Currents in Nineteenth Century Literature," but he indirectly forms the mind of his readers to regard the poets of the nineteenth century as being great in such measure as they conform with the movements and prognostications of to-day—a period confessedly anarchic in the worlds of art and thought. Tested on such a shifting scale, the poet Coleridge, the intellectual, who dealt with life in the terms of eternity, becomes a pathetic figure out of harmony with the times and *schema* of radical philosophy; Wordsworth, with his reverence for what was established and his fears lest excesses in thought and action might not lead to the hoped-for betterment of society, is also put aside unsympathetically; Tennyson, with his ceaseless queries as to a moral order in the universe and the claims of man to immortality, seems, as it were, touched with

the shadow of the retrograde and receives what his admirers will feel to be rather cold consideration.

But, on the other hand, Shelley, that winged messenger of the freedom of the spirit, supplies the very gospel of this lyric philosophy; Byron, the voice of revolution, the philosopher, rather than the poet, of "Don Juan"; Landor, that Walt Whitman of the Parthenon; Browning, whose faith, says Professor Santayana, as quoted by Dr. Payne, "is invincible because it is unseizable—as safe from refutation as it is from embodiment"; Matthew Arnold, loath to admit that his philosophy had anything in common with "interdependent, subordinate and coherent principles"; William Morris, whose radicalism may explain his inclusion among these greater poets; Swinburne boldly assailing the old orders of creed and code which the others had been merely content to deny;—these are Dr. Payne's true "intermediaries between nature and the public"; through these are traced the traditions of the radical school and the up-to-date dogmas of literary evolution.

Let us hope, after all, that however it may be with philosophy, we may still regard poetry as the rhythmic pease-porridge which some will have hot and others cold. Long may our poets prove to be the delight and solace of gentle souls as well as the despair and confusion of the utilitarian pragmatist!

It is to be hoped also that Dr. Payne, now he has given us under the somewhat misleading title of "The Greater English Poets of the Nineteenth Century," so readable an epitome of the philosophies of the past hundred years, he will gratify his admirers with that volume upon the English poets as poets which he would seem eminently fitted to provide.

THOMAS WALSH.

A HISTORY OF AMERICAN PHILOSOPHY.*

ONE begins this book with interest and continues it with growing enthusiasm, gradually led to the conclusion that it is one of the most valuable works published here in recent years, and one which renders the highest service to the nation. This is a book which makes us wish we had something here like the French Academy, that so good a book might be stamped with the seal of national approval.

* "American Philosophy, the Early Schools." By I. Woodbridge Riley, Ph.D. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

Its lasting value is that it helps us to understand the American spirit, and to see that the genius of our nation finds its true expression in the worthiest field of human endeavor. We are somewhat weary, perhaps, of perpetual material triumphs, of the talk of our unrivalled natural resources, our mechanical inventions, our commercial organizations, our tremendous output of raw material, of "hogs and hominy"; and we may have heard warnings from some of the most far-seeing among us that this vast output is really a prodigal burning up of our national resources. And, our ears perpetually filled with these gratulations and warnings, we may have been tempted to ask whether as a nation we had no higher claim to recognition than the bigness of our steel trade, the strength of our corporations, the vigor of our party politics. We look for something finer and worthier, something that will enkindle the heart and soul, something better answering to our ideal of the spiritual greatness of the American nation.

To such a mood, Dr. Riley has given the best possible answer. He has shown that, ever since the days of the Puritan colonists, this country has had a vigorous intellectual life, always sincere, often strongly articulated, sometimes bearing the stamp of high original genius. This volume seems to be the precursor of a further work, showing the culmination of American thought in the splendid evangel of Emerson, which we shall learn to recognize as one of the great achievements of the human soul. In the thought of Emerson, with its sense of the spiritual value of life, its high and inspiring estimate of the soul, its ring of immortality, the American spirit reached its fine efflorescence, its most authentic revelation; and as we are true to spiritual values, true to the soul, we are true to the real American spirit.

There are many elements of high value in this book. One of these is the lucid and compelling way in which Dr. Riley shows how the philosophical thought of different periods was related to their political life, and, further, how different sections of the country stood for different intellectual tendencies. Thus, "in its broader aspects the North stood for idealism, the South for materialism, and the Middle States for the mediating philosophy of common sense. In addition to this broader distribution there was a more precise localization of the philosophical schools, since the places where they originated also depended upon the periods in which they originated. Here the larger colonial colleges, al-

most in the order of their founding, constituted so many radiating centres of speculation, Harvard being identified with deism, Yale with idealism and Princeton with realism." Such a summary as this at once gives us a new interest in the intellectual life of the American nation, a new realization of the value and meaning of our national universities. Dr. Riley works out this development in detail, with lucidity, vividness, humor and logical force, bringing us in certain directions up to about the middle of the nineteenth century.

Another element of the highest value is new and truer estimate we are helped to form of certain of the great men in American history. Just as some commonplace engraving used to run through the text-books of a generation, so the popular idea of certain conspicuous men, originally formed on a partial and shallow understanding, has passed current from one epoch to another, it being nobody's duty to question whether the original estimate was a just one. Among the noteworthy men of whom one gains a truer understanding from Dr. Riley's pages, one may name Cotton Mather, Benjamin Franklin and Jonathan Edwards, and particularly the last. Indeed, one of the great services which this History of American Philosophy renders is the revelation of Jonathan Edwards as something more than a Puritan firebrand, something more than a zealous theologian, as, in fact, a man of high eloquence, of great elevation of thought, of marked original genius. Here is a short passage from the writings of the New England Saint, showing at once the excellence of his style and the beauty of his thought:

"After this my sense of divine things gradually increased, and became more and more lively, and had more of that inward sweetness. The appearance of everything was altered; there seemed to be, as it were, a calm, sweet cast or appearance of divine glory, in almost everything. God's excellency, his wisdom, his purity and love, seemed to appear in everything; in the sun, moon and stars; in the clouds and the blue sky; in the grass, flowers, trees; in the water and all nature; which used greatly to fix my mind. I often used to sit and view the moon for continuance; and in the day spent much time in viewing the clouds and sky, to behold the sweet glory of God in these things: in the mean time singing forth, with a low voice, my contemplations of the Creator and Redeemer. And scarce anything, among all the works of nature, was so sweet to me as thunder and lightning; formerly, nothing had been so terrible to me. Before, I used to be uncommonly terrified with thunder and to be struck with terror when I saw a thunder-

storm rising; but now, on the contrary, it rejoiced me. I felt God, so to speak, at the first appearance of a thunder-storm; and used to take the opportunity, at such times, to fix myself in order to view the clouds, and see the lightning play, and hear the majestic and awful voice of God's thunder, which oftentimes was exceedingly entertaining, leading me to sweet contemplations of my sweet and glorious God."

We find a new meaning in the Connecticut valley and the Berkshire hills, if we think of them as the setting of such pure rapture and aspiration, the very echo of Assisi. If there be much more of equal value in the writings of Jonathan Edwards, Dr. Riley would render a valuable service to his countrymen by editing a volume of selections from the New England saint, which would become a valued possession for all who believe in the American spirit.

CHARLES JOHNSTON.

ARRHENIUS ON "WORLDS IN THE MAKING."*

ABOUT fifty years ago, the greatest minds were engaged upon an intricate and baffling problem. What becomes of the vast outpour of energy, of heat and light, from the monstrous surface of the sun? Some is intercepted by the little globule of iron that we call the earth; and to this, we know, every trace of life and movement on this globule is due; the rush of the winds, the waterfall, the growth of the plant, every thrill of pain or joy, every idea, we experience is but the mechanical translation of the energy of the sun.

But the amount of this energy intercepted by the planets is infinitely slight—not a billionth. Whither all the rest?

Fifty years ago experimental science had reached an experimental demonstration of a truth, or idea, long entertained by some ancient philosophers: that nothing can come from nothing, that whatever is was, from aye, and will be, for aye; that there is no creation, no destruction, no creator, no destroyer. This thought was summed up in the modern doctrine of the Conservation of Energy: in Spencer's simpler and more vivid phrase, the Persistence of Force.

But if the suns, and all other bodies, be constantly radiating into space the stores of heat-energy they contain, the available,

* "Worlds in the Making." By Svante Arrhenius. New York: Harper & Brothers.

utilizable fund seemed constantly on the decrease. We had the familiar picture of a universe that, clocklike, is running down.

New supplies of light and heat might be transiently liberated by the collision of suns with suns, such as we now know to be constantly taking place; but this would, to us, merely delay the unescapable event.

So reasoned the strabismic—chief among them the late Lord Kelvin. But to the larger and clearer vision of Spencer—seer, in the highest sense, if there ever was one—came the perception that matter and motion being indestructible, there could be no such finality. Already, in the first edition of First Principles (1860), he had announced this view, and in a later edition it was considerably developed.

This conception of an unending cycle, with no beginning and no end, is the key-note of the remarkable volume which has recently come from the pen of Professor Svante Arrhenius, of Stockholm, which now finds its way into English.

Like all vast conceptions, it is simple in the last degree. It comes from one of the most varied and brilliantly endowed minds of our generation—a Helmholtz of our time. Arrhenius was already practically the founder of one new science, physical chemistry, and a foremost worker in at least two others. His Textbook of Cosmical Physics, a monumental work, stamped his authority in the field covered by this slender but fascinating volume. He has revealed that, now as always, the great mind has right of eminent domain, and that the specializer is a grubber merely.

In a volume simply teeming with new ideas and ingenious explanations, it is difficult to make selection. Aside from the demonstration that the second law of thermodynamics cannot be universally true, perhaps the most interesting portion of the book is that which brings low another pet theory of Kelvin's—of Helmholtz as well—that the sun is not many million years old — perhaps less than forty, and can last but a few million more, as a sun.

Not in contraction of its mass, but in the liberation of the stores of heat absorbed in the nebular state, does Arrhenius find the origin of the sun's energy. It is chemical rather than mechanical, and may be thousands of times greater than the older speculators had supposed. This new view naturally sets no bounds to the geologists' claims as to the immense antiquity of

the earth. What Huxley said, in his celebrated strife with Kelvin (whose notions, at base, were always perverted by a curious theological twist) must be true, Arrhenius offers as a fact.

It was Arrhenius, as is well known, who was the first to apply the newly discovered *pressure of light* (and all radiant energy) to cosmical problems and thus elucidate the mysteries of the northern lights, the aurora, the zodiacal light and a score of others. It is these same particles, shot off by the sun, which doubtless, together with the varying intensity of the sun's radiation, determine our weather changes, and hence, indirectly, the course of our fitful little lives.

The desirability of other planets as abodes of the blest and others, is interestingly discussed in the light of other data than that dispensed from Flagstaff, Arizona; and finally, this interesting man gives a sketch, in the final chapter, of his novel theory of the transmission of life from world to world. This he conceives is accomplished by means of minute spores, which are driven out of a planet's atmosphere under this same pressure of light, and so in time come to fertilize those which are sterile, and thus make possible such a wondrous development as modern science has revealed to our astonished and purblind eyes. Arrhenius holds that just as matter and energy are eternal, so possibly life is; and just as the matter of the universe is known to be all the same, so also may be its living shapes.

This throwing back of the life problem to the region of primal things is carefully worked out, and though I, for one, cannot believe it is forced by our present knowledge, or lack of it, there are no especial objections to such a view, save in that it will probably be taken to give a new lease of life to the Obscurantists —the people who want to make a mystery of everything. The last of these Intransigeants are now dangling from the broken end of a dead limb, over an abyss that will soon swallow them utterly; it will comfort them to find so strong a thinker, as it were, passing them a rope. The synthesis of living substance within thirty or forty years will, I believe, forever dispel the notion that life is any more of a mystery than water, stones or air, save in the complexity of its organization of matter. Forever will the great world-mystery abide; all else, all it contains, is explicable, and will one day be explained.

CARL SNYDER.

WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON: BERLIN.

London, *May, 1908.*

The death of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman came home to all Englishmen with a curious sense of personal loss. Curious, because only a very few years ago "C-B" was the most execrated man by a certain school of opinion in the country, and the idea that his passing would be felt by men of all parties as a national loss and would touch the emotions of his fellow countrymen with something of a fireside intimacy would have seemed almost fantastic. I was remarking in one of these letters only a few months ago that "C-B's" illness surprised the country into consciousness of how greatly it had grown to like him, and the Liberal party into a full realization of how much it owed to him. The last two years of his life raised "C-B" above the mists of obloquy and detraction and enabled the nation almost for the first time to see him as he really was; and I cannot away with the impression that the very genuine and sincere grief evoked by his resignation and subsequent death was intensified by the feeling that in the past he had not always had fair play, and that some reparation was due to him for the injustices and misunderstandings of former years. Public life seems sensibly less gracious, now that he is gone. It would, indeed, be a piece of flattery that his own good sense and homely shrewdness would have been the first to repudiate to pretend that he reached the level of greatness. But he succeeded where many great men might easily have failed. His very lack of the qualities that go with the highest kind of leadership was in a way an assistance to him. His simple fortitude in the black years of dissension and defeat, his mellowness, sanity and good humor in the hardly less difficult moment of overwhelming victory, were invaluable assets to the cause of Liberalism. It was

not, indeed, "C-B" who reunited the Liberal party; it was Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain. But it was very largely owing to "C-B's" unwavering constancy that such a thing as a Liberal party survived at all. He was for a long while regarded as the white elephant of his party; he proved to be the instrument of its salvation. He had the rare art of governing through the affections and it enabled him, though not a man of conspicuous abilities, to preside over and, to an extent that even now is only half suspected, to direct the greatest outburst of legislative energy that this country has known. No man ever proved more adroit in disentangling the recurrent crises of politics; to no man did a discordant and impetuous following ever refer its disputes with a more implicit confidence in his fairness and good feeling. He was the first Prime Minister who did not belong to, and had little sympathy or affiliation with, "the governing class"; and the distinction enabled him to keep in touch and understanding with the newer movements long past the age when most Liberals are Whigs and most Whigs Conservatives.

The country has now had some weeks in which to adjust itself to the change in the Premiership and to form its opinion on the personnel of the new Cabinet. It is generally admitted that Mr. Asquith has acquitted himself admirably. Less popular and ingratiating than his predecessor, of a harder and more self-contained temperament, he is unquestionably "C-B's" superior in intellect, driving power, eloquence and the primal fighting qualities. His speeches since his accession have been, as all his speeches are, singularly virile, clean-cut and heartening. He has already reanimated the Liberal party. Men may criticise his manner, may wish that he showed a rather more genial side to the world, may contrast his somewhat metallic disposition with "C-B's" coaxing flexibility. But they are conscious at the same time that they have in him a leader cool and skilful in strategy, brilliant on the field of battle, purposeful and sagacious in all his movements, always supremely sure of himself, always convinced that there is no better method of political defence than a vigorous and resolute attack. His reorganization of the Cabinet, even by the acknowledgment of its opponents, has visibly strengthened it. Some of the less satisfactory members of the "C-B" ministry have been got rid of; new and promising blood has been introduced; the promotions, with perhaps one exception,

have appealed to the business sense of the nation; and everybody recognizes that the country gains by the closer correspondence that is now established between the views of the Prime Minister and those of his Foreign Secretary. I cannot, perhaps, give a better idea of the new Cabinet than by saying that, on the whole, it is the sort of Cabinet that Mr. Roosevelt would have formed had he been in Mr. Asquith's place. Moreover, it is felt that the moment of its birth is opportune and that a new Ministry with a new leader may be able to inherit the successes, but not the failures, of the "C-B" Government; may make concessions that would have been impossible to its predecessor; may alter the general scheme of Liberal tactics at this point and at that, and, by the interest it arouses and by its comparative freedom in the choice of routes to its goal, may succeed in stemming the obvious reaction that was setting in against the Ministerial policies.

The reality of that reaction is not to be disputed. Every by-election shows either a Unionist gain or a greatly diminished Liberal vote. The Unionists are claiming that there is not to-day a single seat which was won from them in 1906 which has not already been morally regained. It is an exaggerated claim, but the facts support a good part of it. In the six contested by-elections that have been held this year the Unionist vote has increased by 11,122 and the Liberal vote has decreased by 6,331. The defeat of Mr. Winston Churchill in Northwest Manchester was, on any hypothesis, a staggering blow for Liberalism. If there is one city in Great Britain more bound up by tradition with Free Trade than another, that city is Manchester. If there is any division in Manchester which Free Traders might have looked upon as more deeply committed to their cause than another, that division is the Northwest division. Yet in that city and in that division, with a brilliant and captivating candidate, just appointed to the Presidency of the Board of Trade—an office that must always peculiarly appeal to a commercial constituency—and opposed by a candidate of no conspicuous ability, their majority of over twelve hundred was wiped out; they were not merely defeated, but smashed. It is true that the campaign was complicated by many issues, that the Unionist candidate did all he could to keep Tariff Reform in the background, and that the local Catholics revolted from the Government on grounds, not of fiscal, but of educational policy. But I do not know that

from the Liberal standpoint all this is much of a consolation. If they argue that the Unionist victory of a few weeks ago was not won on the specific and solitary issue of Tariff Reform, the reply is that the Liberal victory of 1906 was not won on the specific and solitary issue of Free Trade. In both cases the pronouncement of the constituency was against the general record of the Government. An absolutely plain and isolated issue there cannot be without the referendum. Liberals in 1906 claimed for Free Trade a victory that was largely won by the Chinese Labor question, by the Education Act of 1902, by the Taff Vale decision and by the popular irritation against the personnel and conduct of the last two years of the Balfour Ministry. They cannot, therefore, complain if their opponents in 1908 claim for Tariff Reform a victory that was largely won on other than fiscal issues. They comfort themselves by assuming that at the next general election, when a vote against Free Trade will have a far greater significance and will amount to a mandate to set up a Protective Tariff, Northwest Manchester will return to the Free Trade fold. But that assumption is merely a speculation on a series of possible, but by no means inevitable, contingencies. Meanwhile Mr. Churchill's defeat, the further reverses that may have to be chronicled within the next few weeks, and the emphatic testimony of the decline in the Liberal vote have forced the Government to realize that it has already reached the crisis of its fate.

What are the causes of the reaction? How is it that singularly able Ministry, which has conducted foreign and colonial affairs with unsurpassable success, which has introduced and passed many admirable measures of social and commercial reform, and which has held office for less than thirty months, should now find itself in the trough of popular disfavor? The first explanation I would offer is that the Government has become tainted in the minds of a great many people, particularly of the middle-class, with Socialism. A few weeks ago a bill was brought forward in the House of Commons and one hundred and sixteen Liberal members voted for it, providing that, whenever a working-man had registered himself as unemployed, it should be the duty of a specially created local authority either to provide him with remunerative work or to maintain him and his family until work could be found. It is true that the Government refused in any way to support so monstrous and revolutionary a measure.

But the mere fact that it could be introduced and that so many Liberals, in spite of the attitude of their official leaders, could be found to vote for it, was sufficient to fill the average man with some definite apprehensions. Then, again, it will be remembered that last autumn, for the first time in English history, a candidate who ran as an avowed Socialist was elected to the House of Commons. The Tories have naturally made an immense amount of capital out of that fact. They have used it to promote a scare about property. The English middle-classes are as susceptible to scares about property as to scares about Ritualism. I do not say that they are as yet in a state of alarm, still less of panic. But they are fidgety with a vague, but potent, uneasiness —the sort of uneasiness that may lead them, unless it is dispelled, to vote blindly for the Tories as the "saviors of society."

Within the last few months, moreover, there has been an all-round increase in the cost of living. This tells against a Government in any country. It tells particularly against the Liberal Government in England because the essence of the Free Trade case is cheap food. No intelligent man, of course, holds the Liberal Government or Liberal policy responsible for the rise in the price of bread or can for a moment be imposed upon by the fallacy that because bread is dearer therefore Free Trade is unsound. But for electioneering purposes the increased cost of provisions has been sufficiently effective and the Tariff Reformers have diligently exploited it. Thus both the middle and the working class have to some extent been turned against the Government. It is the fortune of politics and there is nobody to be blamed for it. Certain measures on the Liberal programme have, however, added to the reaction. The Eight Hours Bill for miners, for example, has been opposed, and, so far as I can judge, in no partisan spirit and on not very unreasonable grounds, by a large number of industrial interests as involving a certain increase in the price of coal; and the price of coal, I need hardly say, is a matter that interests in addition every householder in the country.

Then, too, the Licensing Bill, with which I dealt at length in my last communication, has committed the Government to a fight for its life with the most powerful, the wealthiest and the best organized trade in England. The brewers are assailing it with unparalleled vehemence as at once an attack upon prop-

erty and destined to increase the cost of the working-man's beer. I believe myself that the Government will triumph and that the principle of its bill will be accepted by both Houses of Parliament. But in the mean time the fight against it is being waged with incredible fury and with every ingenious weapon of misrepresentation and terrorism.

The Unionist Free Traders, again, who supported the Liberals at the last election, but who are Tories at heart, feel that their allegiance has been severely strained by the radicalism of the Government's policy, especially by the Old Age Pensions project and by such measures as the miners' Eight Hours Bill and the feeding of school children at the public expense. They complain bitterly that the Government has forgotten that it was elected to act as the trustee for Free Trade, and is hurrying the country into a multitude of social reforms the mere financing of which will make Protection inevitable. The Liberals, in addition, have not developed their Parliamentary tactics with either judgment or foresight. Their attack upon the House of Lords has up to now palpably failed. Moreover, they have bewildered the country by the numbers and magnitude of the measures they have proposed. The people have no appetite for more than one first-class measure at a time. The Government has tried to thrust three or four down their throats simultaneously. The result is confusion, congestion, repletion and, finally, revolt. And on the top of all this the boom in trade has already slackened and shows signs of collapsing, while the Tariff Reformers have plucked up heart and are now conducting a far more extensive and effective propaganda in the constituencies than at any time since the opening months of the fiscal controversy five years ago.

Such I believe to be the chief causes of the present reaction against the Liberal policy. It is a matter of more difficulty to determine whether they are temporary causes or permanent, whether they are now at the height of their influence or whether the future is likely to intensify them. My own impression is that the worst of the Government's trials will very soon be over, and that good courage now and good strategy hereafter will enable the Liberals to concentrate all their forces upon the fiscal issue at the next general election. The immediate necessity of their situation is to get the Licensing Bill passed. I believe they will succeed in doing so.

BERLIN, *May, 1908.*

THE Polish Expropriation Bill has now become law, and authorizes the Prussian Government compulsorily to acquire land in the Polish provinces of Posen and West Prussia for the creation of German settlements. The expenditure involved will amount to nearly $100,000,000. The policy which this law represents was initiated more than twenty years ago, and during this period millions of money have been sunk in the purchase of land in the Polish districts which is now as far as possible to be parcelled out among German "colonists." This Prussian law is to be supplemented by an act of Imperial legislation which is designed absolutely to prohibit the use of any but the German language at public meetings after the lapse of twenty years. The French, Danish, and Polish languages and innumerable dialects are to come under the ban, and, in the words of a popular German journal, "in 1928 Germany is to become a 'national' State—by proclamation."

The purpose and effect of this legislation is plain. Its essentially political character cannot be argued out of existence by means of constitutional sophistries and false analogies. Of its expediency from the point of view of domestic harmony and social progress the Prussian Government itself claims to be the best judge. The Prussian Constitution recognizes the principle of expropriation as a legitimate instrument for promoting the "public interest," but even those who drew up this charter scarcely dreamed that upon the strength of this recognition a claim to curtail the rights of one-seventh of the population would be set up. During the course of the controversy over the Expropriation Bill repeated allusion has been made by the Prussian Government to the situation in Ireland, which has been boldly adduced as furnishing a correct and complete analogy for Prussia's policy towards her Polish subjects. Even less to the point have been the frequent and triumphant references to the experiment in the direction of land nationalization represented by the English Small Holdings Act, which was passed by the House of Commons last year, and provides for the compulsory purchase, in certain circumstances, of land for allotment to local applicants. After many vicissitudes the Polish Expropriation Bill has become law. The Poles themselves, in obedience to the counsels of the Catholic clergy and of their political organizations, have so far

maintained an attitude of reserve towards the measure now that it has become an accomplished fact. Against the armed forces of the Prussian Government the Poles are powerless. There is an uncomfortable expectation, however, that when once the act is set in motion they will oppose to the measure a passive resistance similar to that which kept the Polish provinces in a ferment last year, when the children in the Polish elementary schools organized a general strike as a protest against the prohibition of religious instruction in their mother tongue.

Beyond Berlin, the Mecca of so many Americans, few travellers ever care to venture. There is little to attract the curious further east. West and East Prussia and Posen lie beyond Berlin, and in these provinces the views and conditions of life are worlds removed from the metropolitan airs and graces of the German capital. The prevailing atmosphere is still more alien to the complacent friendliness of Frankfurt and Cologne, or the tolerant familiarity of South Germany. The continuity of this preponderatingly agricultural region, which is divided, but not separated, from the Russian Polish provinces by an artificial political frontier, is broken only by the furnaces and factories of the Silesian industrial *enclave*. The sparsely scattered population consists of a curious medley of Poles, Masurians, Lithuanians and Jews, who furnish a considerable contingent of the endless stream of emigrants which year after year pours into the United States. The Protestants are numbered by the Prussian crown among its loyal subjects, while the Catholic elements are regarded with suspicion. These motley creeds and nationalities are dominated by the type of Prussian-German whom good but untravelled Frenchmen still regard as their *bête noire*. It is this unexplored region, merging almost imperceptibly into the Russian landscape further east, that supplies the driving-power and reserves of labor for all Germany, and it is the policy of Prussia to purge her eastern marches of the elements which, in the event of war, might prove a source of weakness. The argument that the millions of money now being spent upon the Germanization of Poland might more profitably be devoted to additional armaments is in itself unanswerable. But from the point of view of the maintenance of Prussian hegemony the purpose served would not be the same. The straggling districts in which the Poles predominate overlap on to the Russian territory to the east, and to the south they blot

out, as far as speech and customs are concerned, the Austrian frontier-line. Arbitrarily divided upon grounds of political expediency, the Poles owe nominal allegiance to three empires, but nevertheless remain united in sentiment. While the Russian Poles, hemmed in on two sides, are still powerless to control their own destinies, the Austrian Poles have successfully asserted their claim to a considerable share in the conduct of affairs in the Dual Monarchy, and the fate of the Poles in Prussia has not failed to excite loud protests in the Austrian Chamber. Notwithstanding the close and intimate relations which Germany aspires to maintain with both her neighbor and her ally, protests and plaints alike have passed unheeded by Prince von Bülow, who, in his various speeches on the Expropriation Bill, had discounted them beforehand. But any wholesale eviction or emigration of the Poles from the Prussian provinces can only help to swell the disaffected elements among Russia's Polish subjects, and to inflame Slav passions against German influence in Austria. While Russia cannot contemplate with equanimity an eventuality of this kind, Germany herself can scarcely afford at the same time to weaken the stability of her alliance with Austria. Nevertheless, Prince von Bülow professes to be indifferent to the opinion not only of Germany's friends and neighbors, but of the world at large, and appeals to his countrymen to be guided solely by the "defiant instinct of self-preservation."

Almost at the same moment at which the German Imperial Chancellor brushed aside as negligible the opinion of the outside world, inspired pens were set in motion in order to impress upon the American public the transparent legitimacy of "German expansion." In presence of Prince von Bülow's admonitions, it passes the comprehension of plain minds to understand what possible interest the American public could be conceived to feel in German policy with regard to Belgium and the Netherlands. It would be foolish to suppose that the Imperial Chancellor invites foreign public opinion with regard to his policy for the mere pleasure of neglecting it. In the absence of more satisfactory explanations, it is possible that the opinion thus invited was to be elicited for the benefit and guidance not of the German people, but of some third party. For example, it may be that in view of the North Sea negotiations, the German Government desired indirectly to inspire confidence in the other States which

are concerned in the agreement in that sphere, without, however, unduly emphasizing the value which, as the proceedings with regard to the laws and usages of naval warfare at last year's Hague Conference sufficiently indicated, a neutral Belgium and Holland would possess for Germany in time of war.

These diplomatic excursions into print may prove to be the precursors of more systematic attempts on the part of authorized interpreters of German policy to influence opinion abroad. The existence of a German semi-official telegraph agency permits of the rapid dissemination of the written and spoken word, and whatever the subject—whether it be Macedonia or the North Sea littoral—the German public is given an early opportunity of judging for itself of the activity of its accredited representatives. During the recent debates on the Foreign Office estimates in the Reichstag the leader of the National Liberals, Herr Bassermann, urged the German Government to find ways and means of exerting greater influence upon the foreign press. Whether, in obedience to the "defiant instinct of self-preservation," but in contravention of his other principles, the Imperial Chancellor will avail himself of this suggestion remains to be seen. Another deputy, who also advocated the judicious manufacture of pro-German opinion abroad, warned Prince von Bülow that he would have to walk delicately if he desired to influence the foreign press without arousing its suspicions. An irresponsible politician like Herr Bassermann, who aspires to sit, so to speak, on the cross benches and who, upon the strength of a dilettante acquaintance with foreign politics, reviews mankind from China to Peru in a two hours' speech in the Reichstag, cannot be expected to appreciate the position of a responsible journalist. It is possible that he had heard the story about Napoleon, who, when he was asked by one of his Ministers how he had succeeded in converting a German journalist from a rabid opponent into an enthusiastic admirer, replied:

"If you ever have anything to do with people of that sort and want them to become your friends, do not put yourself to any expense, but wait for a favorable opportunity until you can speak to them yourself. Then just praise their talents, and their newspaper, and so on. If you want to do more, offer them a pinch of snuff; if they are very scrupulous, and if you want to make quite sure of them, give them the snuff-box, snuff and all into the bargain. I give you my word that you will be sure of them then."

Whether or not Herr Bassermann had this story in mind when he made his suggestion, he has subsequently explained that what he really meant was, not that foreign journalists should be "bribed" (!), but that the "younger attachés" in the German diplomatic service ought to try and get into touch with the more important newspapers in the countries in which they are stationed. This ingenuous proposal will be received with a broad grin, especially by the "younger attachés."

The drawbacks of the system upon which German foreign policy is conducted have been even more strikingly exemplified by a recent incident in which American interests were closely concerned. During the latter part of last year the prospect of Mr. Charlemagne Tower's retirement from the post of American Ambassador in Berlin became definite. The American Minister at the Hague, Dr. D. J. Hill, was designated as his successor and was duly accepted by the German Government, and his appointment was recorded in the Gotha Almanac for 1908. Suddenly, towards the close of the Berlin season, it was stated that the German Government had expressed doubts as to the suitability of Dr. Hill for the post. These first reports were subsequently mitigated by a semi-official announcement to the effect that after the confirmation of Dr. Hill's appointment the German Government was assailed by an apprehension that after all the Ambassador-designate "might not feel comfortable" in Berlin. Another authorized version of the incident spoke of "objections" on the part of the Emperor, which, according to this account, were inspired by solicitude for the United States and by anxiety that America should be fittingly represented in Germany. The affair is obviously too delicate to be discussed in cold print; but it may be indicated that neither of these two versions is complete, and it may be added that Prince von Bülow, according to the likeliest account, knew little or nothing of what had taken place until after the event. For days after the incident extracts from the American press were busily transmitted to Berlin purporting to show that the relations between Germany and the United States had not suffered in consequence. To the dispassionate observer these utterances seemed to protest too much. The German comic press, which holds nobody, not even a diplomatist, sacred, has seized upon the incident with avidity. "Tower *versus* Power" is the punning legend borne by a picture which

represents the outgoing Ambassador leaving his post in a sort of pantomime fairy-coach, escorted by cavalry and police, while his successor is seen painfully approaching in the background, grasping a reading-lamp in one hand and hauling a barrow-load of books with the other. The rough-and-ready moral which the picture is intended to convey will not be lost upon those whom it most concerns. But it is neither for the German Government nor the German comic press to play the part of keeper of the American conscience.

The end of Prince von Bülow's *régime* may be precipitated by a Parliamentary crisis, and even in the natural order of events it cannot be indefinitely postponed. But there are many Germans who reflect that a change in the Chancellorship will not necessarily be for the better. Secretly it is hoped, even by men of the stamp of Herr Bassermann, that in time the Reichstag will vindicate its right to control German foreign policy by means of a Government which shall be responsible to Parliament instead of merely being the instrument of a higher initiative. But this consummation is not yet in sight. In the future as in the past, however, whatever the Chancellor or any one else in Germany may affect to think, German like all other foreign policy will always have to be submitted to the judgment of the world. Even in the domestic sphere no responsible minister will wantonly embark upon a course of action which is calculated to diminish the credit of his country in the eyes of the world, by embarrassing those who wish it well, or by affording opportunities for criticism to its rivals. As the example of Germany herself has shown, no Power can afford to neglect the "political *imponderabilia*," which, in the words of Bismarck, "often exert an influence more powerful than that of mighty armies or boundless wealth, or even than the dictates of direct and material interests."

THE EDITOR'S DIARY.

May 30th: Memorial Day.

TIME has evolved two great typical republics, one Christian, one Pagan—America and Rome, the living and the dead. History records in letters of blood the struggles of both as Nations. Temperament and custom united in fixing their respective modes of glorifying their heroic sons. How striking the contrast—how significant of the marvellous change wrought by God in the uplifting of His people during the centuries that have passed!

To the eye of the mind of one standing over the splendid plaza, now buried in ruin, to which the Roman conquerors were wont to return in triumph from their successful wars, the picture is complete, magnificent: the conqueror riding in state, the captured generals chained to his chariot wheels and dragged stumbling and bleeding over the cruel pavement; following, the victorious legions laden with spoils, banners flying, trumpets sounding, amid the wild plaudits of a ravenous multitude. One can almost hear the shrieks of joy, the barbaric shouts of delight, over trophies won by Roman arms from weaker peoples. One can imagine the scenes of revelry following the frightful contests between captured gladiators and the hundreds of wild beasts encaged in caverns through which one still shudderingly wanders, the remorseless turning of thumbs to demand the death of the athletes who were forced to give their lives to make a holiday for the turbulent populace, the orgies of drink and lust that ensued till day broke and the hundreds of thousands sank into sleep from sheer exhaustion.

Such were the tributes paid by the Pagan republic to conquerors in war—grand, impressive, inspiring in the only sense then known of men! But whose was the glory, whose the victory, whose the reward? Was ever a monument builded in the Eternal

City to the countless thousands who fought and won the battles? No. Their compensation was a meagre portion of the spoils. Was ever a wreath of flowers placed reverently upon the grave of a common soldier in token of appreciation of the sacrifice he had made of self and loved ones? No. The pæans were for the General. The victory was his. The revelry was for him and for the heedless, heartless mob, gorgeous in seeming, but sordid and wretched and shameful in reality!

Contrast such a spectacle with the touching scenes beheld this day in America's peaceful cemeteries. There are no celebrations of a war of conquest, no rejoicing over the spoliation of defenceless men, women and children, no placing of laurel upon the brow, in the flesh or in graven stone, of an insatiable conqueror, no clanking of chains upon the ankles of the vanquished chiefs. Rather comes to our memory the beautiful episode at Appomattox, and we can almost see the gentle Grant placing back in the hands of his defeated opponent the precious sword which the knightly Lee had surrendered that no more lives should be sacrificed needlessly. But dear as is the recollection of our great generals, to-day's flowers are not for them alone; they are also for the Christian soldiers of the Christian Republic, the earnest men and youths who went forth, not in joy of opportunity, but in sadness of heart, responding to duty's demand that they offer their lives so that we as a Nation might continue united and therefore free.

If ever devotion to country was pure and undefiled, such was the patriotism of '61 no less than of '76. Never was there so great a war as ours; never one so noble. It was an army of volunteers from the North; it was an army of volunteers from the South. Neither fought for hire. Those from the North believed they were in the right, and so they were, as all now admit; but let us never forget that those from the South also thought they were in the right—and the many have paid in full the stupendous penalty of the frightful error of a few.

Some of the men from the North fought to save the Union, some to break the shackles of slavery, some doubtless were animated by prejudice and sectional spirit. But underneath all was an impulse more vital than any or all of these. It was in no true sense revolt against restrictions imposed by technical statutes. It was not opposed to the Anglo-Saxon theory that liberty must

be "under the law." It was a new interpretation of freedom —not the partial freedom of popular government, but the complete freedom which forbids the subordination of conscience to any other impelling force, whether of law or of passion. And its embodiment in the heart of our theory of government was essential to the maintenance of American institutions. The cost could not be reckoned then, can only be estimated now; but, however colossal the cost, who would venture to doubt that the result achieved was infinitely greater, and that never since could the price paid have been so small in men or money. In the only possible manner, by force of arms, the problem was solved, the question settled for all time. No longer need a Webster cry out for "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable." That condition we have; and no man North or South now would have it otherwise. Whatever be our future problems, our future trials, we have at least the advantage and the satisfaction of facing them resolutely as a truly united people —united not in name alone, but in heart and purpose and determination to prove the wisdom of God in setting up in this new nation, as an example for all the world, "a government of, for and by the people."

But to what end were the momentous sacrifices of the civil war if we of to-day fail to bear the ark of the covenant of human liberty safely to those of to-morrow? Let us, then, consider thoughtfully, patiently, tolerantly one another's opinions regarding conditions of to-day so pregnant with possibilities of progress or retrogression, even perhaps of success or failure. The magnitude of the task now confronting the citizens of the Republic is hardly more comprehensible to the human mind than the idea of eternity itself. When Washington took command of the American troops the entire population numbered three millions; when Lincoln called for volunteers, thirty-one millions; to-day, ninety millions and nine millions of dependents. Another half-century and more than two hundred millions of human beings will be gathered under the Stars and Stripes on this continent alone. If the next fifty years pass in peace, leaving undisturbed the rights of people to govern themselves in the communities in which they live, who can doubt that the problem of the everlasting future will have been solved, and that in very truth the millennial state of the whole human race will have begun to be realized upon the

hemisphere which already, in a few hundred years, has given to man a fuller and freer opportunity to become worthy of the image in which he was created than had been afforded previously in sixty centuries?

Inevitably clouds gather as the power and responsibility of a Nation increase, and it is idle to deny that at this moment thoughtful men view with no little apprehension the growth of certain popular impulses which tend towards uncertainty and instability. Unrecognized socialism, disguised in pleasing garb, has become for the time a stumbling-block in the path of that marvellous progress so far achieved by that combination of individualism and bold initiative which we proudly term the American spirit. Much yet remains to be done to meet the requirements of National conditions already greatly changed and likely to vary with increasing rapidity as our numbers multiply by leaps and bounds. The Nation is welded politically, but not commercially and financially, as soon it must be more firmly if we would fitly fulfil our destiny. The problem is more difficult, more complicated, to-day than ever before. Adjustment of the delicate relationship of local government to National authority at their multifarious points of contact was comparatively easy when communities were segregated by retarded communication. Not so now! Every day makes fresh demand upon the ingenuity of the makers and interpreters of our law to keep true the balance which constitutes the basis of our republican theory. Nearly every modern invention tends to annihilate space and so to knit the masses more and more closely together, and render them more and more interdependent. How would those men who, we have been taught, were endowed with exceptional sagacity, the Fathers of the Republic, meet the situation if alive to-day? We cannot believe that they would insist upon rigid adherence to methods once sufficient but now become inadequate. They were not narrow minds. They saw far and clearly—so far and so clearly that when they created a constitution they built it upon a principle that compels the making of haste slowly when an eager people might perchance try to do in a month what, history teaches, years are required to accomplish. Can we do more wisely than abide by the dictates of that foresight of the Fathers which thus far has never failed, and, in making necessary changes, move cautiously and sagely as may be along the new and unbeaten paths?

History is chiefly a record of battle. Must it forever be? Can it be that God means that His children shall continue to tear at each other's throats to the end of time? Is peace really unattainable? Is it not worth even striving for? And to what Nation, if not to ours, falls the opportunity by precept and example of pointing the way? The strength of a country is not measured by armies and navies. Intelligence, character, conscience constitute the true and impregnable bulwarks of national welfare. The schoolhouse at the corner is more potent ultimately than the "Dreadnought" of the seas; the little church on the hill is worth a score of regiments. Success in agriculture, commerce and manufacture presages certain triumph in war if the cause be just. During the scores of years when foreign peoples looked covetously upon our rich inheritance and realized the apparent weakness of possible resistance, none ventured to land upon these shores. Is it likely that one would do so now when we are stronger in ultimate resources than any one or two or three foreign Powers? Is it conceivable that in these days of enlightenment a ruler, much less a people, would invite the overwhelming reprisal which would surely ensue from an unwarranted attack upon or even temporary victory over any portion of territory shielded by our flag? Modern warfare, whether in trade or with guns, is the battle of gold. So long as we have money and keep our cause just, so long will we have peace. We need no mighty fleets, no great armies—only schools and churches, as of old, for the uplifting of oppressed human beings seeking the shelter of freedom. Such, the Fathers of the Republic and our fathers believed, was the true and holy mission of this new people under the protection of the Pilgrims' God! Let us not now be led astray in pursuit of idols which are steadily sapping the life-blood of every other Nation of the world. Rather let us continue steadfast in the purposes, the ideals, the faith of our ancestors, and to ourselves at least be true.

It seems incredible that nearly half a century has glided by since the untrained soldiers of the great war gave to their country not only themselves, but the peace and happiness of those whom, left in sorrow and apprehension at home, they loved better than themselves. Through the mist of years we behold the vision of that dread time. We feel the tense apprehension that preceded the bolt. We breathe the atmosphere of foreboding that dimmed

the light of eyes and veiled with gloom the countenances which so long had shone with the happiness of personal liberty and common prosperity. From the enveloping clouds we see the lightning flash, and hear the thunder echo from Sumter to every nook and corner of the land. No need to interpret the shock! In remote communities, no less clearly than in the capitals and cities, the message was understood. It was death for the individual or death for the Nation. And how splendid the response! We see the grim determination stamped upon the faces of those who awaited impatiently the word of their great chief. We note the eagerness in their eyes, the clenching of their hands, reflecting not the lust of battle, but the love of country.

Before our retrospective vision picture after picture appears to complete the panorama. We are cognizant of the bustle of preparation; the hasty grouping of individuals into tentative organizations; we now hear the drum and bugle; excitement and confusion are welcomed to assuage grief; but the hour of parting is inevitable and comes all too soon. How many veterans recall that saddest moment in life when, with choking throats, they tried in vain to say good-by, and, turning, took a last look at the weeping wives and daughters, and the dry-eyed, bravely smiling mothers striving with all the courage of a reticent race to fill the hearts of their departing loved ones with strength and hope, and conceal the bleeding of their own. What knew these men, or what can any men know, of heroism? Deeds are but natural consequences of circumstance, environment, necessity. Suffering springs from helpless waiting. All that the great armies of men did in that awful war would weigh but as a feather in the balance against the anguish of those left behind to hope and fear and constant dread. Could the graves of all who gave their lives or happiness to their Nation be decorated this day, how many more would be those of America's noble women! But no! The wife's sacrifice is too great to find requital; the mother's love is sacred to her own. The freshest of flowers betokening our most grateful recognition would wither and die beneath the smiles of Heaven bestowed as rays of sunshine upon those tender memories.

All honor, then, to the veterans of the great war who still live; and to those who have died, peace everlasting!

LA SENTENCOJ DE SALOMONO.*

(El la Biblio.)

EL LA ORIGINALO TRADUKIS, L. L. ZAMENHOF.

ĈAPITRO XIV.

(1) Saĝa virino konstruas sian domon, sed malsaĝa detruas ĝin per siaj manoj. (2) Kiu iras la ĝustan vojon, tiu timas Dion, sed kiu iras vojon malĝustan, tiu Lin malestimas. (3) En la buŝo de malsaĝulo estas malhumileco, sed la buŝo de saĝuloj ilin gardas. (4) Se ne ekzistas bovoj, la grenejoj estas malplenaj, sed multe da profito estas de la forto de bovoj. (5) Verama atestanto ne mensogos, sed senhonte mensogas atestanto falsama. (6) Mokisto serĉas saĝecon kaj ĝin ne trovas, sed por saĝulo la sciado estas facila. (7) Foriru de homo malsaĝa, ĉar vi ne aŭdos parolon de saĝo. (8) La saĝeco de saĝulo estas komprenado de sia vojo, kaj la malsaĝeco de malsaĝuloj estas trompiĝado. (9) Malsaĝuloj ŝercas pri siaj kulpoj, sed inter virtuloj ekzistas reciproka favoro. (10) Koro scias sian propran malĝojon, kaj en ĝia ĝojo ne partoprenas fremdulo. (11) Domo de malvirtuloj estos ekstermita, sed dometo de virtuloj floros. (12) Ofte vojo ŝajnas ĝusta al homo, kaj tamen ĝia fino kondukas al la morto. (13) Ankaŭ dum ridado povas dolori la koro, kaj la fino de ĝojo estas malĝojo. (14) Laŭ siaj agoj manĝos homo malbonkora, kaj homo bona estos super li. (15) Malsaĝulo kredas ĉiun vorton, sed saĝulo estas atenta pri sia vojo. (16) Saĝulo timas kaj forkliniĝas de malbono, sed malsaĝulo estas

* Dr. Zamenhof has made this translation of Proverbs from the original text especially for THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. The first chapter appeared in the December, 1907, issue. The subsequent chapters will be published during 1908.

incitiĝema kaj memfidema. (17) Malpacienculo faras malsaĝaĵojn, kaj malbonintenculo estas malamata. (18) Malprudentuloj heredas malsaĝecon, sed saĝuloj estas kronataj de klereco. (19) Malbonuloj humiliĝos antaŭ bonuloj, kaj malvirtuloj estos antaŭ la pordego de virtulo. (20) Malriĉulo estas malamata eĉ de sia proksimulo, sed riĉulo havas multe da amikoj. (21) Kiu malŝatas sian proksimulon, estas pekulo, sed kiu kompatas malriĉulojn, estas feliĉa. (22) Ĉu ne eraras malbonintenculoj? sed fideleco kaj vero estas ĉe tiuj, kiuj havas bonajn intencojn. (23) De ĉiu laboro estos profito, sed de babilado venos nur senhaveco. (24) Propra riĉeco estas krono de la saĝuloj, sed la malsaĝeco de la malsaĝuloj restas malsaĝeco. (25) Verparola atestanto savas animojn, sed malverparola trompas. (26) En la timo antaŭ Dio estas forta fortikaĵo, kaj Li estos rifuĝejo por siaj infanoj. (27) La timo antaŭ Dio estas fonto de vivo, por evitigi la retojn de la morto. (28) Grandeco de popolo estas gloro de reĝo, kaj manko de popolo pereigas la reganton. (29) Pacienculo havas multe da saĝo, sed malpacienculo elmontras malsaĝecon. (30) Milda koro estas vivo por la korpo, sed envio estas puso por la ostoj. (31) Kiu premas malriĉulon, tiu ofendas lian Kreinton, kaj kiu Lin honoras, tiu kompatas malriĉulon. (32) Pro sia malboneco malvirtulo estos forpuŝita, sed virtulo eĉ mortante havas esperon. (33) En la koro de saĝulo ripozas saĝo, kaj inter malsaĝuloj ĝi elmontriĝas. (34) Virto altigas popolon, sed peko pereigas gentojn. (35) Favoron de la reĝo havas sklavo saĝa, sed kontraŭ malbonkonduta li koleras.

ĈAPITRO XV.

(1) Milda respondo kvietigas koleron, sed malmola vorto ekscitas koleron. (2) La lango de saĝuloj bonigas la instruon, sed la buŝo de malsaĝuloj elparolas sensencaĵon. (3) Sur ĉiu loko estas la okuloj de Dio, ili vidas la malbonulojn kaj bonulojn. (4) Milda lango estas arbo de vivo, sed malbonparola rompas la spiriton. (5) Malsaĝulo malŝatas la instruon de sia patro, sed kiu plenumas la admonon, tiu estas prudenta. (6) En la domo de virtulo estas multe da trezoroj, sed en la profito de malvirtulo estas pereo. (7) La buŝo de saĝuloj semas instruon, sed la koro de malsaĝuloj ne estas tia. (8) Oferdono de malvirtuloj estas abomenaĵo por Dio, sed la preĝo de virtuloj al Li plaĉas. (9) Abomenaĵo por Dio estas la vojo de malvirtulo, sed kiu

celas virton, tiun Li amas. (10) Malbona puno atendas tiun, kiu forlasas la vojon, kaj la malamanto de admono mortos. (11) Infero kaj abismo estas antaŭ Dio,—tiom pli la koroj de la homidoj. (12) Mokisto ne amas tiun, kiu lin admonas, al saĝuloj li ne iras. (13) Ĝoja koro faras la vizaĝon ĝoja, sed ĉe ĉagreno de la koro la spirito estas malgaja. (14) La koro de saĝulo serĉas instruon, sed la buŝo de malsaĝuloj nutras sin per malsaĝeco. (15) Ĉiuj tagoj de malfeliĉulo estas malbonaj, sed konteneta koro estas konstanta festeno. (16) Pli bona estas malmulto kun timo antaŭ Dio, ol granda trezoro kun maltrankvileco ĉe ĝi. (17) Pli bona estas manĝo el verdaĵo, sed kun amo, ol grasa bovo, sed kun malamo. (18) Kolerema homo kaŭzas malpacon, kaj pacienculo kvietigas disputon. (19) La vojo de maldiligentulo estas kiel dornarbeto, sed la vojo de virtuloj estas ebenigita. (20) Saĝa filo ĝojigas la patron, sed homo malsaĝa estas malhonoro por sia patrino. (21) Malsaĝeco estas ĝojo por malsaĝulo, sed homo prudenta iras ĝustan vojon. (22) Kie ne estas konsilo, tie la entreprenoj neniiĝas, sed ĉe multe da konsilantoj ili restas fortikaj. (23) Plezuro por homo estas en la respondo de lia buŝo, kaj kiel bona estas vorto en la ĝusta tempo! (24) La vojo de la vivo por saĝulo iras supren, por ke li evitu la inferon malsupre. (25) La domon de fieruloj Dio ruinigas, sed Li gardas la limojn de vidvino. (26) Abomenaĵo por Dio estas la intencoj de malbonulo, sed agrablaj estas la paroloj de puruloj. (27) Profitemulo malĝojigas sian domon, sed kiu malamas donacojn, tiu vivos. (28) La koro de virtulo pripensas respondon, sed la buŝo de malvirtuloj elfluigas malbonon. (29) Dio estas malproksima de la malvirtuloj, sed la preĝon de la virtuloj Li aŭskultas. (30) Luma okulo ĝojigas la koron, bona sciigo fortikigas la ostojn. (31) Orelo, kiu aŭskultas la instruon de la vivo, loĝos inter saĝuloj. (32) Kiu forpuŝas admonon, malestimas sian animon, sed kiu aŭskultas instruon, akiras saĝon. (33) La timo antaŭ Dio instruas saĝon, kaj humileco troviĝas antaŭ honoro.

ĈAPITRO XVI.

(1) Al la homo apartenas la supozoj de la koro, sed de Dio venas la vortoj de la lango. (2) Ĉiuj vojoj de la homo estas puraj en liaj okuloj, sed Dio esploras la spiritojn. (3) Transdonu al Dio viajn farojn, tiam viaj entreprenoj staros forte.

(4) Ĉiu faro de Dio havas sian celon, eĉ malvirtulo estas farita por tago de malbono. (5) Ĉiu malhumilulo estas abomenaĵo por Dio; kaj li certe ne restos ne punita. (6) Per boneco kaj vero pardoniĝas peko, kaj per timo antaŭ Dio oni evitas malbonon. (7) Kiam al Dio plaĉas la vojoj de homo, Li eĉ liajn malamikojn pacigas kun li. (8) Pli bona estas malmulto, sed kun justeco, ol granda profito, sed maljusta. (9) La koro de homo pripensas sian vojon, sed Dio direktas lian iradon. (10) Sorĉo estas sur la lipoj de reĝo, lia buŝo ne peku ĉe la juĝo. (11) Ĝusta pesilo kaj pesiltasoj estas de Dio; ĉiuj pezilŝtonoj en la sako estas Lia faro. (12) Abomenaĵo por reĝoj estas fari maljustaĵon, ĉar per justeco staras fortike la trono. (13) Al la reĝoj plaĉas lipoj veramaj, kaj ili amas tiun, kiu parolas la veron. (14) Kolero de reĝo estas kuriero de morto, sed homo saĝa igas ĝin pardoni. (15) Luma vizaĝo de reĝo estas vivo, kaj lia favoro estas kiel nubo kun printempa pluvo. (16) Akiro de saĝeco estas multe pli bona, ol oro, kaj akiro de prudento estas preferinda ol arĝento. (17) La vojo de virtuloj evitas malbonon; kiu gardas sian vojon, konservas sian animon. (18) Antaŭ la pereo iras fiereco, kaj antaŭ la falo iras malhumileco. (19) Pli bone estas esti humila kun malriĉuloj, ol dividi akiron kun fieruloj. (20) Kiu prudente kondukas aferon, tiu trovos bonon, kaj kiu fidas Dion, estas feliĉa. (21) Kiu havas prudentan koron, estas nomata saĝulo, kaj agrablaj paroloj plivalorigas la instruon. (22) Saĝo estas fonto de vivo por sia posedanto, sed la instruo de malsaĝuloj estas malsaĝeco. (23) La koro de saĝulo prudentigas lian buŝon, kaj en lia buŝo plivaloriĝas la instruo. (24) Agrabla parolo estas freŝa mielo, dolĉa por la animo kaj saniga por la ostoj. (25) Iufoje vojo ŝajnas ĝusta al homo, sed ĝia fino kondukas al morto. (26) Kiu laboras, tiu laboras por si men, ĉar lin devigas lia buŝo. (27) Malbona homo kaŭzas malbonon, kaj sur liaj lipoj estas kvazaŭ brulanta fajro. (28) Malica homo disvastigas malpacon, kaj kalumnianto disigas amikojn. (29) Rabemulo forlogas sian proksimulon kaj kondukas lin sur vojo malbona. (30) Kiu faras signojn per la okuloj, tiu intencas malicon, kiu faras signojn per la lipoj, tiu plenumas malbonon. (31) Krono de gloro estas la grizeco, per la vojo de justeco ĝi estas trovata. (32) Pacienculo estas pli bona, ol fortulo, kaj kiu regas sian spiriton, estas pli bona, ol militakiranto de urbo. (33) Sur la baskon oni ĵetas loton, sed ĝia tuta decido estas de Dio.

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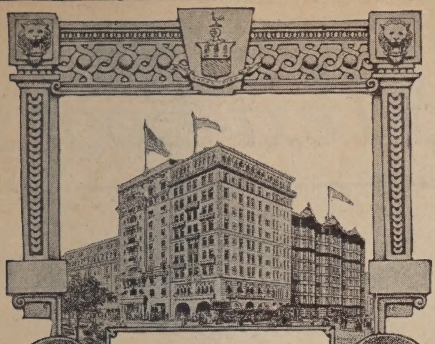

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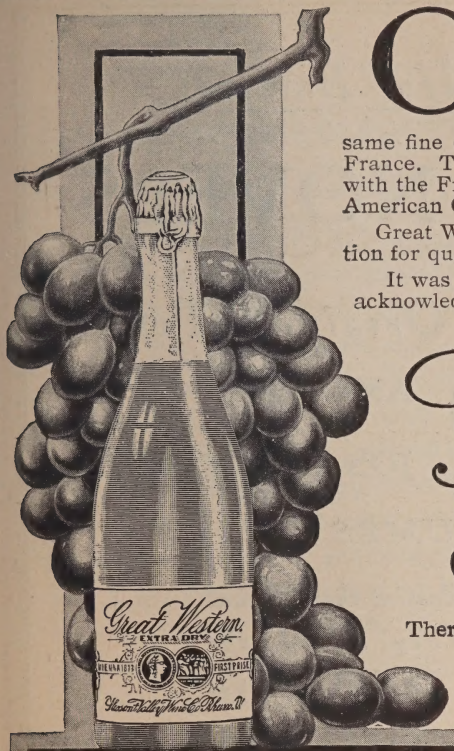

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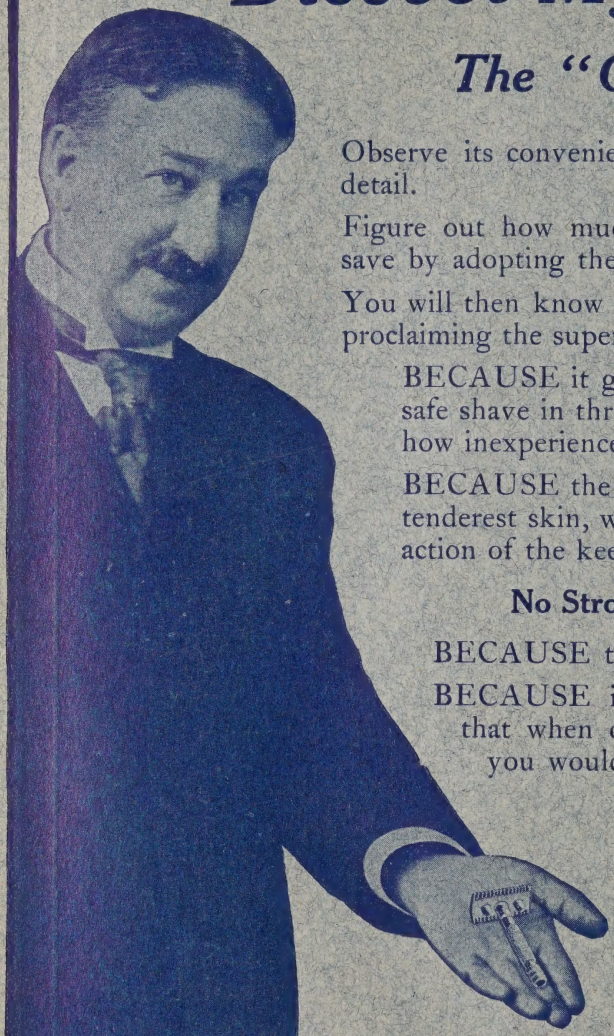

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